
Imprimatur,

*G. J. ane R. P. D. Henr. Episc.
Lond. à sac. domesticis.*

June 3. 1676.

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A
DEFENCE
OF THE
DISCOURSE
Concerning the
IDOLATRY
Practised in the
CHURCH
OF
ROME,
In ANSWER to a Book
Entituled,
Catholicks no Idolaters.

By ED. STILLINGFLEET, D.D.
Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty.

The two first Parts.

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TO THE SECRETARY

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TO THE
RIGHT REVEREND

FATHER in GOD

HENRY

Lord Bishop of LONDON,

One of the Lords of His Majesties
Most Honourable Privy Council.

My Lord,

I Have heard that in some famous Prophetick Pictures pretending to represent the Fate of England, the chief thing observable (in several of them) was a *Mole*; a creature blind and

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busie, smooth and deceitful, continually working under Ground, but now and then to be discerned by the disturbance it makes in the Surface of the earth : which is so natural a description of a restless party among us that we need no *Judge of Controversies* to interpret the meaning of it. Our *Forefathers* had sufficient *Testimony* of their *working under Ground* ; but in our *Age* they act more visibly, and with that indefatigable industry, that they threaten (without great care to prevent them) the undermining of our *Church*, and the Ruine of our established *Religion*. Which since they cannot hope so easily to compass alone, they endeavour to draw in to their Assistance, all such discontented parties, who are so weak, (if any can be so) to be prevailed on to be instruments to serve them,

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them, in pulling down a *Church*, which can never fall, but they must be *stifled* in its *Ruins*. One would think, it were hardly possible, for any to run into a snare, which lies so open to their view; or to flatter themselves with the vain hopes of escaping better than the *Church* they design to destroy. But such is the admirable *Wisdom* of *Divine Providence* to order things so above all *humane Discretion*, that when the *Sins* of a *Nation* have provoked *God* to forsake it, he suffers those to concur in the most pernicious *Counsels* for enslaving *Conscience*, who pretend to the greatest zeal for the *Liberty* of it. So that our *Church* of *England* in its present condition, seems to stand as the *Church* of *Corinth* did of old, between two unquiet and boisterous Seas; and there are some very busie in cutting

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cutting through the Isthmus between them, to let in both at once upon it, supposing that no strength will be able to withstand the force of so terrible an inundation. It is a consideration that might dishearten those who are engaged in the Defence of our Religion against the common Adversaries, to see that they promise themselves as much from the folly of some of their most seeming Enemies, as from the interest and Power of their Friends: thus like S. Paul
2 Cor. 7. 5. in Macedonia, we are troubled on every side, without are fightings, and within are fears. If men did but once understand the things which belong to our Peace, we might yet hope to weather out the storms that threaten us, and to live, as the Church hath frequently done, in a tossing condition, with waves beating on every side. But it through Weakness

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ness or Wilfulness, those things should be hid from our eyes, the prospect of our future condition is much more dreadful and amazing than the present can be.

If it were reasonable to hope, that all men would lay aside prejudice and passion, and have greater regard to the *Common Good*, than to the *interests* of their several parties, they could not but see where our main strength lies, by what our enemies are most concerned to destroy ; And that no men of common understanding would make use of *disunited Parties* to destroy one *Great Body*, unless they were sure to master them, when they had done with them ; And therefore the best way for their own security were to unite themselves with the *Church of England*. That were a Blessing too great for such a People to expect,

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pect, whose sins have made our *Breaches* so wide, that we have too great reason to fear the common enemy may enter through them; if there be not some way found out to *repair those Breaches*, and to build up the places which are broken down.

For my own part, I cannot see, how those who could have joyned in *Communion* with the *Christian Church*, in the time of *Theodosius the Great*, can justly refuse to do it in ours. For that is the *Age* of the *Church*, which our *Church of England* since the *Reformation*, comes the nearest to; *Idolatry* being then suppressed by the *Imperial Edicts*, the *Churches* settled by *Law* under the *Government* of *Bishops*, *Publick Liturgies* appointed, *Antiquity* Reverenced, *Schism* discountenanced, *Learning* encouraged, and some few *Ceremonies*

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monies used, but without any of those corrupt mixtures which afterwards prevailed in the *Roman Church*. And whatever men of ill minds may suggest to the disparagement of those times, it is really an *Honour* to our *Church*, to suffer together with that *Age*, when the *Christian Church* began to be firmly settled by the *Countenance* of the *Civil Power*, and did enjoy its *Primitive Purity* without the *Poverty* and *Hardships* it endured before. And the *Bishops* of that time were men of that exemplary *Piety*, of those great *Abilities*, of that excellent *Conduet* and *Magnanimity*, as set them above the contempt or reproach of any but *Infidels* and *Apostates*. For then lived the *Gregories*, the *Basils*, the *Chrysostoms* in the *Eastern Church*; the *Ambroses*, and *Augustins* in the *Western*; and they who can suspect
these

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these to have been *Enemies* to the *Power of Godliness*, did never understand what it meant.

It were, no doubt, the most desirable thing in our State and Condition to see the *Piety*, the *Zeal*, the *Courage*, the *Wisdom* of those *holy Bishops* revived among us in such an *Age* which needs the conjunction of all these together. For such is the insolency and number of the open contemners of our *Church* and *Religion*, such is the activity of those who oppose it, and the subtilty of those who undermine it, as requires all the *Devotion* and *Abilities* of those great *Persons* to defend it. And I hope that *Divine Spirit* which inflamed and acted them hath not forsaken that *Sacred Order* among us : but that it will daily raise up more who shall be able to convince *Dissenters*, that there may be true
and

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and hearty zeal for Religion among our Prelates; and those of the Church of Rome, that Good Works are most agreeable to the Principles of the Reformation. Nay, even in this Age, as bad as it is, there may be as great Instances produced of real Charity, and of Works of Publick and pious uses, as when men thought to get Souls out of Purgatory, or themselves into Heaven by what they did. And if it were possible exactly to compare all Acts of this nature which have been done ever since the Reformation, with what there was done of the same kind for a much longer time immediately before it, if the Protestant Charity should seem to fall short in outward Pomp and Magnificence, it would be found much more to exceed it, in number, and usefulness.

Which makes me so much the more wonder to hear and see, the
ill

The Epistle

ill effects of the Reformation in this kind, so much insisted on of late, to disprove the Goodness of it. If some Great men had sinister ends in it, when was there any great Action of that nature, wherein some Persons did not aim at their own advantage by it? Who can excuse all the Courtiers in the time of Constantine, or all the Actions of that Great Emperour himself? Must Christianity therefore be thought the worse, because it did prevail in his time, and very much by his means? And there were some partial Historians in those dayes, that impute the demolishing of Heathen Temples and the suppressing of Idolatry to the Rapine and Sacriledge of the Times. For even those Heathen Temples were richly endowed; and it is not to be supposed, that when such a Tree was shaking, there would be
no

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no scrambling for the *Fruit* of it.

However, we are not concerned to justify the *Actions* or *Designs* of any particular *Persons* how *Great* soever: but that which we plead for, is, that the *Reformation* it self was a *just, pious, prudent, and necessary* thing; and had both sufficient *Authority* to warrant it, and sufficient *Reason* to justify it.

We read in the *Spanish History* a remarkable *Precedent*, which vindicates the proceeding of our *Reformation* in *England*. The *Gothick Nation* had been infected with *Arianism* two hundred and thirteen years, when by the means of *Leander Bishop* of *Sevil*, the *King Reccaredus* being duly informed in the *Orthodox Faith*, called a *Council* at *Toledo*, wherein *Arianism* was *Concil. Tolet. 3.* renounced by the declaration and *Subscription* of the *King* himself, being present in *Council*; and afterwards

(a)

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wards by the Bishops who joyned with him, and the Great men ; which being done, the Council proceeded to make new Canons and Constitutions, which the King confirmed by his Edict, declaring, that if any Bishop, Priest, or Deacon refused to observe them, he was sentenced by the Council to excommunication ; if any of the higher rank of the Laity, the penalty was paying half their estates to the Exchequer, if others, confiscation and banishment. All which is extant in the Records of that Council. The Arian Bishops, as Mariana relates, such as Athanasius and Summa with others, having the old Queen Goswinda and several of the Nobility to joyn with them, made all the disturbance they could, to hinder the Reformation. But, God not only carried it through, but wonderfully preserved the Life of the King,

*Marian.
de rebus
Hisp. l.
5. c. 14,
15.*

Dedicatory.

King, notwithstanding many conspiracies against him; after whose death, the *Arian* faction was very busie, and made several Attempts by *Treason* and *Rebellion* to be restored again; and they once thought themselves sure, when they had gotten *Wittericus* of their party to the *Throne*, but his short *Reign* put an end to all their *Hopes*. I find some of the latter *Spanish* *Historians* much troubled to see all done in this *Reformation*, by the *King*, and the *Bishops*, and *Great men*, without the least mention of the *Popes* *Authority*. *Lucas Tudensis* therefore saith, that *Leander* was the *Popes* *Legat*, but *Mariana* confesses, that the very *Marian*. Acts of the Council contradict it. He ^{l. 6. c. 1.} would have it believed, that they sent *Legats* to the *Pope* afterwards to have the Council confirmed by him; but, he acknowledgeth, that no-

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Greg.
Registr.
l. 1. ep.
41.

thing appears in History to that purpose : and if any such thing had been, it would not have been omitted in the Epistles of Gregory, who writ to Leander a Letter of congratulation for the conversion of Reccaredus. But then National Churches were supposed to have Power enough to Reform themselves, provided, that they proceeded according to the Decrees of the Four General Councils.

And this is that we maintain in behalf of the Church of England, that it receives all the Creeds which were then received, and hath reformed those Abuses only which have crept into the Church since that Time.

This, My Lord, is the Cause, which by Command of my Superiours, I was first engaged to defend ; among whom Your Lordships Predecessour (whose constant Friend-
ship

Dedicatory.

ship and Kindness I must never forget) was one of the Chief. Since that time, I have had but little respite from these (not so pleasing to me, as sometimes necessary) Polemical Exercises ; and notwithstanding all the Rage and Malice of the Adversaries of our Church against me, I sit down with that contentment, that I have defended a Righteous Cause, and with an honest Mind ; and therefore I little regard their bitterest Censures and Reproaches.

In the midst of such a Croud of Adversaries, it was no unpleasant entertainment to me to see the various methods, with which they have attacked me ; some with piteous moans and outcries, others grinning and only shewing their teeth, others ranting and Hectoring, others scolding and reviling ; but I must needs say, the Adversary

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I now answer, hath shewed more art and cunning than all the rest put together ; and hath said as much in Defence of their Cause, as Wit and Subtilty could invent (I wish I could speak as freely of his Fair dealing, and Ingenuity.) Him therefore I reserved to be answered by himself, after I had shaken off the lesser and more barking Creatures.

What I have now done, I humbly present to Your Lordships hands ; and I am very glad of this opportunity to declare what satisfaction the Members of Your own Church, and the Clergy of this great City have to see a Person of so Noble Birth, so much Temper and Prudence, so firm an Assertor of the Protestant Religion and Church of England, appointed by his Majesty to have the Conduct and Government of them. That God Almighty

Dedictory.

mighty would assist and direct
Your Lordship in those things
which tend to the Peace and Wel-
fare of this Church, is the hearty
Prayer of

My Lord,

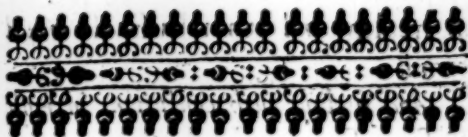
Your Lordships most duti-
ful and obedient Servant,

May 30.
1676.

ED. STILLINGFLEET.

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TO THE
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TO THE
R E A D E R.

IT hath been long expected that I should have published an Answer to T. G. as the most considerable Adversary that appeared against me ; but it is very well known, that before his Book came out, I had undertaken the Answer of several others ; which when I had set forth, a Person of Honour, who had been pleased to defend me against one of my keenest Antagonists, was assaulted by him, whom I was in the first place obliged in gratitude, to ease of any farther trouble. Since
that

To the Reader.

that time I have applyed my self to the consideration of T. G.'s Book, as much as health, and other business would permit.

And finding such confusion in most Discourses about Idolatry, and that till the Nature of it were fully and clearly Stated, men would still dispute in the dark about these matters, in my last Summers retirement, I set my self to the strict examination of it, by searching with my utmost diligence into the Idolatries practised in all parts of the world, by the help of the best Authors, I could meet with, either ancient or modern; when I had done this, I compared those observations I had made with the Sense of the Scriptures, and of the Fathers of the several Ages of the Christian Church, who had managed the Charge of Idolatry against Heathens, or Hereticks. From hence I framed the First Part of the following

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To the Reader.

ing Book, wherein I have not only examined and confuted T. G.'s false notion of it, but endeavoured to settle the True one in its place.

Which being dispatched, and the main principles of his whole Book thereby weakned and overthrown; I betook my self to the particular Defence of the Charge of Idolatry practised in the Roman Church in the Worship of Images; and I apprehended nothing of greater consequence in this Debate, than to give a true Account of the state of the Controversie between us; which T. G. endeavoured with all his art to blind and confound After which, I have given a distinct Answer to every thing material or plausible in that part of his Book. Which swelling this Discourse beyond my expectation, I must respite the other part to a farther opportunity; which I may the better do, because the Remainder

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mainder of T. G's Book hath
already received a sufficient An-
swer from a learned and worthy Per-
son.

THE



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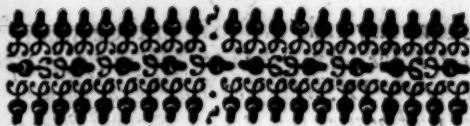
IN THE STATE OF NATURE

AND IN THE STATE OF SOCIETY

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PART I.

A General Discourse concerning the Nature of Idolatry.

CHAP. I.

T. G.'s notion of Idolatry examined and confuted.

TO make good the Charge of Idolatry against the Roman Church, which is my present business, there are two things necessary to be done,

1. To lay down the right *notion* of Idolatry.

2. To examine what *T. G.* and others have said, to justify themselves, from the *particulars* of this Charge.

I begin with the consideration of the *Nature of Idolatry*, not only because my

B

Ad-

§. I.

T. G.
P. 203.

Adversary calls me to it in these words, Here the Ax is laid to the root, and if ever the Dr. will speak home to the purpose, it must be upon this point. He must speak to the Nature of the thing, &c. But because the weight of the whole matter in debate depends upon it, and whosoever reads through T. G's answer to me, will find the only strength of it to lie in a very different notion of Idolatry which he sets up, which if it prove true, the main of my charge must fall to the ground; although however by his way of writing he can hardly answer the character I had given him, either of a *Learned* or *ingenuous* Adversary.

B-64.

P. 203.

The notion of Idolatry which T. G. lays down may be gathered from these assertions of his, That, God being the only supreme and superexcellent Being above all and over all, to him therefore Sovereign honour is only to be given, and to none beside him; That as no command of God can make that to be not Idolatry which is so in the nature of the thing; so no prohibition (if there were any) could make that to be Idolatry, which hath not in it the true and real nature of Idolatry; That, the worship of Images forbidden in the Commandment, is the worshipping Images instead

stead of God ; and the reason of the Law P. 39.
was to keep the people in their duty of gi-
ving Sovereign worship to God alone, by
restraining them from Idolatry. That this P. 63.
Law was made particularly to forbid So-
vereign worship to be given (as he saith,
it was at that time given by the Heathen) P. 67.
to graven Images, i. e. representations of
imaginary Beings ; or to any similitude,
i. e. the likeness of any thing, which al-
though it had a real being, yet was not God ;
That, the Image-worship condemned by P. 99.
S. Paul, was the worshipping Images for
Gods, or as the Images of false Gods : That, P. 103.
evil Spirits or false Gods did reside
in their Images by Magical incantation : P. 349.
That, the supreme God of the Heathens
was not the true God but a Devil, and
that the Poets who call him the Father P. 348.
of Gods and men, were those whom Ho-
race confesseth, that they took the privi-
ledge to dare to feign and say thing.
 From these assertions, it is no hard matter
 to form T. G's notion of Idolatry, viz.
 That it is, The giving the Sovereign wor-
 ship of God to a creature, and among the
 Heathens to the Devil. And now who
 dares charge the Church of Rome with
 Idolatry ? I do not wonder that he calls
 this so foul, so extravagant, so unjust a
 charge ;

charge; and parallels me with no meaner a person than *Julian the Apostate*, saying, *That surely a more injurious Calumny scarce ever dropt from the pen of the greatest enemy of Christianity, except that of Julian the Apostate.* But I am so used to their hard words, that I can easily pass them over, and immediately apply my self to the debate of these things, which will tend very much to the clearing the true notion of *Idolatri*,

i. Whether *Idolatri* be not consistent with the acknowledgement of one *Supreme Being*?

2. Wherein the *Nature* of that *Divine worship* lies, which being given to a *Creature* makes it *Idolatri*?

For if those who acknowledge one *Supreme Being*, the *Creator* and *Governour* of the world, were notwithstanding this, guilty of *Idolatri*, and that *Idolatri* be, as *T. G.* confesseth, *the giving the worship due to God to a creature*; then if we can prove, that the *Church of Rome* doth give any part of that *worship* which is due to *God* to any thing besides him, we may still justly charge them with *Idolatri*, although they believe one *Supreme God*, and reserve some *worship* which he calls *Sovereign* to him.

i. Whe

1. Whether *Idolatry* be not consistent with the *acknowledgement* of one *Supreme Being*, *Creator*, and *Governour* of the world? Whom I suppose *T. G.* will not deny to be the *true God*. It is agreed by him, that the whole *Heathen* world was guilty of *Idolatry*, without excepting the *more intelligent and wiser persons* among them; therefore our only business as to them is to enquire, whether they did acknowledge this *Supreme Being*; and it is without dispute, that all *Christians* do acknowledge the *True God*; if I can then prove, that such have notwithstanding been charged with *Idolatry*, by those whose judgement *T. G.* dares not refuse, I hope these two things being made out, will be sufficient to prove, that those may be guilty of *Idolatry*, who acknowledge one *Supreme God*.

As to the *Heathens*, who are confessed to be *Idolaters*. I have such plenty and choice of evidence in this matter, that it is not easie to know which to leave out; for, if either the *Testimony* of the *Heathens* themselves may be taken; or the *Testimony* of the *Writers* of the *Roman Church* concerning them; or the *Testimonie* of the *Scriptures*; or of those

Fathers who disputed against their *Idolatry*, or of the *Roman Church* it self, I do not doubt, to make it evident, that those *Heathens* who are charged with *Idolatry*, did acknowledge one *Supreme God*. In so great store I have reason to consider the temper of the person I have to deal with ; For, if I produce the *Testimony* of the *Heathen Writers* themselves, it may be he may suspect, that the *Devil* dwelt in their *Books* as well as in their *Images* ; and being a very cunning *Sophister* that he might perswade their *Philosophers* to write for one *God*, that he might have the *worship* belonging to him : as *O. C's* Instruments were for a single Person, that the *Government* might be put into his hands. But, I have a better reason than this, *viz.* that *this work* is already undertaken, by a very learned *Person* of our *Church*.

The *Testimony* of *Scripture* is plain enough in this matter to any unbyassed mind ; as appears by *S. Pauls* saying to the men of *Athens* when he saw the *Altar to the unknown God* ; *whom ye ignorantly worship,*
 Act. 17. 23. *him I declare unto you* ; Did *S. Paul* mean the *Devil* by this ? Did he in good earnest go abroad to preach the *Devil* to the world ? yet he preached
 him

him whom they ignorantly worshipped,
i. e. the Devil, saith *T. G.* Although
S. Paul immediately saith, *it was the God* v. 24.
that made the world, and all things in
it : and afterwards quotes one of their
Poets for saying *ἡμεῖς καὶ γὰρ θεοῦ ἐκγονοί*, *For we* v. 28.
are his offspring ; and it is observable that
the words immediately going before in
Aratus are *Πάντην δὲ Διὸς κεχρημένα πάντες*,
and he useth *Διὸς* twice more in the verses
before, *Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχέμεθα*——*μεσσηὶ δὲ Διὸς παῖσιν* P. 348.
καὶ ἀγγαί, which is the very word that *T. G.* 349. 352.
saith doth signifie an *Arch-Devil*. Doth
S. Paul then say, we are all the *Devils off-*
spring ? and not an ordinary one neither,
but the very *Arch-Devils* ? Was this
his way of perswading the *Atheni-*
ans to leave the worship of *Devils*, to tell
them, that *they were all the Devils off-*
spring ? No : it was far enough from him,
for he infers from that saying of *Aratus*,
that *they were the offspring of God* ;
ἡμεῖς γὰρ θεοῦ ἐκγονοί καὶ οὐ θεοῦ. So that if Saint v. 29.
Paul may be credited rather than *T. G.*
their *Jupiter* was so far from being the
Arch-Devil, that *he was the true God,*
blessed for evermore. And it is observa-
ble, that *S. Paul* quotes one of their *Poets*
for this saying ; notwithstanding *T. G.*'s
sharp censure of them out of *Horace* ;

with which, the force of *S. Pauls* testimony is overthrown. But he was not alone in making this to be the *Poets* sense, for *Aristobulus* the *Jewish Philosopher* produces it to the same purpose, and adds, that *although he used the name of Jove, yet his design was to express the true God.* *Minucius Felix* saith wisely in this case, *They who make Jove the chief God, are only deceived in the name, but agree in the Power*; so far was he from thinking their *Jupiter Father of Gods and men*, (which he applauds the *Poets* for saying) to have been the *Arch-Devil*.

Euseb.

Prep.

Evang.

L. 13. c. 12.

Minuc. Fe-

lix in

Octav.

P. 19.

Orig. c.

Cels. l. 5.

But *T. G.* quotes *Origen* for saying, that the *Christians* would undergo any *Torments* rather than confess *Jupiter* to be *God*; for they did not believe *Jupiter* and *Sabaoth* to be the same, neither indeed to be any *God* at all, but a *Devil*, who is delighted with the name of *Jupiter*, an enemy to men and *God*. I grant, *Origen* doth say so; but suppose *St. Paul* and *Origen* contradict one another, I desire to know whom we are to follow? Yet if *T. G.* had considered *Origen* as he ought to have done, he would have seen how little had been gained by this saying of his. For when *Celsus* had said, it was

no great matter whether they called the Supreme God Jupiter, or Adonai, or Sabaoth, or Ammon as the Egyptians did, or Pappai as the Scythians. Origen answers. 1. That he had spoken already upon this subject, which he desires may be remembered; now in that place he saith, that by reason of the abundance of filthy and obscene fables which went of their Jupiter, the Christians would by no means endure to have the true God called by his name; having learnt from Plato to be scrupulous about the very names of their Gods. 2. Origen hath a particular conceit about the power of the Hebrew names; and hath a very odd discourse, unbecoming a Philosopher and a Christian, about the power of words in enchantments, and that the same words had great force in their Originals, which they lost being translated into other Languages; and if it be thus, saith he, in other names, how much more ought we to think it so in the names of God? And therefore he would by no means have those powerful names of Adonai and Sabaoth to be changed for any other. By which for all that I can see, Origen would as much have scrupled calling the Divine Being God, as Jove, If Vossius his conjecture be true, that God is

Orig. c. celf.
l. 4. p. 196.
ed. Cant.

Orig. c. celf.
l. 1. p. 19.
&c.

Voss. de
Idolol. l. 1.
 c. 37.

is the same with the old *German Gode*, or *Godan*, and according to the common permutation of those letters, *Wodan*, who was the chief *God* among the *Germans*. 3. He saith, that it was no fault at all for any persons to call the *Supreme God* by the names used in their own language; as the *Egyptians* might call him *Ammon*, and the *Scythians* *Pappai*: and then why not the *Greeks* *Δία* or *Ζήνα*? and I do not see he finds much fault with them for it; but he would not have those names brought into the *Christian Religion*, which had been defiled by such impure stories and representations among the *Heathens*: which is the best thing that he saith to this purpose: But we see that *Origen* himself doth not deny that either the *Greeks*, or *Egyptians*, or *Scythians* did own a *Supreme God*, or that they had proper names to express him by: but he would not have the *Christians* bring those names into their *Religion*; And that *Origen* grants that the *Heathens* did acknowledge the *Supreme God*, will be proved afterwards. But whatever his opinion was, we are sure *S. Paul* by the *God* that was known among the *Heathens*, did not mean the *Devil*: For was the believing the *Devil*

to be the *Supreme God*, that *holding the* ROM. I. 18.
truth in unrighteousness, which *S. Paul*
charges the Heathens with ? Was this
indeed that *Tὸ γνωστὸν ὡς θεοῦ* *That which is* v. 19.
known of God, which he saith, not only
was manifest in them, but, *that God him-*
self had revealed it to them ? Was this
that eternal Power and God-head which v. 20.
was to be seen by the things that were
made, so as to leave them without excuse ?
Was this *their knowing of God*, and v. 21.
that incorruptible God whose glory they
turned into the Image of a corruptible v. 23.
man, &c ? Was all this, nothing but *Ju-*
piter of Crete, and the *Arch-Devil* un-
der his name ? But what will not men
say, rather than confess themselves *Ido-*
laters ?

Although these Testimonies of Scri-
ture, be never so evident ; yet I am not
sure but *T. G.* may be the *Polus* mention-
ed in *Erasmus* now, (whom he mentions
for my sake, more than once) and may p. 37. 203.
espy a *red fiery Dragon*, even the *old*
Serpent there, where I can see nothing
but the discovery of the *True God*.
Therefore supposing that the *Testimony* of
Heathens or the *Scriptures* may not weigh
much with him, methinks he might have
con-

considered what the *Learned* men of their own Church have said to this purpose.

Th. Aquinas confesseth, that the most of the Gentiles did acknowledge one Supreme God, from whom they said all those others whom they called Gods did receive their being; and that they ascribed the name of Divinity to all immortal substances, chiefly by reason of their wisdom, happiness, and Government. which custom of speaking, saith he, is likewise found in Scripture, where either the holy Angels, or Men, and Judges are called Gods; I have said *Ye are Gods*, and many other places. *Franciscus Ferrariensis* in his Commentaries on that place saith, that *Aquinas* his meaning was, that the Scripture only agreed with the Heathens as to the name, but that they called their Gods properly so, whereas the Scripture speaks of them only by way of participation. And did *Aquinas*, mean any otherwise of the Heathens, when he saith, that all their inferiour Gods derived their very being from the Supreme? The same *Aquinas*, in his Book purposely written against the Gentiles, gives this account of their Principles of Religion; that some of them held one God the first and universal principle of all things; but with-

all

Th. Aquin.
c. Gen.
l. 1. c. 42.
in fin.

Id. l. 3.
c. 120.

all they gave Divine worship (Latriam) next to the Supreme God to intellectual substances of a heavenly nature, which they call Gods, whether they were substances separated from bodies, or the Souls of the heavenly Orbs and Stars : in the next place to intellectual substances united to aerial bodies, which they called Dæmons, whom they made Gods in respect of men, and thought they deserved divine worship from men as being Mediatours between the Gods and them ; and in the last place to the Souls of good men, as being raised to a higher state than that of this present life. Others of them supposing God to be the Soul of the world, did believe, that divine worship was to be given to the whole world, and the several parts of it, not for the sake of the Body but the Soul, which they said was God : as a wise man hath honour given him not for the sake of his Body, but of his mind. Others again asserted, that things below men as Images, might have divine worship given to them, in as much as they did participate of a Superiour nature, either from the influence of heavenly bodies, or the presence of some Spirits, which Images they called Gods, and from thence they were called Idolaters. And so he proves, that they were,

were, who acknowledging one first principle did give divine worship to any other being : because it weakens the notion and esteem we ought to have of the Supreme Being to give divine worship to any other besides him ; as it would lessen the honour of a King, for any other Person to have the same kind of respect shewed to him, which we express to the King : and because this divine worship is due to God on the account of Creation, which is proper only to him, and because he is properly Lord over us and none else besides him : and he is our great and last end ; which are all of them great and weighty reasons, why divine worship should be appropriated to God alone. But, saith he, although this opinion which makes God a separate Being and the first Cause of all intellectual Beings, be true : yet that which makes God the Soul of the world, though it be farther from truth, gives a better account of giving divine worship to created Beings. For then they give that divine worship to God himself : for according to this principle, the several parts of the world in respect of God, are but as the several members of a mans body in respect of his Soul. But the most unreasonable opinion, he

he saith, is that of animated Images, because those cannot deserve more worship, than either the Spirits that animate them, or the makers of them, which ought not to have divine worship given them; besides, that by lying Oracles and wicked Counsels, these appear to have been Evil Spirits, and therefore deserve no worship of us. From hence, he saith, it appears, that because divine worship is proper only to God, as the first principle; and none but an ill disposed rational Being can excite men to the doing such unlawful things, as giving the worship proper to God to any other Being, that men were drawn to Idolatry by the instigation of evil Spirits, which coveted divine honours to themselves: and therefore, the Scripture saith, they worshipped Devils and not God. From which remarkable Testimony we may take notice of these things. 1. That he confesseth many of the Gentiles whom he charges with Idolatry, did believe and worship the Supreme God as Creator and Governour of the world. 2. That divine worship is so proper to the true God, that whosoever gives it to any created being, though in it self of real excellency, and considered as deriving that excellency from God, is yet guilty of Idolatry.

3. That

3. That *relative Latria* being given to a creature, is *Idolatry*; for so he makes it to be, in those who supposed God to be the *Soul of the world*. And I desire T. G. or any other cunning *Sophister* among them to shew me why a man may not as lawfully worship any part of the world with a *relative Latria*, supposing God to be the *Soul of the world*, as any *Image*, or *Crucifix* whatsoever? For if *union*, *contact*, or *relation*, be a sufficient ground for *relative Latria* in one case, it will be in the other also; and I cannot but wonder so great a judgement as *Aquinas* had, should not either have made him justify the *Heathens* on this *supposition*, or condemn the *Christians* in giving *Latria* i. e. *proper divine worship* to the *Cross*. For there is not any shadow of reason produced by him for the one, which would not held have much more for the other. For, if the honour of the *Image* is carried to the *Prototype*; is not the honour of the members of the *Body* to the mind that animates them? If the *Image* deserve the same worship with the person represented by it; is not much more any part of the body capable of receiving the honour due to the *Person* as the *Popes Toe* is of the worship that

Aquin.
Sum. p. 3.
q. 25.
art. 3.

that is given to him. Why should it be more unlawful to worship God, by worshipping *Fire* or *Water* or the *Earth*, or any inferiour creature, supposing *God* to be the *Soul* of the *World*, than it is to shew *Reverence* to the *Pope* by kissing his *Toe* ? which I suppose, can be upon no other reason, but because it is a part of his body, which is *animated* by the same *Soul* in all the members of it. 4. That *Aquinas* doth not therefore say, that the *Heathens* worshipped *Devils*, because the *Supreme* God whom they worshipped was an *Arch-Devil*, as *T. G.* saith, but because none but evil *Spirits* would draw men to give *divine worship* to any thing but *God* himself; and then, that evil *Spirits* did appear to heighten and encourage this devotion, by acting and speaking in *Images*. The consequence of which I desire *T. G.* to consider. And this testimony of *Aquinas* is the more considerable, not only for his great *Authority* in the *Roman Church*; and because *Pius 5.* in the approbation of his *Works* *A. D.* 1567. very gravely mentions *Christs* speaking to him from a *Crucifix*, when he was praying before it, that he had written well concerning him (it seems the *Crucifix* was *animated* too); but because I find this *Book* so highly

C

highly applauded by *Possevin*, and others
 for the best account of the *Christi-*
an Religion in opposition to *Heathenism*.
Card. Cajetan in his *Commentaries* on
Aquinas speaking of the *Images* of God,
 he distinguishes them into 3. sorts. 1. Some
 that were to represent the Divinity, which
 he utterly condemns. 2. Some to set
 forth the appearances of God mentioned
 in Scripture. 3. Some by way of Ana-
 logy, that by sensible things we may be
 brought to the veneration of insensible,
 as the Holy Ghost in the form of an old
 man holding a globe in his hand, &c ;
 which last way, saith he, comes near to
 the custom of the Heathens who repre-
 sented God diversly, as he is the cause of
 divers effects, as under the form of Mi-
 nerva by reason of his wisdom, and the
 like. Would *Cajetan* ever have paral-
 lel'd the Custom of the Church of Rome,
 with that of the Heathens, if he had
 thought they had only pictured the
 Devil under these representations ? In
 another place he puts this Question :
 how it could be said that all the Gods of the
 Heathens were Devils, since although they
 worshipped many Gods, yet withal they
 worshipped one Supreme God ? To which
 he answers. 1. That the Devils were

Possev.
Biblioth.
l. 9. c. 25.
Thom. a Je-
su de Con-
vers. gent.
l. 11. c. 2.

Cajet. in
Th. p. 3.
q. 25. art. 3.

In Aq. 2. 2.
q. 94. art. 4.

the causes of Idolatry, and so they were Devils causally though not essentially.

2. That although those they worshipped were not in themselves Devils, as the heavenly intelligences; yet they were so as they were the Gods of the Heathens: i. e. as they had divine worship given to them. And the true God himself, he saith, was not worshipped according to what he was, but according to what they conceived of him. But he grants before that they conceived of him, as the Supreme God: which was a right conception of him; but if he means it was imperfect, is it not so in those who worship him most truly?

Martinus Peresius Ayala a learned Mart. Peresius Ayala Bishop in Spain, treating the *Question* ref. de divin. trad. part. 3. p. 120. of the worship of Images; saith expressly that S. Augustine condemned all divine worship or Latria to be given to any kind of Images, not, saith he, in regard of their matter, for there was no need to give caution against that, but in regard of their representation, and he calls them idolaters which give that worship to Images which is due to God (with T. G's leave I translate *Simulachra* Images, for so I am sure Peresius understands it) Neither saith he, was S. Augustine ignorant, that there were few or none among the Gen-

tiles who thought the matter of their Idols
 so fashioned to be Gods or God : (let
 T. G. mark that) but on that account he
 seems to condemn them, that they gave
 divine honour to their Images, as they
 represented God : for there were many
 Idols among them in which there was no
 Devil who gave answers, but they only
 represented God as their benefactor: nei-
 ther did all the things which the Gentiles
 worshipped signifie a false God. For there
 was an Altar at Athens to the unknown
 God. Joh. Ferus saith, that the intenti-
 on of the Heathens, was through their
 Idols to give worship to the true God.
 Now T. G. knows that humane acts do
 certainly go whither they are intended
 so that according to Ferus, these Hea-
 thens did truly worship the true God.
 Athan. Kircher layes it down as a certain
 principle, that there never was in any
 Age, any People so rude and barbarous
 which did not acknowledge and worship
 one Supreme Deity, the first principle and
 Governour of all things. But saith he
 that they might teach the people that there
 was a Supreme Being, whom we call God, and
 present in all places, therefore they made
 abundance of Gods in all places and over
 all things. So that as Max. Tyrius saith

Ferus in
 Añ. 17.

Kirch. Oe-
 dip. Aegy.
 synt. 3. c. 1.

c. 2.

no place was left without a Deity. *Petav. dogm. The. To. I. c. 1. §. 9.* *Petav.* not only makes use of the arguments produced by the Heathens to prove one Supreme God, and thinks them considerable: but saith that S. Paul demonstrates (mark that) that the Gentile Philosophers attained to the knowledge of God by the works of Creation: and quotes the saying of *Max. Tyrinus* with approbation, *Max. Tyr. differt. 1.* that however the several Nations of the world differed from each other in customs and languages and modes of worship, yet they all agreed in this, that there was one God, Lord, and Father of all, and saith, that the Testimony of *Orosius* is most true, that both the Philosophers and common Heathens did believe one God the author of all things, and to whom all things are referred; but that under this God they did worship many inferiour and subservient Gods: and he adds that passage of *S. Augustin*, that the Heathens supposed all their Gods to come at first out of one substance: but I wonder he omitted what is very observable in the same chapter, viz. that *Faustus the Manichean* holding two first principles, saith, that the Christians joyned with the Heathens in believing but one: and *S. Augustin* confesseth, that the greatest part

c. 9.

Ph. Faber
Faven.
advers.
Atheos
disp. 1. c.
2. n. 27.

of the Heathens did believe the same with the Christians in that point; but the difference, he saith, lay here, that they worshipped more Gods than one: and therein the Manichees agreed with them, and the Christians only with the Jews; but the Manichees in that were worse than the Heathens, that these worshipped those things for Gods which were, but were not Gods; but they worshipped those things, which were so far from being Gods that they were not at all. Faber Faventinus, in his discourse against Atheists, insists upon this as an argument of some weight to prove a Deity, because all mankind had so settled a notion of one first principle in their minds from which all things come, and by which they were governed, and however they differed in other conceptions about this first principle, yet they all agreed in this, that it was immortal, and not only good in it self but the fountain of all good. Which surely was no description of an Arch-Devil. But what need I farther insist on those Authours of his own Church who have yielded this; when there are several who with approbation have undertaken the proof of this in Books written purposely on this subject: such

as Raim. Breganius, Mutius Panfa, Li- Raim. Breganius. Theolog. Gentil. Mutius Panfa de Osculo Ethnica & Christiana Philoso. Liv. Galant. Christiana philosoph. cum Platon. comparat. Paul. Benii Eugub. Platon. & Aristot. Theolog. Aug. Steuch. Eugub. de perpetui Philo.

as Raim. Breganius, Mutius Panfa, Livius Galantes, Paulus Benius Eugubinus, but above all Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinus, who have made it their business to prove, that not only the Being of the Deity, but the unity as a first principle, the Wisdom, Goodness, Power and Providence of God, were acknowledged not merely by the Philosophers, as Plato and Aristotle and their followers, but by the generality of mankind. But I am afraid these Books may be as hard for him to find as Trigantius was, and it were well, if his Principles were as hard to find too, if they discover no more learning or judgement than this, that the Supreme God of the Heathens was an Arch-Devil.

But T. G. saith, that the Father of Gods and men among the Heathens, was according to the Fathers an Arch-Devil. p. 4. T. G. P. 350.

Is it not possible for you to entertain wild and absurd opinions your selves, but upon all occasions you must lay them at the doors of the Fathers? I have heard of a place where the people were hard put to it to provide God-fathers for their Children; at last, they resolved to choose two men that were to stand as

God-fathers for all the *Children* that were to be born in the *Parish* ; just such a use you make of the *Fathers*, they must *Christen* all your *Brats*, and how foolish soever an opinion be, if it comes from you, it must presently pass under the name of the *Fathers*. But I shall do my endeavour to break this bad custome of yours, and since *T. G.* thinks me a *scarce-revolted Presbyterian*, I shall make the right *Father* stand for his own *Children*. And because this is very material toward the true understanding the *Nature* of *Idolatry*, I shall give a full account of the sense of the *Fathers* in this point ; and not as *T. G.* hath done from one single passage of a learned (but by their own Church thought *heretical*) *Father*, viz. *Origen*, presently cry out, *the Fathers, the Fathers*. Which is like a Country Fellow that came to a Gentleman and told him he had found out a brave *Covie* of Partridges lying in such a Field ; the Gentleman was very much pleased with the news and presently asked him how many there were : what half a score ? No. eight ? No. Six ? No. Four ? No. But how many then are there ? Sir, saith the Country Fellow, it is a *Covie* of one. I am afraid *T. G.*'s *Covie* of

of *Fathers* will hardly come to one at last.

Justin Martyr is the eldest genuine Father extant who undertook to reprove the *Gentiles* for their *Idolatry*, and to defend the Christian worship. In his *Paranesis* to the *Greeks* he takes notice, how hardly the wiser *Gentiles* thought themselves dealt with, when all the Poetical Fables about their Gods were objected against them (just as some of the Church of Rome do when we tell them of the Legends of their *Saints*, which the more ingenuous confess to be made by men, who took a priviledge of feigning and saying any thing, as well as the *Heathen Poets*) ; but they appealed for the principles of their Religion to *Plato* and *Aristotle* : both whom he confesses, to have asserted one Supreme God ; although they differed in their opinions about the manner of the formation of things by him. Afterwards he saith, That the first Authour of Polytheism among them, viz. *Orpheus*, did plainly assert one Supreme God, and the making of all things by him : for which he produces many verses of his : and to the same purpose an excellent testimony of *Sophocles*, viz. that in truth there

Justin Martyr.
paran.
P. 4. ed.
Paris.

p. 6.

P. 16.

P. 18.

P. 19.

P. 22.

P. 27.

is but one God, who made Heaven and Earth and Sea and Winds : but the folly and madness of mankind brought in the Images of Gods, and when they had offered sacrifices and kept solemnities to these, they thought themselves Religious. He farther shews that Pythagoras delivered to his disciples the unity of God, and his being the cause of all things, and the fountain of all good : that Plato being warned by Socrates his death durst not oppose the Gods commonly worshipped, but one may guess by his writings, that his meaning as to the inferiour Deities was, that they who would have them might, and they who would not might let them alone : but that himself had a right opinion concerning the true God. That, Homer by his golden chain did attribute to the Supreme God a Power over all the rest ; and, that the rest of the Deities were near as far distant from the Supreme as men were : and that the Supreme was he whom Homer calls, *Θεὸς αὐτὸς Θεὸς* God himself, which signifies, saith Justin, *ὁ ὄντως ὄντα Θεὸς* the truly existent Deity : and that in Achilles his Shield he makes Vulcan represent the Creation of the world. From these arguments he perswades the Greeks to hearken to the Revelation which the

true

*true and Supreme God had made of him-
 self to the world, and to worship him ac-
 cording to his own will. In his Apolo-
 gies to the Roman Emperours, Antoninus
 Pius and Marcus Aurelius, and the Ro-
 man Senate and People (for so Baronius ^{Baron.}
 shews, that which is now called the first, ^{A. 164.}
 was truly the second, and that not only ^{n. 14.}
 written to the Senate, but to the Empe-
 rour too, who at that time was Marcus ^{Euseb. hist.}
 Aurelius, as Eusebius saith and Photius after ^{l. 4. c. 17}
 him) he gives this account of the State of the
 Controversie then so warmly managed
 about Idolatry: that it was not whether there
 were one Supreme God or no : or whe-
 ther he ought to have divine worship gi-
 ven to him : but whether those whom the
 Gentiles called Gods were so or no ; and
 whether they or dead men did deserve
 any divine honour to be given to them ;
 and lastly, that being supposed, whether
 this honour ought to be given to Images
 or no ? For every one of these Justin
 speaks distinctly to. As to their Gods,
 he denies that they deserved any divine
 worship, because they desired it and were ^{p. 44.}
 delighted with it ; From whence, as well
 as from other arguments, he proves,
 that they could not be true Gods, but evil
 Demons : that those who were Christians,
 did*

- did only worship the true God the Father of all vertue and goodnesse; and his Son who hath instructed both men and Angels, (for it is ridiculous to think that in this place *Iustin* should assert the worship of Angels equal with the Father and Son, and before the Holy Ghost, as some great men of the Church of Rome have done) and the Prophetick Spirit, in Spirit and truth. In another place he saith, that they had no other crime to object against the Christians, but that they did not worship the same Gods with them; nor offer up libations and the smoak of sacrifices to dead men; Nor crown and worship Images; that they agreed with *Menander*, who said we ought not to worship the work of mens hands: not because Devils dwell in them, but because men were the makers of them. And he wondered they could call them Gods, which they knew to be without soul, and dead, and to have no likeness to God; (it was not then upon the account of their being animated by evil Spirits, that the Christians rejected this worship, for then these reasons would not have held) All the resemblance they had, was to those evil Spirits that had appeared among men; for that was *Iustins* opinion of the beginning of
- p. 68.
- p. 66.
- p. 97.
- Ido;

Idolatry; that God had committed the p. 44
Government of all things under the heavens to particular Angels, but these Angels prevaricating by the love of women, did upon them beget Demons, that these Demons were the great corrupters of mankind; and partly by frightful apparitions, and by instructing men in Idolatrous rites did by degrees draw men to give them divine worship, the people not imagining them to be evil Spirits, and so were called by such names as they liked best themselves, as Neptune, Pluto, &c. p. 55

But the true God had no certain name given to him, for saith he, Father, and God, and Creator, and Lord, and Master, are not names, but titles arising from his works, and good deeds: and God, p. 44
is not a name, but a notion engrafted in humane nature of an unexpressible Being. But, that God alone, is to be worshipped, appears by this, which is the great command given to p. 63
Christians. Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve, with all thy heart and with all thy strength, even the Lord God that made thee. Where we see, the force of the argument used by Justin in behalf of the Christians, lay in Gods peremptory prohibition

hibition of giving divine worship to any thing but himself ; and that founded upon Gods right of dominion over us by vertue of creation. In his *Book of the Divine Monarchy*, he shews, that although the Heathens did make great use of the Poets to justify their Polytheism, yet they did give clear testimony of one Supreme Deity, who was the Maker and Governour of all things ; for which end he produces the sayings of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Orpheus*, *Pythagoras*, *Philemon*, *Menander*, and *Euripides* ; all very considerable to this purpose. In his works there is extant the resolution of several Questions by a Greek Philosopher, and the Christians reply, in which nothing can be more evident, than that it was agreed on both sides that there was one Supreme God infinitely good, powerful and wise. Nay the Greek Philosopher looks upon the ignorance of God as a thing impossible, because all men naturally agree in the knowledge of God.

p. 160.

p. 5.

But there are plain evidences in that Book that it is of later date than *Justins* time; therefore instead of insisting any more on that, I shall give a farther proof, that in his time it could be no part of the dispute

dispute between the *Christians* and *Heathens*, whether there were *one Supreme God*, that ought to be worshipped by men; and that shall be from that very *Emperour* to whom *Eusebius* saith, *Justin Martyr* did make his second *Apolo-
logy*, viz. *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. It is particularly observed of him, by the *Roman Historians*, that he had a great zeal for preserving the *Old Roman Religion*: and *Jul. Capitolinus* saith, that he was so skilful in all the practices of it, that he needed not, as it was common, for one to prompt him, because he could say the prayers by heart; and he was so confident of the protection of the Gods, that he bids *Faustina* not punish those who had conspired against him, for the Gods would defend him: his zeal being pleasing to them; and therefore *Baronius* doth not wonder that *Justin* and other *Christians* suffered *Martyrdom* under him. But in the *Books* which are left of his writing we may easily discover, that he firmly believed an *eternal wisdom and Providence* which managed the world; and, that the Gods, whose veneration he commends, were looked on by him as the *subservient Ministers of the Divine Wisdom*. Reverence the Gods, saith he; but

*Jul. Capit.
vit. Anton.*

*Baron.
A. 164.
n. 7, 8, 9.*

Anton. l. 6. but withal, he saith, honour that which
 9.30. l. 2, 3. is most excellent in the world, that which
 l. 5. 33. disposeth and Governs all: which sometimes
 l. 5. 21. he calls the all-commanding reason, some-
 l. 6. 5. 42. times, the Mind and Soul of the world,
 l. 5. 32. which he expressly saith is but one. And
 l. 4. 40. in one place he saith, that there is but
 l. 7. 9. one world, and one God, and one substance,
 l. 9. 4. and one Law, and one common reason of
 intelligent beings, and one Truth.

¶ 6. But the great objection against such
 Testimonies of Antoninus and others lies
 in this, that these only shew the particu-
 lar opinions of some few men of Philoso-
 phical minds; but they do not reach to
 the publick and established Religion among
 them, which seemed to make no difference
 between the Supreme God and other Dei-
 ties; from whence it follows, that they
 did not give to him any such worship as
 belonged to him. Which being the
 most considerable objection against the
 design of this present discourse, I shall
 here endeavour to remove it, before I pro-
 duce any farther testimonies of the Fathers.

For which we must consider, where
 the Romans did suppose the solemn and
 outward acts of their Religion to con-
 sist, viz. in the worship appropriated to
 the

their Temples, or in occasional prayers and vows, or in some parts of divination, whereby they supposed God did make known his mind to them: If I can therefore prove, that the Romans did in an extraordinary manner make use of all these acts of Religious worship to the Supreme God, it will then necessarily follow, that the controversie between the Fathers and them about Idolatry, could not be about the worship of one Supreme God, but about giving Religious worship to any else besides him.

The worship performed in their Temples, I.
 was the most solemn and frequent among them; in so much that Tully saith, *there- in the people of Rome exceeded all Nations in the world*; but the most solemn part of that worship was that which was performed in the Capitol at Rome, and in the Temple of Jupiter Latialis in Alba; and both these, I shall prove were dedicated to the Supreme God. The first Capitol was built at Rome by Numa Pompilius, and called by Varro the old Capitol, which stood at a good distance from the place where the foundations of the great Temple were laid by Tarquinius Priscus, the one being about the Cirque of Flora, the other upon the Tarpeian Mountain.

*De Ar-
 pic. Resp.
 c. 9.*

*Euseb.
 Chronic. p.
 118.
 Varro de
 Ling. Lat.
 l. 4.*

D

There

Plutarch.
in Numa.

Dionys.
Halicarn.
Antiq.
Rom. l. 2.

Liv. hist.
l. i. c. 19.

There is so little left of the memory of the former, that for the design of it, we are to judge by the general intention of *Numa* as to the worship of the *Deity*; of which *Plutarch* gives this account, *That he forbade the Romans making any Image of God, either like to men or beast, because the First Being is invisible, and incorruptible, and can only be apprehended by our minds. From hence, saith he, it was that the Romans, although they built Temples and holy places, yet for 160. years had no graven or painted Image of God; accounting it a prophane thing to represent the more excellent by what was below it; and because we cannot come near to God any other way than by our understanding. I do not deny, that Numa did allow the worship of inferiour Deities, as of Juno, Minerva, and of Deified men, as of Quirinus, as Dionysius Halicarnassensis saith; but since it is plain from hence that he acknowledged a First, invisible, incomprehensible Being, since he deduced the reason of Divine worship from considerations proper to him, since he appointed a Flamen Dialis as the chief of all the rest, as Livy tells us, and erected a Capitol to Jove, it is incredible that he should*

should design it for any other than
 the *Supreme Deity*. What force was
 there in *Numa's* reason against *Images*,
 if the *First*, and *invisible Being* were
 not worshipped by him? to what end
 were reasons framed against a thing ne-
 ver intended? and which would not hold
 against the worship of *Deified men*, unless
 the worship of them were supposed to be
 carried at last to the *Supreme God*? But
 not only *Plutarch* attested this, but *Varro* Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 4. c. 31.
 saith that for 170. years the Romans
 worshipped their Gods without *Images*:
i. e. till the *New Capitol* were erected:
 which was vowed by *Tarquinus Priscus* Dionys. l. 3.
 in the *Sabine War*; but he was only
 able to prepare the place and lay the
 Foundations; *Servius Tullius* carried it Tacit. hist. l. 3. c. 72.
 on, *Tarquinus Superbus* was at vast
 charge upon it, designing, saith *Livy*, a Liv. l. 1. c. 53.
Temple of such a capacity as might become
the King of Gods and men; which was
 the common phrase whereby *Ennius*, Varro de Ling. lat. l. 5.
Plautus and *Virgil* did set forth the
Supreme Deity. This magnificent Tem-
 ple which, according to *Dionysius*, stood
 upon 800. foot of ground, was not
 finished till after the expulsion of *Tar-*
quin, and was then dedicated with great
 solemnity by *Horatius Pulvillus* being
 D 2 both

both *Consul* and *Pontifex*. And from that time this was accounted the great seat of God and Religion among them; it was *Sedes Jovis*, in *Livy*, *Jovis Summi arx*, in *Ovid*, *terrestre domicilium Jovis*, in *Cicero*; *Sedes Jovis Opt. Max.* in *Tacitus*; which are all as plain Testimonies that this Temple was designed for the Supreme God among them, as can be desired; but if any thing more can be added, it is only what *Pliny* saith in his *Panegyric*, that God was as present there as he was in the heavens. To this Temple the greatest resort was made especially by the *Magistrates* on all solemn occasions; hither the *Consuls* came and made their vows and offered sacrifices before they went into their *Provinces*, on the very day they entered upon their Office, saith *Livy*, for it was one of the charges against *Flaminius*, that he went away without doing it; hither those that triumphed came and offered up their *Laurels* and laid them in the lap of *Jupiter O. M.* Here the great Souldiers consecrated their Arms, and hung up the Spoils of their Enemies, by which means it came to credible riches; Here, the great *Scipio* was observed to be very often conversant in the night in *cella Jovis*; and

Alex

Liv. l. 2.

Senec. Consol. ad Martiam.

Liv. l. 5.

c. 50.

Ovid. Fast.

l. 2.

Cic. in

Verr. 4.

c. 58.

Tacit. hist.

3. 72.

Plin. Paneg.

87.

Liv. l. 4.

c. 32.

l. 21. c. 63.

Plin. hist.

l. 15. 30.

Sen. ad

Helv. c. 10.

A. Gel. l. 7.

c. 1.

Alexander Severus never missed attending the service of the Capitol, if he were in the City, every seventh day, as *Lampridius* saith in his *Life*; by which we see in what extraordinary esteem the service of *Jupiter O. M.* in the Capitol was among the greatest persons in *Rome*: from whence, *Lactantius* saith, it was *summum caput Religionum suarum publicarum*; the very top of their Religion; and *Isidore* thinks it was called *Capitolium*, because it was *Romane urbis & Religionis caput summum*, so that it was not only the worship of the Supreme, but a higher degree of worship than was used at any other Temple in *Rome*. If any worship can be supposed more solemn than this, it was that of *Jupiter Latialis* upon the Mountain of *Alba*, whither the *Roman Coss.* went upon the *Ferie Latinae*, and there met the Ambassadors sent on purpose from the whole Society of the *Latins*; where they all joyned together in a common sacrifice to the same *Jove*, as *Dionysius*, *Strabo*, and *Livy* relate.

I can foresee but 2. Objections against this evidence for the worship of the Supreme God among the Romans. 1. That *Jupiter was not worshipped alone in the*

Lactant.

l. 1. c. 11.

Isidor. Ori-

gin. l. 15.

c. 2.

Dionys. hist.

l. 4.

Strabo. l. 5.

Liv. l. 21.

c. 63.

22. c. 1.

38. c. 44.

41. c. 16.

42. c. 35.

45. c. 31.

Capitol, but Juno and Minerva too,
 2. That this Jupiter was not the Supreme
 God, but Jupiter of Crete. To these I
 answer. 1. I confess that Juno and Mi-
 nerva had their Images in the Capitol;
 but we are to consider that it was a rule
 in their Pontifical Law, that a Temple
 could be consecrated only to one God; and
 therefore M. Marcellus could not dedicate
 the same Temple to Honour and Vertue,
 because the Pontifices, saith Livy, told
 him, *unum Templum, duobus numinibus*
non rectè dedicari. But there might be
 Images or little cells, of other Gods be-
 sides; as T. G. knows, in a Church dedi-
 cated to God or the B. Virgin, there may
 be Chappels to Saints, which do not
 hinder the main design of the worship
 being to God: and so it was in this
 (and many other things among the old
 Romans); as Diana and the Muses
 were in the Temple of Apollo; and the
 Graces of Phidias in the Temple of Jupi-
 ter Olympius; but Livy particularly
 saith, as to this Temple of the Capitol
 that they cleared the ground as much as
 they could of all worships besides, ut are-
 esset tota Jovis, that it might wholly be-
 long to Jove.

Liv. l. 7.

Liv. l. 1.
c. 55.

The only question then is, whether 2.
 by this Jove they meant the Supreme God,
 or Jupiter of Crete? For which we
 are to observe, 1. That the Poetical
 Fables were rejected at Rome. 2. That
 the character given of Jupiter by the Ro-
 mans can belong only to the Supreme
 God.

That the Poetical Fables were rejected 1.
 at Rome. I do not mean only that they
 were rejected by their Wisemen as *Var-*
ro, Seneca, and others, but by their most an-
 cient Laws about Religion. *Marlianus*
 mentions a Table of the Laws of *Ro-*
mulus preserved in the Capitol, among
 which this is one, *DE ORUM FABU-* *Marlian.*
LAS NE CREDUNTO. And *Topogr.*
 that this was no invention of his own, *Rom. 2. 2.*
 appears by what *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* *c. 8.*
 at large discourseth on this subject: where
 he shews, that although the customs *Dionys. Ha-*
 and rites of Religion instituted by *Ro-* *licarn.*
mulus were agreeable to the best among *Antiq.*
 the Greeks; yet he utterly rejected all *Rom. 1. 2.*
 their Fables concerning their Gods (which *P. 90.*
 are indeed so many blasphemies and re-
 proaches of them) as wicked, unprofita-
 ble and indecent, and not becoming good
 men, much less those which were wor-
 shipped for Gods: And that he disposed

the minds of men to speak and think things worthy of that blessed nature they supposed them to have. And he particularly instances in the Fables of Saturn and Jupiter, and the Mysteries of Ceres and Bacchus, and the madneses and wickedness of the Greeks in celebrating their Religious mysteries; but, he saith, all things that concerned Religion were said and done among the Romans, with greater gravity than among the Greeks or Barbarians. By this he would not have any think him ignorant, that some of the Greek Fables might be useful to some persons, either for natural or moral Philosophy or other purposes; but upon the whole matter he did much more approve the Roman Theology, because the benefit of those Fables was very little to any, and those very few; but the common people who are not versed in Philosophy, are apt to take these things in the worst sense, either from thence to learn to contemn their Gods, or to follow their examples. I do not undertake to defend all the Roman Theology, nor can it be said that the Romans did in all things maintain that *to Decency* or decency of worship which Dionysius magnifies them for, as appears by the many indecencies which
the

the *Fathers* charge the practice of their *Religion* with; but as they were not to be excused in other things, so we ought not to charge them with more than they were guilty of; I mean when all the *Poetical Fables* of *Jupiter* are applyed to *Jupiter O. M.* that was worshipped in the *Capitol* at *Rome*. But some *Writers* are to be excused, who having been bred up in the *Schools* of *Rhetoricians*, and practising that art so long before, when they came to be *Christians*, they could not easily forbear giving a cast of their former employment. As when *Arnobius* had been proving the natural notion of one *Supreme God* in the minds of men, he brings in the *Romans* answering, that if this were intended against them, it was a meer calumny, for they believed him and called him *Jupiter O. M.* and built a most magnificent *Temple* to him in the *Capitol*; which he endeavours to disprove because *God* is eternal, and their *Jupiter* was born and had a *Father* and *Mother* and *Uncles* and *Aunts*, as other mortals have. Which indeed was an infallible argument, that *Jupiter* of *Crete* could not be the *Supreme God*; but for all that, might not the *Romans* call the *Supreme God* by the name of

*Arnob. c.
gent. l. 1.
p. 19.*

of *Jupiter O. M.*? The Question is not, whether they did wisely to make use of a name so corrupted and abused by abominable Fables; but whether under this name they meant the *Supreme Being* or no? and they thought it a sufficient distinction of him from that infamous *Jupiter* of the *Poets*, that they called him *Optimus Maximus*: which *Lactantius* confesseth, were the titles the *Romans* alwaies gave him in their prayers; *Quid horum omnium Pater Jupiter, qui in solenni precatone Opt. Max. nominatur?* Which not only shews the titles they gave him, but the *supplications* they made to him, and the believing him to be the *Father of Gods and Men*: and yet after this, *Lactantius* rips up all the *extravagancies* of the *Poets*; as though the *Romans* at the same time believed him to have done all those things, and to have been the *Supreme Governour of the world*, as he confesses they did. *Regnare in caelo Jo- vem vulgus existimat, id & doctis pariter & indoctis persuasum est; quod & Religio ipsa & precatones, & hymni & delubra & simulacra demonstrant;* Which words are a very plain testimony, that they not only believed him to be *Governour of the world*, but that they did intend to give

Lact. l. 1.
c. 10.

c. 11.

give solemn worship to him by prayers and hymns and sacrifices. But when he immediately adds, *that they confess the same Jupiter to have been born of Saturn and Rhea*; he might have done well to have explained himself a little more, for not long after he acknowledges, *that many did reject the Poets in these matters, as guilty not only of lying but of sacrilege*; and besides these, the *Philosophers* he saith, *did make two Joves, the one natural, the other fabulous, i. e. in truth, they made but one, rejecting the other as a figment of the Poets*. But he saith, *they were to blame in calling him Jove*; and what then? this is only a dispute about the name, whereas the question is, whom they understood by that name; and some think it was the most proper name they could have used, *Jove* being only a little varied from the name the *Supreme God* was called by in the Scripture. And *Latantius* himself confesses, *they had the knowledge of the Supreme God among them*, and what other name had they to call him by? especially when they joyned those two attributes of *Power* and *Goodness*, as sufficient to prevent any mistake of him.

That

2.

That the character given of this Jupiter O. M. by the Romans can belong only to the Supreme God, S. Augustin confesses, that they believed him, whom they worshipped in the Capitol, to be the King of the Gods as well as men; and to represent this, they placed a Scepter in his hand, and built his Temple upon a high hill; and that it is he of whom Virgil saith, *Jovis omnia plena*; and the same in Varro's opinion that was worshipped by some without any Image, by whom he means the Jews, saith S. Augustin. Luc. Balbus in Cicero saith, by Jove they understood *Dominatorem rerum & omnia nutu regentem, & presentem ac prapotentem Deum*: which are a full description of Gods infinite power and presence and Government of the world. When we call Jupiter Opt. Max. and Salutaris, and Hospitalis and Stator, we mean, saith Tully, that the safety of men depends upon his protection. And that they gave him the titles of Opt. Max. to express his Power and Goodness; but first Opt. then Max. because it is a greater thing to do good, than to exercise power. You may safely, saith Seneca, call God by the titles of Jupiter Opt. Max. and Tonans and Stator, not from stopping the Roman army,

but

Aug. de
Civit. Dei,
l. 4. c. 9.

Cicer. de
Nat. Deor.
l. 2. c. 1.

De Finib.
Bon. &
Mal. l. 3.
c. 20.

Pro Domo
Sua. c. 57.
De Nat.
Deor. l. 2.
c. 25.

Seneca de
Benefic.
l. 4. c. 7.

but because all things do stand by him. And you may give him what names you please, while you thereby expresse his divine power and efficacy, as Liber Parens because he is the Authour of all things, Hercules because of his irresistible force, Mercury for his wisdom. If you had received a kindness from Seneca, and you should say you owed it to Anhaeus, or Lucius, you would not change the person but his name: for what name soever you call him by, he is the same person still; you may use what name you please, while you mean the same thing. And lest we should think this only a Philosophical subtilty in Seneca, he tells us elsewhere, Senec. Natur. Quest. l. 2. c. 45. that their Ancestors were not such Fools to imagine that Jove, as they worshipped him in the Capitol and elsewhere, did send forth thunderbolts from his hand, (as his Image was there placed sitting in a chair of State with sometimes a Scepter, sometimes a Globe in one hand, and a Thunderbolt in the other) but by Jove they meant the same that we do, the preserver and Governour of the Universe, the Soul and Spirit, and Lord and Maker of the world: which is as full a testimony as can be wished for, to our purpose. The title of *Jupiter Omnipotens*

Virg.
Georg. 2.
325.
Æn. 1. 64.
2. 689. 3.
251. 4. 25.
6. 592. 7.
141. 770.
Æc.
Macrob.
Saturn.
l. 7. c. 1.

tens is so frequent in *Virgil*, that it is needless to cite any places for it; and he was particularly observed by the ancient *Criticks*, to be so nice and exact in all matters that concerned their *Religion*, as if he had been *Pontifex Max.* as *Macrobius* observes: He is called in the known verses of *Valerius Soranus* produced by *Varro*.

*Jupiter omnipotens Regum Rex ipse,
Deusque
Progenitor, genitrixque Deum, Deus
unus & omnis.*

Aug. de
Civ. Dei,
l. 7. c. 9.
c. 11.

Tacit. hist.
l. 4. c. 84.

Liv. l. 8.
c. 6.

And this man was accounted the most learned among the *Romans* before *Varro*; on which account his testimony is the more considerable. But besides the *Poets*, we find others attributing *omnipotency* to their *Jove*; *Tacitus* disputing what *God Serapis* was, says, some called him *Jove*, *ut rerum omnium potentem*; whereby it appears that they looked on *omnipotency* as proper to him: So in the speech of young *Manlius* in *Livy* to *Geminus*, when he asked him, when the *Roman Army* would come out, he said, *very speedily*, and *Jupiter* would come with them, as witness of their *Falseness*.

neß, Jupiter qui plus potest polletque :
 which signifies no less than an *Almighty*
power. When the miraculous victory
 was obtained by *M. Antoninus* over the
Marcomanni by the prayers of the *Chri-*
stians (as *Tertullian* and *Apollinaris* say
 upon good grounds, although the *Heathen*
historians attribute it to the vertue of
Antoninus, or to some *Magicians* with
 him) the whole Army made this excla-
 mation, saith *Tertullian*, *Deo Deorum &*
qui solus Potens, whereby they did, saith
 he, *in Jovis nomine Deo nostro testimonium* Tertul. ad J.
reddere : by which it is evident they Scap. c. 4.
 intended this honour to their own *Jove* ;
 for in the whole Army only the *Legio Ful-*
minatrix are supposed to have been
Christians ; and besides this upon *An-*
toninus his *Column* at *Rome*, *Baronius*
 tells us there is still to be seen the *Effigies*
 of *Jupiter Pluvius* ; destroying men and Baron. An.
 horses with thunder and lightning. *Dio* 176. n. 24.
Chrysostome who lived in *Trajan's* time,
 saith that by *Jupiter* whom the *Poets* call Dio Chry-
 the *Father of Gods and men*, was meant ostom. orat.
 the first and greatest *God*, the *Supreme* 36. p. 447.
Governour of the world, and *King* over
 all *rational Beings* ; and that the world
 is *Jupiters house*, or rather his *City*, be-
 ing under his care and government ;
 and

and that in their prayers to him they called him *Father* : which shews not only their esteem of him, but the particular worship they gave to him as *Supreme God*.

2.

Besides the worship of him in the Temple, they made solemn addressees, and prayers, and vows to him on special occasions. *Livy* mentions *Romulus* his

*Livy. l. 1.
c. 12.*

prayer to *Jove* with his Arms lifted up to Heaven, when his Army was flying. *Jupiter tuis jussus avibus, &c.* At the *Pater Deum hominumque hinc saltem arc hostes* ; and then makes a vow to him of building a Temple in that place *Statuitori Jovi* : and presently he speaks to his Souldiers, as if he were sure his prayers were heard, *Jupiter Opt. Max. resistere atq; iterare pugnam jubet* : upon which *Livy* saith, they stopped as if they had heard a voice from heaven. *Diomys.*

*Diomys.
Halic. l. 2.*

Halicarnassians mentions his prayer made when the people chose him King. *Δὲ τῷ Βασιλεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς*, to King *Jupiter* and the other Gods : as *Julius Caesar* when *M. Antony* would have put the *Diadem* on his head, sent it to the

*Suton. c. 67.
Sar. 679.*

Capitol to the Statue of *Jupiter* O. M. with this saying, *solum Jovem Regem Romanorum esse*. When *Numa Pompilius*

was

was to be inaugurated, the *Augur* made this prayer in *Livy*, *Jupiter Pater, si est fas hunc Numam, &c.* When some were applauding the felicity of *P. Camillus* upon the taking of *Veii*, *Plutarch* saith, he made this appeal to heaven,

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ καὶ θεοὶ γενεῶν ὀνεικαστοὶ καὶ ἀνέμων ἐγγύων. *Plut. in Camill.*
O mighty Jove, and ye Gods that behold the good and evil actions of men, &c.

When *Manlius Torquatus* found *Annius*, after his insolent speech against the Ro-

mans in the Senate, lying dead at the foot of the steps of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; he cryed out, *Est caeleste Numen, Es Magne Jupiter*; haud frustra *Patrem Deum hominumque hac sede*

sacramus. There is a God in heaven, Thou art O mighty Jove. It is not in vain that we have consecrated this Temple to thee the Father of Gods and Men.

Plautus affords us many instances of prayers to the Supreme God; so *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* in his *Pænulus*, *Magne Jupiter restitue certas mihi ex in-*

certis opes: and the *Punick Nurse* cryes out at the sight of him, *Proh Supreme Jupiter!* and more fully *Hanno* in the following Scene,

Plaut. Pænul. Act. 5. sc. 3.

Plaut. Pænul. Act. 5. sc. 3.

Plaut. Pænul. Act. 5. sc. 3.

Plaut. Pænul. Act. 5. sc. 3.

Plaut. Pænul. Act. 5. sc. 3.

Plaut. Pænul. Act. 5. sc. 3.

Plaut. Pænul. Act. 5. sc. 3.

Plaut. Pænul. Act. 5. sc. 3.

Plaut. Pænul. Act. 5. sc. 3.

*Jupiter qui genus colis aliisque hominum,
per quem vivimus,
Vitale avum : quem penes spes, vita.
que sunt hominum omnium :
Da diem hunc sospitem quaeso rebus meis
agundis.*

cap. Act. And in his *Capteivi*,
4. sc. 1.

Jupiter Supreme servas me.

and again,

Act. 3. sc. 2. *Serva Jupiter Supreme & me & meum
gnatum mihi.*

It was a custome among the *Romans*, as
Turnebus observes, to lift up their eyes
to heaven, and by way of amplification to
cry *ille Jupiter*. So *Plautus* in *Amphi-*
tryo, *Quod ille faciat Jupiter*; and in
his *Mostellaria*, *Ita ille faxit Jupiter*; in
his *Curculio*, *nec me ille sirit Jupiter*.
Virgil likewise hath many prayers to the
Supreme God with the acknowledgement
of his Almighty Power; as in the prayer
of *Anchises*,

Turneb. Ad-
vers. l. 11.
c. 17.
Amphit.
sc. 1.
Mostel. Act.
2. sc. 1.
Curcul.
c. 1.

Jupi

Jupiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris Virgil.
Æn. 2.
689.
ullis,

Aspice nos, hoc tantum : & si pietate
meremur,

Da deinde auxilium Pater, atque hac
omina firma.

And in the prayer of *Æneas*,

Jupiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad Æn. 5.
687.
unum

Trojanos, si quid pietas antiqua la-
bores

Respicit humanos, da flammam evadere
classi

Nunc Pater, & tennes Teucrum res
eripe letho.

So in the prayer of *Ascanius*,

Constitit ante Jovem, supplex per vota Æn. 9.
625.
precatus;

Jupiter omnipotens audacibus annue
captus.

In the prayer of *Venus*,

Æn. 10.
18.

O Pater, ô hominum Divumque ater-
na Potestas,

(Namque aliud quid sit quod jam implo-
rare queamus?)

E 2

Which

Which is after explained in these words

[100]

*Tam Pater omnipotens rerum cui summa Potestas
Insit.*

And in the prayer of *Turnus*,

569.

*Omnipotens genitor tanton' me criminis
dignum
Duxisti?*

But besides *Virgil* (who was so critical in the rites of Religion that he would never have brought in such prayers as these, if they had not been agreeable to the *Roman customs*) we have the like instances in others, as in *Silius Italicus*,

Sili. Ital.
l. 4.

——— *Nosce te summe Deorum,
Adsis ô firmesque tuæ Pater alit
omen.*

And in *Persius*,

Pers. Satyr.
3.

*Magne Pater Divûm, sævos punire Ty-
rannos
Haud aliâ ratione velis——*

But

But this was not only the custom of their *Poets*, whom T. G. may imagine to have been as extravagant in their prayers as in their *Fables* (although the *Theatre* and *Poets* have seldom erred on the right side in *Religion*), yet it will appear to have been the practice of their *Oratours* upon solemn occasions to make a particular address to *Jupiter O. M.* especially in the beginning; as not only appears by *Pliny's Panegyrick*, but by the *Testimony* of *Valerius Maximus*, Nam si ^{Valer.} *prisci oratores à Jove Opt. Max. bene* ^{Max.} *orsi sunt*; and *Cicero* quotes it as the ^{Pres.} *old formula* of beginning their *Orations*, *Jovem ego Opt. Max.* which himself pra- ^{cic. Divin.} *cises* in his *Oration pro Rabirio*; but in ^{in Q. Cæcil.} *other places* reserves it for an extraordinary occasion. *Quo circa te Capitoline Jupiter, quem propter beneficia P. R.* ^{Pro domo sua c. 57.} *Optimum, propter vim Maximum nominavit*; and at the conclusion of his *Orations* against *Verres*, *Nunc Te Jupiter* ^{Pro Miloni c. 31.} *Optime Maxime, &c.* but most emphatically *pro Milone*, *Tuque ex tuo edito monte Latiori Sancte Jupiter, &c.* (where the *Ferie Latine* were kept.) And a little before, where he speaks of those that seemed to question a divine Power, he breaks out into those admirable words.

Est, est profecto illa vis, &c. And to confute *Servius* his observation, that they only invocated *Jove* in their exordiums, because they attributed the beginnings of things to him, we see they made their solemn addresses to *Jove* likewise in the conclusion; Well: *Paterculus* concludes his Book, *Jupiter Capitoline & auctor & stator Romani nominis*; and *Pliny* both in the beginning and end, *Te præcipue Capitoline Jupiter precor*, as he speaks at the conclusion of his *Panegyrick*. But this was not only practised by *Orators*, but by their *Commanders* in the Field, as appears by that prayer of *Vocula* in *Tacitus* when he was in a great streight. *Te Jupiter Opt. Max. quem per octingentos viginti annos, triumphis coluimus, &c.* Thus we see that solemn addresses were made to the Supreme God, by all sorts of persons upon great occasions: but this was not the only way whereby they testified their devotion to him. For they erected *Altars* to him, as in that inscription which *Manutius* transcribed from the *Marble*.

Tacit. hist.
l. 4. c. 58.

HANC. TIBI. ARAM. JUP- *Inscript.*
 PITER. OPT. MAX. DI- *Antiq. 23.*
 CO. DEDICOQUE. UTI. *12.*
 SIS. VOLENS. PROPITI-
 US. MIHI. COLLEGIS-
 QUE MEIS. &c.

As King Antiochus in Cicero dedicated *cicer. in*
 his rich Candlestick made with admira- *Verr.*
 ble workmanship of Gold and Jewels *l. 4. c. 29.*
 in these words, *Dare, donare, dicare,*
consecrare Fovi Opt. Max. testemque ip-
sum Fovem sua voluntatis ac Religionis
adhibere. In the old Roman inscripti-
 ons we find several vows made to Jupiter
 O. M. for the safety of the Emperours,
 as in these :

I. O. M.

Inscrip. Ant.
II. 345.

PRO. SALUTE. IMP. &c.

Sometimes they made vows for the re-
 turn of the Emperours, as in those of the
Cess. Cl. Nero, and Quintilius Varus for
Augustus :

E 4

LU

LUDOS. VOTIVOS. PRO.
 IREDITU. IMP. CAESA-
 RIS. DIVI. AUGUSTI.
 PONTIFICIS. MAXIMI.
 JOVI. OPTIMO. MAXI-
 MO. FECIT.

II. 1, 2.

EX S. C.

Horat. Od.
 I. l. 3.

They made these inscriptions to Jupiter
 O. M. in behalf of their Emperours,
 because they believed them to be under
 his particular care, *tibi cura Magni*
Cæsaris fatis data, saith Horace. Thence
 in the inscriptions,

JUPPITER.

CUSTOS.

20. 1.

DOMUS. AUG.

And,

10. 6.

NUMINI. DEORUM. AUG.
 JOVI. OPT. MAX. AEDEM.
 VOTO. SUSCEPTO. Q. LE-
 PIDUS.

It were endless to repeat the *Inscriptions* that were made to him alone ; or to him under his several attributes that were peculiar to him, as

DEO. QUI. EST. MAXI-^{17. 91}
MUS.

ΔΙΟΣ

ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ.

Or his other titles, as

CONSERVATOR, CUSTOS.^{1084. 111}
STATOR. ΣΩΤΗΡ.

Or to him, where he is distinguished from the rest of the *Gods* : as in this,

I. O. M.

ET. CONSESSUI DEO^{2. 111}
RUM. DEARUMQUE. PRO.
SALUTE. IMPERII. RO-
MANI.

But

But these are sufficient to my purpose, which was to shew, that the *Romans* did express their devotion to the *Supreme God*, in all their solemn *Acts of Religion*.

3.

Of which there is but one part remaining, viz. in the way of enquiring into the mind of God, which they supposed was to be done by *Divination*. And that they looked on this as a part of *Religion*, is seen by *Tullies* dividing their *Religion* in *Sacra*, & in *Auspicia*, & in *Monita*. Thence there were three chief Colledges of *Priests*; the *Pontifices*, who looked after the rites of sacrificing, the *Augures* and *Aruspices*, who were the Judges in *Divination*. But the Colledge of *Augures* as appears by many passages in *Tully*, had a very great esteem and authority in the *Common-wealth*, so that nothing of moment was done without them: and the younger *Pliny* calls it *sacerdotium priscum, religiosum, sacrum & insigne*: but the great reason of this seems to be, that they were sacred to *Jove*; thence they are said by *Tully* to be *interpretes, internuntique Jovis Opt. Max. and Jovis consiliarii & administri*; and the birds were said to be *aven internuntia Jovis*; and they who refused to hearken to them, *nolle moneri à Jove*.

De Nat. De-
m. l. 3. c. 2.

De Leg. l. 2.
c. 12.
De Arusp.
Ref. c. 9.
Plin. ap.
L. 4. c. 8.

Philip. 13.
5.
de Div. l. 1.
c. 34.
2. c. 31.
c. 37.

So that this sort of *Priesthood* was peculiar among them, to him whom they believed to be the *Supreme God*. And from hence we may understand the passage in *Arrian*, where he blames the persons that came to the Augury with so much sollicitude of mind, which he calls *Arrian. l. 2. c. 7.* ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ ἵκεσθαι, coming to God to know his pleasure as to particular events; which they did, saith he, observing the Augury trembling, and crying Κύεα ἰλάσσοι, Lord have mercy upon me: which is so plain a form of supplication to the *Supreme God*, that *Cardinal Bona* brings this as a particular instance of the addresses they made to Him: and as the common *Litany* of mankind. Thus much I have thought necessary here, to clear not only the acknowledgement but the worship of the *Supreme God* among the *Romans*. I now proceed to other testimonies of the *Fathers* in their disputes against the *Heathen Idolaters*. *Card. Bona. Rerum Liturgic. l. 2. c. 4.*

Athenagoras made an address to the same Emperour *M. Aurelius Antoninus* in the behalf of the *Christians*, wherein he doth at large assert the concurrence of the *Heathens* with the *Christians* in the belief of one *Supreme God*; and proves *Athenag. legat. pro christ. p. 6. ed. Justin.* *φ. 7.*

P. 7.

it from the Testimonies of Euripides, Sophocles, Philolaus, and other Pythagoreans; and from Plato and Aristotle, and the Stoicks; concerning whom he adds, that although they seemed to make many Gods, by the several names they gave according to the difference of matter which the divine Spirit did pass through, yet in truth they did assert but one God: nay he saith farther, that the generality of mankind, were agreed in this whether they would or no, $\tau\acute{o}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \delta\iota\omicron\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, that there was but one God. But then to the

P. 14.

question why the Christians did refuse to worship Images? He gives this considerable answer; If God and matter were but several names for the same thing, we might be charged with impiety, if we did not believe stone, and wood, and silver and Gold to be Gods; and consequently give divine worship to them; but if these are infinitely distant from each other; as far as the clay is from the Potter which forms and fashions it, why are we charged with impiety for not giving the same honour to the Clay that we do to the infinitely wise Framer of these things? And if the artificer shews his skill in the vessels he makes, the honour is given to him and not to the vessels; so it is here, the honour and
glory

glory is not to be given to the matter ; but to the wise contriver, who is God himself : therefore if we look upon any of the several parts of matter as Gods, we shall thereby discover how little sense we have of the true God, by making things corruptible equal to him that is eternal. But wherein could they make them equal ? not believing them to be equal in Power and Wisdom, for he supposed before, that one Supreme God was allowed on both sides ; it could be therefore no otherwise than by giving divine honour to the creature as well as to the Creator : and that not for their own sakes, for he still supposeth them to be thought the works of God ; but although it were designed to give honour to the Supreme Architect by falling down before any parts of matter, he thought it as senseless and unreasonable a thing, as for a man to honour an artificer by falling down before his work. It was not then we see the supposing evil Spirits to dwell in Images, which made the Christians so peremptorily deny divine worship to them ; but because in so doing they should make the creature equal to the Creator. Although, saith he, the beauty, and greatness, and capacity,
and

and figure and order of the world, deserve our admiration ; yet we ought not to worship the world but only the Maker of it. As when any of your Subjects make their addressees to you, would it be well taken for them to pass you by, and turn themselves to your Palaces ? but men are not so foolish as to do so, but they admire the beauty and excellency of them in passing by, and pay their whole respect and service to your selves. If we look upon the world as a Musical instrument, well tuned and harmoniously struck, we ought not therefore to worship the instrument, but him that makes the Musick : and those who are the Judges at the Musick exercises, do not crown the Vial, but him that plaid upon it. If it be said, that all this proceeds upon the supposition, that the Supreme God is passed by and hath no peculiar honour given to him. I answer, 1. The contrary appears, by what I have already said ; for they did give particular honour to the Supreme Deity as such. 2. It is unreasonable to suppose that those who believe one Supreme God to be the Maker of all things, should in their inward intention wholly pass him by in the worship they give to his creatures. Mr Thorndike indeed saith, *supposing in a man*

corrupted opinion of the incomparable distance that indeed is found between God and the most excellent of his creatures, it is impossible for him to attribute the honour due to God alone to that which he conceiveth to be a meer creature : Which would be true, if all the honour due to God, did lie only in the inward esteem of our minds ; but as *Card. Tolet* well observes, *although Idolatry do suppose an error in the mind, yet that error lies in judging that to deserve divine honour which doth not* : which may be consistent with the belief of the *Supreme excellency of God*. And I do not deny that those who acknowledge one Supreme God, may have their minds so corrupted as to judge it fit to give that *divine worship* to a *Creature* which is only due to the *Creator* ; but I say, it is unreasonable to suppose that as long as they acknowledge them to be *creatures*, they should not give at least that *relative Latria* to them, which *T. G.* saith, *is carried to the Creator at last*. But of these things afterwards. 3. The reasons which *Athenagoras* gives do equally hold, supposing the true God not to be wholly passed by : for the creatures are still at as great a distance from the *Creator* ; which is the main reason he gives against

Tolet. Sum. Casuum. l. 4c. 14. n. 2.

against the the worship of them. 4. It is possible to suppose, that those who believe a Supreme excellent Being may yet give him no *eternal adoration* at all, not out of any disrespect to him, but out of the great esteem they have of his excellency ; looking upon him, as far above all our service and adoration. And that this is not a bare supposition of a thing only possible, appears by that testimony of Porphyrius produced by S. Cyril against Julian ; *Let us sacrifice, but it becomes us, to the God over all, i. e. as a wise man said, by offering up no sensible thing to him. For every material thing is impure when compared with an immaterial : Therefore the best sacrifice to God is to offer up our Lives to him (for even our words and thoughts are below him) which is the most proper Hymn to him ; and the most beneficial to ourselves.* And the same S. Cyril observed out of Dionysius Halicarnassens, that Numa would allow no Image of God in the Temples, because unsuitable to his nature ; so he would not have any material sacrifices to be offered up to him for the same reason : and some of the Platonists are quoted by him, saying, that the Supreme God being incorporeal, stands in need of nothing without him ; but the other

Cyrl.c.
Jul. l. 2.
P. 60.

Cyrl.c. Ju-
lian. l. 6.
P. 193.

l. 9. p. 311.

other Gods, especially those that are visible,
 ought to be pleased with inanimate sa-
 crifices. Therefore we ought not to
 conclude, that the Heathens did not be-
 lieve one *Supreme God*, if we do not
 find any peculiar and external sacrifices
 that were offered to him, for we see
 they might forbear them out of the opi-
 nion they had of his supereminent excellen-
 cy. *Aquinas* supposeth this to have been Aquin. 2. 2.
qu. 94. arti:
2.
 one of the principles of the Heathens,
 that only visible sacrifices belonged to
 other Gods, and internal acts of the mind
 as being better, to the *Supreme God*;
 And the *Supreme and Invisible God's* be-
 ing so far above any need of our service,
 was the reason given by the *Mandarins*
 in *China*, and the *Inca's* of *Peru*, why
 they shewed so little outward *Reverence*
 towards him whom they believed to be
 the *Supreme God*. Were these persons
Idolaters for the worship they did not
 give to the *Creator*, or for the worship
 they did give to his *Creatures*? and it
 is plain by *Athenagoras* the latter was
 the matter of their dispute: for they did
 not quarrel with the *Christians* about the
 worship of the *Supreme God*, but for
 not worshipping those things they look-
 ed on as his *Creatures*; and if their fault
 F only

only had been, that they wholly *passed by the Creator*, this would have been no reason against the *Christians*, who might have worshipped the *Creator* and the creatures together, and consequently have freed themselves from the force of the *Laws*, which required no more but giving *divine worship* to the *Deities* publicly worshipped, without any declaration of their minds concerning them. For they might understand them as they pleased; as we see the wise men among them did, without any censure or reproach from others. If it were lawful then for *Christians* to give a *relative Latria* to any creatures with an intention to honour God thereby, I cannot see how the *Christians* were excusable in their sufferings; for all that was required from them was only, to obey their *Laws* and offer incense to their Gods. Nothing being expressed by the *Laws* as to the disowning the *true God*, nor as to declaring in what sense they did intend to worship them; the *Emperour* declared, he was for the *Laws* being observed, and himself in his own writings had expressed his mind as to *one God*; what was it then made the *Christians* refuse obeying the *Laws*, when so many *Philosophers* had said,

that

that these Gods were only parts of the Universe, and deserved divine worship because of Gods presence in them? If they had not thought it Idolatry to give divine worship to any creature, it is very hard to make out their title to Martyrdom. For if we look over the Acts of the Martyrs, we shall find it came to this pinch with them; *will you obey the Laws in offering incense, or will you not?* When *Justin Martyr* was summoned before *Rusticus* the *Præfect* of the *City*, after some previous discourses, *Let us come*, saith he, *to the business in hand*; *Come you Christians hither and sacrifice with one consent to the Gods*; *Justin* answers, *No true Christian will forsake his Religion, and return to errors and impiety*: and the rest agreeing with him; the Judge pronounced their sentence, *that because they would not sacrifice to the Gods and obey the Emperours Edict, they should be scourged, and have the punishment of death inflicted upon them*: which was accordingly executed. When *Dionysius Bishop* of *Alexandria* was summoned before *Æmilianus*, he gives this account himself of the passages between them; that he told *Æmilianus* plainly, *that he would worship*

BAYON. A.
165. n. 5.

Euseb. l. 7.
c. 11.

ship none but the true God, and that he would never depart from this resolution; the Governour dismisles him for that time; the next time he lets him know the Emperour had so great a regard to their safety, that if they would but act according to reason, and worship the Gods that preserved the Empire, they might be safe. Dionysius answers, we, saith he, worship the one true God the Maker of all things, who hath bestowed the Empire on Valerianus and Gallienus; and to him we pray continually for the safety of the Empire. But, saith *Æmilianus* again, who forbids you, to worship that God you speak of, and the other Gods too? Dionysius then gave that as his final answer, we worship none else besides him. I might bring multitudes of instances to the same purpose, but I instance in these two, because they were men of eminency for their learning as well as piety. Now I appeal to the conscience of T. G. whether upon the principles of worship which he delivers, these men could have suffered for conscience sake any otherwise than as weak Brethren that wanted good information. For they might have reserved the sovereign worship due only to God, on the account

account of his Supreme excellency, and have given only a *Relative Latria* to those whom they called *Gods*, but in truth were only *Gods creatures* and *Subjects*; and what harm was there in all this? O, *but*, saith T. G. *they were called Gods, but in truth were Devils whom they were to worship*; how doth that appear to have been the cause, when they say no such thing, and give no such reason of their refusals? besides they might make them *Gods* by giving them *absolute Latria*, for that is due only to God himself; but no more was required of them, than to *sacrifice* to them, and they never debarred them of the freedom of directing their intention to the *Supreme God*; and T. G. knows, *acts go whither they are intended*, and those whom they called *Gods*, they might understand them only by way of *participation*, or as *some Analogical representations* of the true God. O *but sacrifice was required of them, and that is the worship peculiar to God*: but how comes sacrifice alone to belong to God? and what sacrifice? *burning of Incense*: and that T. G. knows, *is allowed to be done to creatures with a respect to God, by the Rules of their Church*. So that for all that I can see, if *relative Latria* may

be allowed to creatures, the Primitive Christians were not so wise, as they might have been ; and the Modern doctrines of worship in the *Roman Church*, would have saved the lives of thousands of the *Primitive Martyrs*, and not only of the common sort but of the best, and wisest of them ; Who sacrificed their lives on this principle, that , *Divine worship (and not meerly Sovereign worship) is to be given to none, but to the Supreme God.* But if that pass for good Divinity, that they who believe one Supreme God, cannot possibly give the honour due to him to any creature : I do not see why the Christians needed to have been so afraid of giving *divine worship* to any thing besides God, for upon this principle they were afraid of impossibilities : For as long as they preserved in their minds a just esteem of the incomparable excellency of God above his creatures, they were incapable of any real *Idolatry*. But I think it is hard to pitch upon a principle more repugnant to the sense of the *Primitive Church* than this is ; as I hope to make it clear before I have done with this argument.

Athenagoras proceeds to dispute against the worshipping any of the parts
of

of the Universe, how beautiful or useful soever they be ; for why should we seek P. 151 that from matter which is self bath not, and can do nothing but in obedience to a higher Cause ? And let the things be never so beautiful, yet they retain the nature of matter still ; for Plato confesses that the heavens and the Frame of the world are corporeal, and therefore subject to mutability. But, saith he, if I refuse to worship the Heavens and Elements as Gods whose workmanship I so much admire, because I know them to be corruptible ; how can I be persuaded to do it to those things, which I know to be made by men ? and thence shews not only the novelty of the Poetical Gods, but of the art of framing Images ; which P. 171 was so late, he saith, that they were able yet to name the first makers of them. But, Because it was pleaded by some among them, that all the worship they gave to their Images was only a relative worship, and that they looked on them only as representations of their Deities ; therefore he begs leave of the Emperours, to search into the Nature of their Poetick Theology, which he derives from Orpheus, as the rest do ; and overthrows the worship of the Poetical Gods upon this principle, because

- P. 18. they were not eternal, and were confessed to be at first made out of matter ;
- P. 20. and why should we worship them which are material, and generated, and lyable to all sorts of passions, according to the Poets description of them ? But, it may be, this was nothing but Poetical figments, and they ought all to be understood of the natures of things, as Empedocles explains them, why then, saith he, should we attribute the same honour to matter which is subject to corruption and mutation, as to the eternal, unbegotten, and immutable God ? Jupiter according to the Stoicks was the most active and fiery principle of matter, Juno the air, Neptune the water ; but they all agreed that by their Deities were understood the several parts of the Universe, although with different manners of explication. Now, saith he, against the Stoicks I thus argue, (and here Athenagoras knew, that the Emperour M. Aurelius would think himself particularly concerned) If you own one Supreme God, eternal and unbegotten, and all other things to be made up of matter, and the Spirit of God to receive different names as it passes through the various changes of matter ; then these several kinds of matter
- will

will make up one body, whereof God is the soul, and consequently upon the general conflagration, (which the Stoicks acknowledged) all the several names of matter will be lost by the corruptions of the kinds, and nothing will be then left but the Divine Spirit; why should we therefore look on those as gods, that are lyable to such a change? And so he proceeds to argue against the other hypotheses, as the Egyptians and others, whereby all their Deities were reduced to the principles of nature too, from the same principle, viz. ^{p. 24.} that because these things were made and corruptible, they were not capable of receiving divine honour from us. By all which we see, that the fundamental principle which *Athenagoras* went upon in this elaborate discourse of his to one of the Wisest Emperours Rome ever had, was this, that nothing but the eternal God ought to receive Divine worship from men; whether they called it *Sovereign* or *Relative*, or what name soever they gave it; nay, although they did acknowledge one supreme God, yet if they gave divine worship to his Creatures, as the Stoicks did, the Christians thought it so unlawful, that they would rather die than comply with them in it. And here
I ap-

I appeal again to *T. G's* conscience (for since he hath shewed me the way, I hope I may follow him in it) whether he think so *wise* and *Virtuous* an *Emperour* as *Antoninus* was, would not have preserved the *Christians* from suffering persecution, (as they did very smartly in his days) if they would have declared themselves to have understood the principles of the *Roman Religion*, after the *Emperours* own way, viz. by believing one *Supreme God*; and worshipping the several parts of the *Universe* under the names of those *Deities*, that were commonly received: and they might have directed this worship as they had thought fit, and have disowned all the ridiculous and prophane stories of their *Poetical Gods*, as the *Stoicks* did; and what principle then could hinder the *Christians* from complying with the *Laws* but this, that they accounted it *Idolatry* to give *divine worship* to any created Being?

¶ 8.

From *Athenagoras* I proceed to *Clement Alexandrinus*, who understood the principles of the *Heathen Theology* as well as any; and exposes all their *Poetical Fables* and *Greek Mysteries* with as much advantage as any *Christian Writer*,

his *Admonition to the Greeks*. After he hath sufficiently derided the *Poetical Theology* and the *Vulgar Idolatry*, he comes to the *Philosophers* who did he saith

εἰδωλοποιεῖν ἢ ὕλην, make an *Idol* of mat- Protrept. p.
42. Ed. Pa-
ris.

ter, (the *Images* whereof were not surely the representation of a thing not existent, as a *Centaur*, or *Sphinx*, and yet called an *Idol*) and after reckoning up *Thales*, *Anaximenes*, *Parmenides*, *Hippasus*, *Heraclitus* and *Empedocles*, he calls them all *Atheists*, because with a foolish kind of *Wisdom* they did worship *Matter*; and scorning to worship *Wood* and *Stones* did *Deifie* the *Mother* of them. And so runs out, after his way, into a discourse about the several Nations that despised *Images* and worshipped the several parts of the *Universe* and the symbols of them, as the *Scythians*, *Sarmatians*, *Persians* and *Macedonians*, who, he saith, were the *Philosophers Masters* in the worship of these inferiour Elements which were made to be serviceable to men. Then he reckons up other *Philosophers* that worshipped the *Stars*, as animated beings; others, the *Planets* and the *World*, and the *Stoicks* who said, *God* passed through the meanest parts of matter: yet after all this, he confesseth, that

P. 45.

that there is a certain divine influence distilled upon all men, especially on those who apply themselves to learning; by virtue of which they are forced to acknowledge one God, incorruptible and unbegotten; who is the only true Being, and abides for ever above the highest Heavens, from whence he beholds all the things that are done in Heaven and Earth: who, according to Euripides sees all things without being visible himself. And for the proof of this, he brings the Testimonies of Plato, Antisthenes and Xenophon, who all acknowledge Gods incomparable excellency, as well as unity; and then adds the Testimonies of Cleanthes, and the Pythagoreans; and not contented with the Philosophers he heaps the testimonies of the Poets to the same purpose, as Aratus, Hesiod, Orpheus, Sophocles, Menander, Homer and Euripides.

P. 590.

In the fifth Book of his *Miscellanies* (for so his *Stromata* truly are) he falls upon this subject again; and then saith to the same purpose, that there is a natural

P. 591.

knowledge of one omnipotent God, among

P. 597.

all considering men: he grants, the Stoicks opinion about God to be agreeable to the Scriptures; and shews, that Thales confessed Gods eternity and omniscience; that

that *Epicharmus* attributed *omnipotency* to him; and *Homer* the *creation* of the world, which he described in the *shield* of *Achilles*; and then makes this observation (as though it were purposely intended for T. G.) *he that is called both* P. 597.
in Verse and Prose *Zds* or *Jupiter*, carries our apprehension to God, (not to the Arch-Devil as T. G. saith) and therefore he is said to be all things, and to know all things, and to give and take away all things, and to be King over all: that *Pindar* the *Bæotian* being a *Pythagorean*, said, there was one maker of all things whom he called *Ἀεισιτίχων* the wise Artificer, and then he repeats several of the Testimonies which he had produced before; to which he adds that of *Xenophanes Colophonius* proving God to be one and incorporeal; and of *Cleanthes*, reproving the opinion of the vulgar about the Deity; and of *Euphorion*, and *Æschilus* P. 598.
 about *Jupiter*, which for T. G's better information I shall set down, P. 601.

Zds ἔστιν αἰθήρ, *Zds* ὃ γῆ, *Zds* δ' οὐρανός.

• *Zds* τοῖς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ πάντων.

Jupiter is *æther* and *Earth* and *Heaven*
 and all things, and if there be any thing
 above

above all, Jupiter is it; and Clemens is so far from thinking this an improper speech, that he saith it was spoken *ἐν τῷ θεῷ οὐρανῷ σπουδαίως* with a great deal of decency and gravity concerning God. By this it appears, that they who boast so much of the *Fathers*, are not over conversant with them: but Father Bellarmine, or Father Coccinus, serves them, for a whole *Fury* of them. But I commend T. G. for his modesty, for when he had said, this was the sense of the *Fathers*, he produces no more but good *Father Origen*; and he is so kind hearted to him, that though I believe he hath heard how he hath been condemned for a Heretick, yet he with great judgement supposes, that what he said was the common sense of the *Fathers*. But besides this, Clemens quotes a saying of *Heraclitus* approved by *Plato*, wherein the only wise Being is called by the name of *Ζῆς*, or *Jove*. And to shew that one Supreme Being was received among the Greeks, he cites farther an expresse testimony of *Timaeus Locrus*, wherein he saith, there is one unbegotten principle of all things; for if it were begotten it were no first principle, but that out of which it were begotten would be that principle: which

which *Clemens* parallels with that saying of *Scripture*, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God, and him only shalt thou serve.* I omit the testimonies of *Authors* cited before, but to them he adds *Diphilus* the *Comædian*, who was a little younger than *Menander*, and lived in the time of the first *Ptolemy*; who speaks plainly concerning the *omniscience*, *providence* and *justice* of *God* in the verses cited out of him; and calls *God* the *Lord* of all, whose very name is dreadful: and whose words afterwards are so full of *Emphasis*, that I cannot forbear setting them down; (although I beg pardon for mixing so much of a foreign language in an English discourse) he bids those men look to it, who presume upon *Gods* patience because he doth not at present punish them. p. 606.

Ὁρᾶδ' ὅσοι δοκῆτε ἐκ τῆς θεότητος.

Ἔστιν γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀποδείξει κακῶς,

κακὸς πρὸς κακὸν καὶ χεῖρον κατὰ δυνάμιν.

Χεῖρον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δυνάμει δύναν.

Look to it, you that think there is no God.
There is, there is; if any man do ill, Let
him think time is gain; For certainly,
Suffer he shall for what he hath done
amiss.

- amiss.* But withal he quotes a saying of *Xenocrates Chalcedonius*, wherein he calls God *Ἰσχυρ Δία* the Supreme Jove, and another of *Archilochus Parus* a very ancient Poet, (in the 23 Olympiad saith S. Cyril of Alexandria) wherein he begins *ὦ Ζεῦ* O Jove, thy Power is in Heaven, and thou seest all that is done there, whether good or evil; and *Menander* saith, that God is in all things good: and *Æschylus* celebrates the mighty power of God to this purpose. Think not that God is like to what thou seest; Thou knowest him not, for he is like to that which cannot be touched or seen. He makes the mountains tremble, and the Sea to rage, when his commanding eye doth on them look, For the great God can do what he thinks fit: But *Diphilus* saith yet farther, Honour him alone that is the Father of all good things. From all which *Clemens* concludes, that the East and West, the North and South have one and the same anticipation concerning the Government of one Supreme Disposer of things; because the knowledge of his most common operations have equally reached to all; but especially to the inquisitive Philosophers of Greece, who have attributed a wise Providence to the invisible,
- and

p. 604.

Cyril. c.
Jul. l. 1.

p. 609.

p. 611.

p. 612.

and only, and most powerful, and most skilful contriver of all things.

Although these things might be sufficient to convince a modest man, that the Gentiles who were charged with Idolatry by the Primitive Fathers, did agree in the acknowledgement of one Supreme Deity, and were so thought to do, by those who managed that charge against them; yet I shall proceed from Clemens to Origen his disciple: and see if the state of the Controversie were altered in his time. The dispute between Celsus and him did not at all depend on this, whether there were one Supreme God or no, or whether Sovereign worship did belong to him; for Celsus freely acknowledged both these. I know Origen several times charges him with being an Epicurean, but whatever his private opinion was, he owns none of the Epicurean principles about Religion in his Book against the Christians, wherein he declares himself to be both for God and Providence. He calls God the universal Reason, he acknowledges him to be the maker of all immortal beings, and that all things are from him, and saith, Orig. c. l. 3. p. 247. that God is common to all, good, and standing.

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ing in need of nothing, and without envy:
 l. 6. p. 320. nay he calls him *הוהוה הוהוה* the great
 l. 4. p. 200. God: and saith, that men ought to undergo
 l. 8. p. 392. any torments rather than to think or
 p. 421. speak any thing unworthy of him, that he
 p. 419. is at no time to be forsaken by us, nei-
 ther night nor day, in publick or private,
 in our thoughts or actions; but our soul
 ought always to be intent upon him. Thus
 far *Celsus* seems a good Christian; what
 is the matter then between *Origen* and
 him, that they could not agree about Di-
 vine Worship, since *Celsus* doth acknow-
 ledge the supreme excellency of God, and
 consequently that *Sovereign worship* is on-
 ly due to him? Why, the dispute lay in
 this point, *Celsus* contended with great
 vehemency, that since God made use of in-
 ferious spirits to govern the world, that
 those ought to have divine honours given
 to them, according to the customs of their
 several Countries; that this tended more
 to the honour of the supreme Deity: for
 p. 421. that devotion, saith he, is more perfect
 which passeth through all to him; that it
 was not to be conceived that God should
 p. 381. envy the honour of his own Ministers;
 but we ought rather to suppose that the
 Great God is better pleased with it. So
 that all that *Celsus* pleaded for, was ei-
 ther

ther an inferiour service of *Δουλεία*, or at the utmost but a *Relative Latria*, a divine worship which was to fall after an inferiour manner upon the lower Gods, but to be finally terminated upon the supreme. To this Origen answers two ways. 1. By shewing that these inferiour Deities were not good *Angels*, but *Demons*, i. e. evil Spirits; which he proves many ways, but chiefly by this, that they seemed so covetous of divine worship from men. 2. By insisting on this as the fundamental principle of worship in the Christian Religion, that divine worship is to be given only to God himself; and to his Son Christ Jesus. This he inculcates upon all occasions; thus he lays down in the beginning of his Book, that God alone is to be worshipped, l. 1. p. 10. all other things whether they have beings or have not, are to be passed by, and although some of them may deserve honour, yet none of them do worship or adoration: and elsewhere, that only the Maker of all things ought to be worshipped, admired and adored by us, that neither the work of mens hands, nor those assumed to the honour of Gods can be decently worshipped by us, either without the Supreme God, or together with him: where the *Latine*

- Interpreter* hath apparently shuffled, rendering that place only thus, *nihilque præter eum aut pari honore cum eo*; as though all that *Origen* condemned were only giving equal divine worship to other things besides God. Whereas *Celsus* never pleaded for that, but that men should give τὰς ἀγωνίστους τιμὰς, i. e. in the very terms of the Council of Trent, due veneration: To which *Origen* answers, we desire only to be followers of Christ who hath said, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.
- I. 8. p. 414. It is true, saith he, several Nations have avoided the worship of Images, some for one reason and some for another; but the Christians and Jews do it because of the Law, Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve, and several places to the same purpose, so that we ought rather to die than to defile ourselves with these impieties. And they who did forbear Images, did worship the Sun or Gods Creatures which we are forbidden to do. This he so frequently insists upon throughout his Books, that it would be to no purpose to bring all the places; these being sufficient to shew that the state of the Controversie about Idolatry, did not depend upon their
- P. 415.
- L. 7. p. 275.

ving sovereign worship to any thing be-
 sides God, but any divine worship although
 they did acknowledge the *Supreme God*.
 As *Origen* himself doth very often de-
 clare, that the *Heathens* did. *S. Paul*, he
 saith, spake truly of some of the wise-men l. 3. p. 140.
 of *Greece*, that they knew God, and that
 God was manifested to them; and else-
 where, we testifie truly concerning them l. 4. p. 181.
 that they knew God; but their fault was, that
 after their grave disputations they wor-
 shipped Idols and Demons as the rest did.
 We cannot but assent, saith he, to what l. 5. p. 260.
Plato hath said concerning the chief Good;
 for God hath manifested this to them and l. 6. p. 276.
 whatever else they have said well: but
 therefore they deserved punishment, be-
 cause when they had a right apprehension
 of God, they did not give him the wor-
 ship which was worthy of him: and he
 quotes a little after *Plato's* epistle to *Her-* p. 280;
mias and *Coriscus*, wherein he appeals
 to God as the Lord of all things: and se-
 veral other passages, wherein his Govern-
 ment, and Power, and Justice, and Ex-
 cellency are truly set forth: and after se- p. 285.
 veral other passages of *Plato* and *Celsus* p. 287.
 about the ways of knowing God, which
 he allows, he concludes with this, that
 God is so great a lover of mankind that l. 7. p. 360.
 he p. 363.

he made known his Truth and the knowledge of himself not only to his own people, but to those who were strangers to the sincere worship and service of him. Judge now Reader, whether Origen himself, T. G's single witness, doth make the Supreme God of the Heathens an Arch-Devil; and what reason he had upon so slender a Testimony to cry out, *The Fathers, the Fathers?*

¶ 10. But I have not yet done with him for if we come down lower into the times of the *Christian Church* when this controversy of *Idolatry* was again revived in the days of *Julian the Apostate*, we shall find the very same acknowledgements made by the most learned and judicious *Fathers* of the *Christian Church*. *S. Cyril of Alexandria* who undertook to answer the three *Books* of *Julian* against *Christianity*, saith, that the *Greeks* do speak admirable things concerning God and that they did exceed themselves in those discourses; and that they could not have attained to such a knowledge of God without some particular manifestation of himself unto them. And afterwards he produces the Testimonies of *Orpheus*, and *Homer*, and *Sophocles* concerning him
Thales

S. Cyril.
Alex. c. Jul.
l. 1. p. 16.

Thales, he saith, made God the Soul of p. 26.
the world; *Democritus*, an active mind p. 28.
within a sphere of fire; *Aristotle*, a sepa-
rate form resting upon the sphere of the
world; the *Stoicks*, an active fire passing
through the parts of the world. Of these
things, he saith, *Plutarch* and *Porphyr-
ius* speak, but above all he commends what
Pythagoras and *Plato* and *Hermes* have p. 30.
said of God: with several of the *Testi-
monies* before mentioned; some of which
are repeated by *Theodore* to the same Theod. de
chr. Grac.
serm. 2.
purpose. But these things will be made
more clear by considering the state of the
Controversie between *Julian* and *S. Cyrill*
about *Idolatry*. *Julian* confesseth, that Cyrril. l. 2. p.
52.
there is a natural knowledge of God in
the minds of men, from whence comes
that common inclination of all mankind
towards a Deity; and that supposition
among all men, that he who is the King
over all hath his Throne in Heaven: He p. 58.
acknowledgeth with *Plato*, that God is the
maker of all things, that he is the Father
of the Gods too; (and *S. Cyrill* never quar-
rels with him for giving the title of Gods
to those *Superiour* and *Intelligent Beings*:
for, saith he, we grant that there are p. 59.
some in Heaven that are called both Gods
and Lords; nay men are called Gods in

p. 65.

Cyril. l. 2.
p. 44.

l. 4. p. 115.

p. 121.

Scripture) Of these Gods' according to Plato, Julian saith, some are visible, as the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, and the Heavens, but these are only images of the invisible, and therefore Plato calls these later *ἰδοὶ θεῶν*, being invisible Deities represented by visible: but one God is the Maker of them all. But Julian utterly rejected the Poetical Fables concerning the Gods, and that for T. G's reason, because the Poets took the liberty to feign and say any thing; nay he calls them incredible and monstrous Fables; and this was the Scheme of his Theology, That there was one Supreme God the common Father and Lord over all, who had distributed the several Nations and Cities of the World to particular Gods as Governments over them: but although all perfections were in the Supreme God, yet they were scattered and divided among the inferior Deities: and so Mars had the care of Wars, and Minerva of Counsels, and Mercury of things that required cunning more than courage: and every particular Nation followed the humour of the Gods that were set over them; as he goes about to prove by the different tempers of Nations. To which Cyril answers. That great Princes do choose some of the wisest
of

of their Subjects to be Governours of Pro-
 vinces, but they who are so imployed do not
 Govern them by their own Laws, but by
 their Princes, and on all occasions set forth
 their greatnesse, and pay all duties to
 them; but these Deities assume those ho-
 nours to themselves which are due only to
 God; and by bringing in Images into
 Temples of several forms and figures they
 endeavour to cast dishonour upon God; and
 by degrees draw men to the neglect of
 him. Either then, God despises the ser-
 vice of men, or these are not faithful
 servants to him; by bringing in visible
 objects of worship by setting up Images,
 and perswading men to make oblations,
 and offer sacrifices to them. And because
 it was so hard a matter to choke those na-
 tural motions of mens minds towards the
 Supreme God and Father of all, therefore
 they endeavour'd to draw men farther from
 him, by tempting them to all manner of
 impiety. whereas the good Angels we
 read of in Scripture, always directed men
 to pay their honours and adoration, not to
 themselves, but only to the Supreme God:
 and teach men that it is not fit to give
 them to any of his Ministers and Ser-
 vants: but these Deities of Julian are
 willing to receive worship from men, and
 their

p. 122.

p. 123.

their prayers, and acknowledgements, and praises, and gifts, and sacrifices; (where we see he joyns them all together as parts of that divine worship which is proper only to God:) But *Julian* is very much displeased at the *Second Commandment*, and would have been glad to have seen it struck out of the number of ten (as some

L.S. P. 155. in the World have done) because God therein expresses so much jealousy for his own honour; *Cyril* in answer to him shews that this is no way unbecoming God to be so much concerned for his honour, because mens greatest happiness, (as *Alexander Aphrodisiensis* said in his Book of Providence) lies in the due apprehension and service of God. By which we see that the controversy about Idolatry, as it was hitherto managed between Christians and Heathens, did suppose the belief of one Supreme God in those who were charged with the practise of it.

After these, it may not be amiss to consider, what the ancient Author of the *Recognitions* under *Clemens* his name saith upon this subject of the Heathen Idolatry; he lived, saith *Cotelerius*, in the *Second Century*; if that be true, his Authority is the more considerable; however it is certain *Ruffinus* translated this Book, and the

make

makes it ancient enough to our purpose.

He brings in the *Heathen Idolaters* plead: *clem. Re-*
 ing thus for themselves, *We likewise ac-* *cogn. l. 5.*
knowledge one God who is Lord over all, *n. 19.*

but yet the other are Gods too; as there
 is but one *Cæsar* who hath many Officers
 under him, as *Præfects*, *Consuls*, *Tribunes*
 and other *Magistrates*; after the same
 manner we suppose, when there is but one
 Supreme God, he hath many other inferi-
 our Gods, as so many Officers under him,
 who are all subject to him, but yet over
 us. To this, he brings in *S. Peter* an-
 swering, that he desires them to keep to
 their own similitude; for as they who attri-
 bute the name of *Cæsar* to any inferiour
 Officers, deserve to be punished; so will
 those more severely, who give the name
 of God to any of his Creatures. Where
 the name is not to be taken alone, but
 as it implies the *dignity* and *Authority*
 going along with it, and the professing
 of that subjection which is only due to
 that *Authority*; for what injury were it
 to *Cæsar* for a man only to have the name
 of *Cæsar*? but the injury lies in usurping
 the *Authority* under that name; so the
 nature of *Idolatry* could not lie in giving
 the name of Gods to any Creatures, but
 in giving that *worship* which that name
 calls

calls for ; and yet this worship here is supposed to be consistent with the acknowledgement of the *supreme excellency of God.*

§. II.

If we now look into the sense of the *Writers of the Latine Church* against the *Heathen Idolaters*, we shall find them agreeing with the other. *Tertullian* appeals to the consciences of men for the clearest evidence of *one true and Supreme God* ; for in the midst of all their Idolatries, they are apt upon any great occasion to lift up their hands and eyes to Heaven, where the only true, and great, and good God is ; and he mentions their common phrases, *God gives, and God sees, and I commend you to God, and God will restore ;* all which do shew the natural Testimony of conscience, as to the unity and supreme excellency of God : and in his Book *ad Scapulam*, God shewed himself to be the powerful God by what he did upon their supplications to him under the name of *Jove*. *Minucius Felix* makes use of the same arguments, and saith, they were clear arguments of their consent with the Christians in the belief of one God, and makes it no great matter what name they called him by, as I have observed already,

Tertul. Apolog. c. 17.

De Testim. animæ.

Ad Scap. c. 4.

Minut. Fel. in Octav. p. 19.

ready, and afterwards produces many Testimonies of the Philosophers, almost all, he saith, that they acknowledged one God, p. 21. although under several names. Arnobius takes it for granted, that on both sides Arnob. c. gent. l. 2. p. 67. they were agreed, that there was one Supreme God, eternal and invisible and Father of all things, from whom all the Heathen Deities had their beginning: but all the dispute was about giving divine worship to any else besides him. Lactantius saith, Laſt. l. 1. s. 3. there was no wise man ever questioned the being of one God, who made and governed all things; yet because he knew the World was full of Fools, he goes about to prove it at large from the testimonies of Poets and Philosophers, as so many had done before him: and for T. G.'s satisfaction, c. 5, 6, &c. he saith, that Orpheus (although as good at feigning as any of the Poets) could not by the Father of the Gods mean Jupiter the Son of Saturn; yet who can tell, but such a Magician as Orpheus is said to have been, might mean an Arch-Devil by him? But I am sure neither Lactantius, nor any of the Fathers ever thought so; for if they had, they would not so often have produced his Testimony to so little purpose. And to the Greek Testimonies mentioned before

fore by others, *Lactantius* adds those of *Cicero*, and *Seneca*, who calls the inferior Gods the children of the Supreme, and the Ministers of his Kingdom. Thus far we have the unanimous consent of all the writers of the Christian Church against the Heathen Idolatry; that the Heathens did acknowledge one Supreme God. *S. Augustin* tells us, that *Varro* thought, that those who worshipped one God without images, did mean the same by him that they did by their *Jove*, but only called him by another name; by those, *S. Austin* saith, *Varro* meant the Jews, and he thought it no matter what name God is called by, so the same thing be meant. It is true *S. Augustin* argues against it from the Poetical Fables about *Saturn* and *Juno*; but withal he confesses, that they thought it very unreasonable, for their Religion to be charged with those Fables which themselves disowned: and therefore at last he could not deny, that they believed themselves, that by the *Jove* in the Capitol they understood and worshipped the Spirit that quickens and fills the world, of which *Virgil* spake in those words, *Jovis omnia plena*. But he wonders that since they acknowledged this to be the Supreme if

not

*S. Aug. de
liv. Dei.
l. 4. c. 9.*

*De Consens.
Evang. l. 1.
c. 22.*

*c. 23.
De Civ. Dei
l. 7. c. 9.
c. 11. c. 13.*

not only Deity, the Romans did not rather
 content themselves with the worship of
 him alone, than run about and make so
 many addresses to the petty and Inferiour
 Deities? This indeed was a thing to be
 wondred at; and yet no doubt, they
 thought they had as good reasons for it,
 as T. G. gives why incontinent persons
 should rather make their addresses to
 S. Mary Magdalen in Heaven, than to
 her Sister Martha, or to God himself. T.G. p. 369.
 So the Roman women thought Lucina and
 Opis better for a good hour, than Ceres or
 Minerva; and Levana and Cunina for
 new born Children, than Vulcan or Apol- De Civ. Dei l. 4. c. 11. c. 24.
 lo; and yet S. Augustin tells us, many of
 them did not esteem these, as any distinct
 Deities, but only as representations of the
 several powers of the same God suitable
 to the conditions of persons: but T. G.
 will not say, that by S. Mary Magdalen,
 he only understood the power of Gods
 Grace in converting incontinent persons;
 but if he had, he had given a much bet-
 ter reason of their praying to her: yet
 even in such a case S. Austin thinks it
 were better to pray directly to God him-
 self. And the old Roman Matrons would
 have thought they could have directed such
 persons to Temples proper for them, viz.
 those

those of *Virgine* and *Chastity*; the one of which stood *ad Portam Capenam*, the other in *vico longo*. But I need not give such particular directions, for I am afraid their *Ruines* are scarce left in *Rome*: for neither *Marlianus*, nor *Alexander Domatus* in their accurate descriptions of *Rome* can tell where to find them.

For our better understanding the controversy about *Idolatry* as it is represented by *S. Augustin*, we are to consider that not only *Scævola* and *Balbus* in *Cicero*, but *Varro* and *Seneca*, and the rest of their wiser men, did with great indignation reject the *Poetical Theology* as they called it; and wished several things reformed in the popular Religion; and thought themselves as unjustly charged with the practices of the People, as *T. G.* doth for their Church to be charged with all the ridiculous addresses that some make to *Saints* among them; for *Varro* confesses that the People were too apt to follow the Poets, (as in the Church of *Rome* they are to pray by their *Legends*) but they thought the people were better let alone in their *fopperies*, than to be suffered to break loose from that subjection which their *Superstition* kept them in; and with these *S. Austin* reckons the *Philosophers*;
with

De civ. Dei
l. 4. c. 27,
30, 31.

l. 6. c. 5, 6,
7. c. 10.

T. G. p. 368.

De civ. Dei
l. 4. c. 32.

T. G. c. 1.

with whom, he saith, the Question to be debated was this, whether we are bound only to worship one Supreme God the Maker of all things? or whether it be not lawful to worship many Gods, who are supposed to be made by him? And after he hath discoursed against Varro and those of his opinion, who reduced all their Theology to Nature, and made God to be the Soul of the world, and the several parts of the world capable of divine worship on that account; in his eighth Book, he undertakes those who asserted one Supreme Deity above Nature and the Cause of all things, and yet pleaded for the worship of inferiour Deities; he confesses, that they had the knowledge of the true l. 8. c. 9. God, and brings the several places of c. 10. c. 11. S. Paul mentioned in the entrance of this discourse to prove it: and enquiring how the Philosophers came to such knowledge of him, he first propounds the common opinion of the Fathers that they learnt it in Egypt, meeting with the Books of Scripture there, but he rather (and with good reason) resolves it into the natural knowledge of God; for, saith he, that which was known of God was manifest to them, for God had revealed it to them.

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- But it seems by *S. Augustin*, that there were two opinions among them at that time about *divine worship*; for some, of whom he reckons *Apuleius* the chief, were for the *worship* of *Demons*, although they acknowledged them to be subject to *evil passions*; yet they looked on them as *intercessors* between men and the Gods, and therefore to be worshipped; but others who kept closer to the doctrine of *Plato*, believed none to be Gods but such as were *certainly good*; but were shy of declaring their opinion against the *worship* of *Demons* for fear of displeasing the people by it: and with these *S. Augustin* declares he would have no controversy about the *name* of Gods, as long as they believed them to be *created, immortal, good and happy not by themselves, but by adhering to God*; which, he saith, was the opinion either of all, or, at least, the best of the *Platonists*.

- And now we are come to the true state of the *Controversie*, as it is managed by *S. Augustin* in his tenth Book: which is whether those rites of *Religious worship* which are used in the service of the *supreme God*, may be likewise used toward any *created Being*, though supposed to be

of the highest excellency, and as near to God as we can suppose any creature to be? And that this, and this only is the state of the Controversie, I appeal to his own words, which I shall set down in the language he writ them, that I be not blamed with artificial turning them to my own sense: Hoc est, ut apertius dicam, utrum etiam sibi an tantum Deo suo, qui etiam noster est, placeat eis ut sacra faciamus, & sacrificemus; vel aliqua nostra seu nos ipsos Religionis ritibus consecremus? i. e. That I may speak plainly, whether it be pleasing to them, viz. good spirits, that we offer divine worship and sacrifice to them; or that we consecrate our selves, or any thing of ours to them by Religious rites? And this, saith he, is that worship which is due to the Deity, which because we cannot find one convenient word in Latin to express it by, I would call *Latria*, as that service which is due to men is called by another name, viz. *Deiia*: and he gives this reason why he made choice of *Latria* to signifie divine worship in the Latine Tongue, because the Latine word *colere* is so very ambiguous, it being applied to the tilling of land, inhabiting of places, and there-

fore *cultus* could not so properly be applied only to *divine worship*; nor yet *Religio*, because that according to the custom of the *Latins* is applied to other senses; and the same reason he gives as to other names. For my part, I quarrel not at all with *S. Augustins* use of the word, and think it proper enough to apply it in his sense: which comprehends in it, not meerly *sacrifice*, but all those *Religious Rites*, whereby we give *Worship* to God. And nothing can to me appear more senseless than to imagine that *S. Augustin* should here speak only of *Sovereign worship* proper to God in regard of his *Supreme Excellency*, distinguishing that from an *inferior kind of Religious worship* due to *created Excellency*, when it was agreed on both sides, that there was one *Supreme Excellency*, which was *incommunicable* to any creatures, so that the dispute about *worship* must suppose those to be created and dependent Beings; which being supposed, it was impossible for them to believe they had *Supreme Excellency* in them. If it be said that the dispute was, whether *Sacrifice* did not belong only to God, I shall hereafter shew, that there is no reason in the world to appropriate *divine worship*

ship only to *sacrifice*; my present business is only to prove, that the *Controversie of Idolatry* did on both sides suppose *one Supreme God*, which I think is manifest from *S. Augustin*, if any thing can be made so. But if this be not full enough to our purpose, we may add the plain testimony of *Maximus Madaurensis* to *S. Austin*, who saith, that none but mad-men could deny that there was one supreme and eternal God who was the great Father of nature, whose influences diffused through the world, they worshipped under different names. This man seems to have been of *Varro's* way, and not of the *Platonists*, for he makes God *sine prole*; and so understood all the *Heathen Deities* but as several titles of the same God.

S. Aug. ep. 43.

In the same time with *S. Augustin Orsius* lived, who saith, that not only the *Philosophers* found out one God the maker of all things, to whom all things ought to be referred; but that the *Pagans* of their times, without distinction, when they were disputed with by *Christians*, did confess that there was but one Great God, who had several *Ministers* under him.

Paul. Oref. hist. l. 6. c. 1.

¶ 12.

Euseb.

Prep. E-

vang. l. 1.

c. 6. c. 9.

c. 10.

S. Cyrill. c.

Julian. l.

6. p. 205.

Maimon.

More Ni-

vach. l. 3.

c. 29.

Net. in Spe-

sim. Histor.

Arab. p.

143.

After so full and clear evidence of the consent of all the *Fathers* in this matter, not taken from any single or incoherent passages, but from the *series* and *design* of their discourses, I can foresee but one objection against it out of *Antiquity*, which I shall endeavour to remove. And that is from the testimony of *Sanchoniathon* mentioned by *Eusebius* and *S. Cyrill* concerning the *Phœnicians*, that they worshipped the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars* as the only immortal Gods, among which the *Sun* was chief, whom they called *Beelsames* Lord of Heaven; and their mortal Gods were men Deified for the kindness they had done to the world. To the same purpose *Maimonides* speaks of the *Zabii*, whose sect, he saith, did overrun the earth, that they had no other Gods but the Stars. But although this take not off the force of our former evidence, which lay in this, that those *Fathers* who did charge the *Heathens* with *Idolatry*, did at the same time confess, that they owned one *Supreme God*; yet I shall endeavour to prove, that even the *Eastern Idolaters* did acknowledge one *Supreme Deity*. *Gregorius Abulfarajus*, and *Sharestanus*, both cited by our *Learned Doct. Pocock*, do expressly contradict

Maimonides

Maimonides, for one of them saith, that they have very strong arguments to prove the unity of God; and the other, that although they call Planets Gods, yet they look on them only as Mediators between the Supreme God and men; and that Learned and Judicious Person thinks that we have more reason to believe *Gregorius Abulfarajus*, because he conversed with many of their writings in their own language, whereas *Maimonides* only saw the translations of some of them. *Sharestanius* makes this their great principle, that p. 140. between the Supreme God and us, there must be some Mediators, which say they, are pure spiritual substances, which because we cannot immediately converse with, therefore we have need of some means of communication with them; which some make to be the celestial Houses, and others Images. Those who are for the celestial Houses, worship the Bodies of the Planets as the habitations of the living, rational and intellectual substances which they suppose to animate them; and therefore they are very punctual in the observations of them, and accordingly they make their Talismans; and if they have these about them, and the proper garments on for the Planet, and the day and hour peculiar to

H 4

him,

him, and say the *Forms* of prayer fitted for him, they do not question, but they shall be heard in the things which depend upon his influence. And these are the only persons I have heard of, that have discovered the invention of making *Astrological Prayers*; which seem to me to be built on as good *Reason*, as the *Predictions* are; and I doubt not, but they were able to produce as many experiments for the hearing of those prayers, as others do to justify their predictions. But there were others among them, that thought the *Planets* at too great a distance, and too often out of sight, and therefore they would have more constant and visible *Mediators*; for which purpose they made them *Images*, but they must be sure to be of a *Figure* and *Metal*, proper to the *Planet*, with a due observation of days, hours, degrees, minutes, habits, prayers, and whatever else they knew to be most pleasing to the *wise* and *Intelligent Planet*. Now by the help of these, they hoped to get the favour of the *Houses*, and by the favour of the *Houses* they hoped for that of the *Intelligencies*, and by their favour they hoped for that of the *Supreme God*. But it seems there were some amongst them who are called *Har-*
banists,

Harbanista, who supposed God to be one in essence, but to be many in regard of the different manifestations of himself to the *Planets* and other visible beings; and that he committed the care of this lower world to the *celestial bodies* whom they called *Fathers*, the *elements Mothers*, and all *compounds Children*. If the former representation of their worship be true, and that they thought there was no approach to the Supreme Deity, but by *Mediators* (as it seems to be) that might give the occasion to *Maimonides* and others, to say, that they worshipped only the *Sun, Moon and Stars*, and accounted them for their Gods; because it seems they gave no immediate worship to the Supreme Deity, but what honour they gave him was by passing through so many to him. And this may be a very probable reason why the *Sun* in the *Phœnician* and *Chaldean Theology* was looked on as the Supreme Deity, i. e. visible, and the highest Mediator to whom any worship was offered: and therefore called by the *Chaldeans Baal*, by the *Phœnicians Beel Samen*, by the *Ammonites Moloch*, by the *Persians Mithras*; and by the *Moabites Baal Peor* and *Chemosh*: so the *Moon* was called *Astaroth* or *Astarte*,

Astarte, and *Malcha*, or the *Queen of Heaven*: and *Saturn* worshipped under the name of *Ciun*, or *Cevan*; the *Pleiades* of *Succoth Benoth*: and it is not improbable, that from worshipping the *Host of Heaven* this *Seet* of *Idolaters* might have their name from *סבא Saba*, rather than from *Sabius* a fabulous son of *Setb. Greg.* *Abulfarajus* describes the *Religion* of the old *Arabs* much after the same manner, that they all worshipped the *Stars*, although some *Tribes* one more than another: and it is an ingenious conjecture of *Doct. Pocock's*, that whereas *Herodotus* saith, that the *Arabians* only worshipped 'Ογραλ as it is read in the *Bodley MSS.* and 'Αλιλατ, this latter *Alilahat* signifying *Daughters*, implies the *lesser Deities*, and *Olla taal* the *Supreme God*, as the words signify: which he proves from *Sharestanus* that the old *Arabs* did acknowledge. *Abraham Ecchelenfis* speaking of the *Religion* of the old *Arabians*, saith, that those who were of the *Seet* of *Chaled*, went upon this principle, that there was one *Creator and Governor* of all things, most *Powerful* and most *Wise*: Besides these, there were those who worshipped *Intelligences*, or *Celestial Spirits*; and these, saith he, although

Not. in Spec.
p. 107.

Abr. Ec-
chelenf.
Hist. Arab.
c. 6. in
Chron. Ori-
ent.

they confessed one Creator of the world; most holy, wise and powerful, yet they said we had need of Mediators to him; therefore they invoked those spirits with all rites of Religious worship, and these, saith he, were called the Daughters of God, as they are in the *Alcoran*: not much different from these, were the worshippers of Images, whom he describes as we have done before. But he tells us, there was a Sect of *Dahrîa* among them whom he calls Philosophers, who were meer Atheists, and asserted the Eternity of the world, and these being excepted, he saith, that the ancient Arabs did believe the creation of the world; and he tells out of them, their particular history of it. But *Ecchellensis* was aware of the parallel between the worship practised in the Church of Rome, and that among the *Arabians* supposing they acknowledged one true God, and therefore puts the Question, whether they did worship their Idols for Gods without relation to any Superiour, or only took them for second causes, and gave them the name of Gods only Analogically? It was a question seasonably put, but not so wisely answered. For, as if he had quite forgotten, what he had said before, he saith, without all doubt the most of them

them looked upon the Gods they worshipped as of Supreme Authority, and Majesty, and Independent of any other. What, although they acknowledged but one Supreme God, and called all the lesser Deities his Daughters ! Although all of them, a very few excepted, believed the creation of all things by one most wise and Powerful Being ! But alas ! he did not think of this Question, when he said the other things ; and he was not bound to remember them now, but to say what served best for his present purpose to clear the Roman Church from Idolatry. I will not deny then, but there might be a Sect of *Dahrite* who did only in name own any thing of God and Religion, that did assert the Eternity of the world, and that there were no other Gods, but the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars*, both among the *Phenicians* and *Chaldeans* as well as *Arabians* ; but I say, these were *Atheists* and not *Idolaters* ; those who where charged with *Idolatry* among them were such as believed a *Supreme Deity*, but gave *Divine Honours* to Beings created by him.

The like is suggested by some concerning the *Persians*, as though they attributed *omnipotency* and *divine worship* only

to the *Sun*; and those who take all things of this nature upon trust meerly from *Herodotus*, or *Justin*, or other *Greek* and *Latin* writers, may think they have reason to believe it; but if we look into those who have been most conversant in the *Persian* writings, we shall find a different account of them. *Jac. Golius* in his Notes on *Alferganus* saith, that the *Persians* gave the names of their Gods to their Months and Days; according to the ancient Religion of the *Persians* and *Magi*, whereby they did believe their Gods to preside over them; for it was a principle among them as well as other Nations of the East, that the things of this lower world are administred by Angels: and accordingly they had their particular prayers and devotions according to the several Days and Months; and not only so, but their very meat, drink, clothing and perfumes were different; and they had their Tables or Rubricks to instruct them. And what worship they gave to the Planets, was not, saith he, to themselves but to those Intelligencies, which they supposed to rule them; nay, they supposed particular Spirits to rule over all the material parts of the world; the spirit over fire was called *Adar* and *Aredbahist*, the spirit over Herbs

Gol. not. in
Alferg.

p. 20.

p. 21.

*Herbs and Trees Chordad, the Spirit over
 Bruits was Bahmen, the Spirit over the
 Earth was Asfendurmed, and so they had
 an Angel of Night, and another of Death,
 and the Spirit over the Sun was called
 Mihrgian, from Mihr the Sun, (whence
 the word Mithras,) but above all these,
 they believed there was one Supreme God
 whom they called Hormuz and Dei; and
 the Persian Writers say, that Zoroaster
 appointed six great Festivals in the year,
 in remembrance of the six days creation.
 And to this is very agreeable what the
 Perses in Indosthan do to this day deli-
 ver of the principles of their Religion;
 for, they affirm God to be the maker of
 all things; but that he committed the Go-
 vernment of the world to certain Spirits;
 and they worship the fire as a part of God,
 and call the Sun and Moon Gods great
 witnesses; and the description of them
 in Varenus fully accords with this, that
 they acknowledged one Supreme God, eve-
 ry where present, that governs the world,
 but he makes use of seven chief Ministers
 for the management of it, one over men,
 another over bruits, another over fire as
 is before described; and under these they
 place 25 more, who are all to give an ac-
 count to the Supreme God of their admi-
 nistration.*

p. 40.

p. 24.

Lords
 descript.
 of the Per-
 sees, p. 5.

p. 8.
 p. 44.

Varen. de
 divers.
 gent. Re-
 lig. p. 269.

nistration. With this account agrees the
 relation of *Mandelslo* concerning them,
 who saith, that the *Parfis* believe that
 there is but one God preserver of the Uni-
 verse; that he acts alone and immediate-
 ly in all things; and that the seven ser-
 vants of God, for whom they have also a
 great veneration, have only an inferiour
 administration whereof they are obliged to
 give account: and after the enumerating
 these with their particular charges, he
 reckons up 26 under them with their se-
 veral names, but they call them all in
 common *Geshoo*, i. e. Lords, and believe,
 he saith, that they have an absolute power
 over the things, whereof God hath in-
 trusted them with the administration.
 whence it comes, that they make no dif-
 ficulty to worship them, and to invoke
 them in their extremities, out of a per-
 swasion that God will not deny them any
 thing they desire on their intercession.
Schickard relates a particular story of the
 Persian King *Firutz*, or *Perozes*, which
 shews the acknowledgement of a Supreme
 Deity among the *Persians*; in his time,
 which was about the time of the Council
 of *Chalcedon*, there happened a mighty
 drought in *Persia*, so that it rained not for
 seven years, and when the Kings grana-
 ries

*Voyage des
 Indes du
 Sr. Man-
 delsto. l. 1.
 p. 215.*

*Schickard.
 Tarich. p.
 130.*

ries were utterly exhausted, and there was no hope of further supplies, he called his People out into the open Fields, and there in a most humble manner he besought the great God Lord of Heaven and Earth, to send them rain, and gave not over praying till a plentiful shower fell upon them: which, saith he, is another example, after the Nimivites, of Gods great mercy after a publick and solemn repentance. But that this Prince was yet a worshipper of the Sun, appears by what follows, when the Emperor Zenn had him at his mercy, and made him promise fidelity to him, by bowing of himself to him, he to avoid the reproach of it among his People, carried himself so, that he seemed only to them to make his Reverence to the Sun according to the custom of his Country.

§. 13.

But it will add yet more to the conviction of T. G. and to the discovery of the Nature of Idolatry, to shew that those Nations, which are at this day charged with Idolatry by the Church of Rome, have acknowledged one Supreme God. And I shall now shew that those Idolaters who have understood their own Religion, have gone upon one of these three principles, either

(1) that

(1.) that God hath committed the Government of the world under him to some inferior *Deities*, which was the principle of the *Platonists*, and of the *Arabians*, and *Persians*. Or, (2.) that God is the *Soul* of the world, and therefore the parts of it deserve *divine honour*, which was the principle of *Varro* and the *Stoicks*. Or, (3.) That God is of so great perfection and excellency, that he is above our *service*, and therefore what external adoration we pay, ought to be to something below him: which I shall shew to have been the principle of those who have given the least external adoration to the Supreme God.

These things I shall make appear, by giving a brief account of the *Idolatry* of those parts of the world, which the *Emissaries* of the *Church of Rome* have shewed their greatest zeal in endeavouring to convert from their *Idolatries*.

There are two *Seets* in the *East-Indies* (if I may call them so) from whom the several Nations which inhabit there have received what principles of Religion they have; and those are the *Brachmans* and the *Chineses*; and the giving account of these two, will take in the ways of worship that are generally known among them:

Xaver.
epist. Indic.
p. 11.

Turfell. vit.
Xaver. l. 2.
c. 9.

Jarric. Rev.
Indic. c.
81.
Bartoli de
vitâ &
gest. Xave-
rii. l. 1. n.
30, 31.

For the *Brachmans*, I shall take my account chiefly from those who have been conversant among them, and had the best reason to understand their Religion. *Francis Xaverius*, who went first upon that commendable imployment of converting the *Indians*, saith, that the *Brachmans* told him they knew very well there was but one God: and one of the learned *Brachmans* in his discourse with him not only confessed the same, but added, that on *Sundays*, which their Teachers kept very exactly, they used only this prayer, I adore thee O God with thy Grace and Help for ever. *Turfellinus* saith, that he confessed this to be one of their great mysteries, that there was one God maker of the world, who reigns in Heaven and ought to be worshipped by men, and so doth *Jarricus*. *Bartoli* not only relates the same passages, but gives this account of their Theology; that they call the Supreme God *Parabrama*, which in their language signifies absolutely perfect, being the Fountain of all things, existing from himself, and free from all composition: that he committed to *Brama* the care of all things about Religion; to *Wistnow*, another of his Sons, the care of mens rights and relieving them in their necessities;

to a third, the power over the elements
and over humane bodies: These three
they represent by an Image with three
Heads rising all out of the same trunk,
these are highly esteemed and prayed to;
for they suppose Parabrama to be at per-
fect ease, and to have committed the care
of all to them. But the Brachman Pad-
manaba gave a more particular account
of the management of all things to Abra-
ham Rogers who was well acquainted with
him, and was fifteen years in those parts.
Next to Brama, they make one Dewen-
dre to be the Superintendent Deity, who
hath many more under him; and besides
these, they have particular Deities, over
the several parts of the world, as the
Persians had. They believe both good
and evil Spirits, and call them by seve-
ral names: the former they call Deütas
and the other Ratsjaies, and the Father
of both sorts to be Brachman the son of
Brama. In particular cases, they have
some, saith Mr. Lord (who conversed
among them and to whom Mons. Berni-
er refers us to one who gave a faithful
account of them) whom they honour as
Saints and make their addresses to; as for
Marriage they invoke Hurmount, for
Health Vagenaught, for success in Wars

Linda de-
script. Or-
bis, p. 111c.

Voyage des
Indes du Sr.
Mandelslo,
l. 1. p. 201.

Lords de-
script. of
the Banian
Religion,
p. 60.

Berniers
Memoires
Tom. 3. p.
157.

Bimohem, for Relief Syer, &c. and I suppose incontinent persons may have some one in stead of S. Mary Magdalen to pray to. The custom of their daily devotion as the Brachman Padmanaba said was first to meditate of God before they rise, then after they have washed themselves they repeat 24 names of God and touch 24 parts of their bodies; upon arising they say prayers and pour down water in honour of the Sun, and then sit down upon their knees and worship him and after perform some ceremonies to their Idols, which they repeat in the evening. The particular devotion which they have to their Saints, and Images, and Reliques is fully described by Boullay-Gouz in his late Travels into those parts Mandelslo saith, that in the time of the publick devotions, they have long Lectures about the Lives and Miracles of the Saints, which the Bramans make use of to perswade the people to worship them, as Intercessors with God for them. And their Saints Ram is in very great estimation, being the restorer of their Religion, and a great Patron of their Bramans. Kircher supposeth him to be the same with him whom the Japonese call Neacasa, and the Chinese Ken Kian.

Ligda, p.
1108.

Les voyages
& obser-
vat. du
Sieur de la
Boullaye-le-
Gouz, c. 11,
12, 13, 14,
15, 16, 17,
18.
Voyage des
Indes du
Sr. Man-
delslo, l. 1.
p. 202, 204.

Kircher, χ^3 *Kia* saith *Marini*, and those of *Tunquin Chiaga*, or as *Marini Thic-Ca*, in all which parts he is in very great veneration; him they look on as the great propagator of their Religion in the Eastern parts, and they say he had 80000 disciples, but he chose ten out of them all to disperse his opinions. From whence it is supposed that the Religion of the *Brachmans* hath spread it self not only over *Indosthan*, , but *Camboia*, *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, nay *China* it self, and *Japan* too; where it is an usual thing for persons to drown, burn or famish themselves for the honour of *Xaca*. This *Seet* was brought into *China* 65 years after Christ from *Indosthan*, as *Trigautius*, (or rather *Matthæus Riccius* tells us, for *Bartoli* assures us, that *Trigautius* only published *Riccius* his papers in his own name) which he supposes, was brought in by a mistake for the Christian Religion, (and surely it was a very great mistake) but for all that, *Trigautius* hath found a strange resemblance between the Roman Religion and theirs. For, saith he, they worship the Trinity after a certain manner, with an image having three heads and one Body; they extol celibate to a high degree so as to seem to condemn

Lords de-
script. of
Banyans,
c. 14.

Kirch. Chi-
na illustr.
l. 3. c. 4.

*Marini Re-
lat. du
Royaume
de Tunquin.
c. 9. p. 194.
Bartoli de
vit. Xaver.
l. 3. n. 5.
Trigaut. de
exped. Chri-
stianâ
apud Si-
nas, l. 1.
c. 10.
Bartoli Hi-
stor. Asiat.
l. 1. n. 55.*

marriage; they forsake their Families,
 and go up and down begging, (i. e. the
 Order of Friars among them,) their ve-
 ry rites and customs are like ours; they
 have Images in their Temples, and their
 very habits agree with ours. I desire
 T. G. once more to make use of his
 Friends kindness for Trigantius, that he
 may see, whether I have translated him
 right or no. In all this, he mentions no-
 thing of the Christian Religion, but on-
 ly the rewards and punishments of ano-
 ther world; which most Nations of the
 world have believed; and for their other
 resemblances much good may they do
 themselves with such parts of Christiani-
 ty. To these Bartoli adds, the worship-
 ping the Mother of God with a Child in
 her Arms, their Penances, Monasteries,
 Nunneries, nay their very Beads and In-
 dulgencies; And Samedo saith of their
 Priests, that they wear their Head and
 Beards shaven, they worship Idols; they
 marry not; they live in Convents 4 or 500
 together, they beg, mutter prayers; they
 sing; they have several offices and prayers
 against fire, tempests, misfortunes, and
 especially for the dead; in which functi-
 ons they use sacerdotal garments; their
 Caps are like ours, and their sprinkling
 brushes

Histor. Asi-
 atic. l. i. n.
 75.

Samedo
 Hist. of
 China, p. 1.
 c. 18.

brushes without any difference at all; they eat neither flesh, nor fish, nor eggs, neither do they drink wine. But for this last clause of Fish and wine, I might have imagined he had been describing a sort of men much nearer home. The same resemblances Bartoli finds, and stands amazed at in Japan; here again, he finds one Image with three Heads for the Trinity, and forty hands to denote his power, which they call Denix; (but he saith, their Philosophers interpret it of the Sun, Moon, Elements and first Matter,) here they cross themselves, but with a S. Andrewes cross; and say their prayers exactly with their Beads, of which they have 180 on a string; and which is yet more observable, they understand not one word of their prayers, and yet they hope for forgiveness of their sins for saying them. They have a kind of Ave-Mary Bell for the times of their prayers: have pilgrimages to certain places, and have great indulgences promised them for visiting them every year: they have a Tribunal of general confession, and Troops of persons who carry their Images in procession, and have great honour to Reliques; especially to a Tooth of Xaca at Meaco, which they look upon as of mighty vertue,

Bartoli de
vita &
gestis Fran.
Xaverii,
l. 3. n. 5, 6.

I 4

being

being brought forth, either to obtain Rain or Fair weather: and which adds yet more cause of admiration, they have a Pope too, the Dairo, whom he calls Zazzas, who hath the chief care of Religion, and of Canonizing whom he thinks fit, and thence have the honour of Cami's or Saints; he consecrates Patriarchs and Prelates, who make Priests with a power of sacrificing with odors, and of disposing the merits of Xaca and Amida for the benefit of the living and the dead. Besides, saith he, they have multitudes of Religious Orders, Black and Grey, Eremitical and Cœnobitical; and Nuns which are very serviceable and kind to the Bonzii, who shave their Heads, profess cœlibate, abstain from flesh and fish, and observe their hours of devotion to Xaca. These things, Bartoli saith, he had from those who were eye-witnesses, and had been long conversant among them. But to increase the admiration yet more, Greuber in his late account of his return from China, A. D. 1661. by the way of Lassa, or Barantola, as Kircher calls it, but Greuber himself Baranateka (where, he saith, no Christian had ever been) yet there he found Extreme unction, Solemn Processions, worshipping of Reliques, Monasteries of men and

Kircher.
China il-
lustr. part.
2. c. 1.

Voyage du
Greuber.
p. 18.

and women, bare-footed Missionaries, and several other things, which caused amazement in him; but above all he wondred at their Pope, to whom they give divine honours, and worship his very excrements, and put them up in Golden boxes, as a most excellent Remedy against all mischiefs; and to him all the Kings of Tartary make their solemn addresses, and receive their Crowns from him; and those that come near him, kiss his Toe, as Kircher saith, and give the same adoration that they do to the Pope at Rome; and, saith he, is only due to him: which he looks on, as a notable trick of the Devil, to steal these customs from Rome, and to carry them into such a remote part of the world, where he little dreamed of being found out in his villany, had not Greuber chanced to have passed that way from China. I find these Authours very much puzzled, what account to give of all these customs and ceremonies of theirs among Infidels and Idolaters: Kircher runs back to Presbyter John, others to S. Thomas; when alas! they all came from the very same fountain, from whence they came into the Roman Church, viz. folly and Superstition.

Kirch. chin.
2d, p. 2. c. 4.

And

[14]

Epistole
Indic.
Antw.
1605. p.
839.

Viaggi di
Pietro De-
la Valle
parte 3.
Letter 6.
x. 10.

And they do not want wit to defend themselves upon the very same grounds, that they do: as for instance, in their worship of Images, and Saints, (as they esteem them) as most proper to our purpose. *Nicolaus Pimenta* in his epistle to *Claudius Aquaviva* General of the *Jesuits* from Goa, A. D. 1600. saith, that when they disputed with the *Brachmans*, about their worship, they told them; And we likewise worship one God as well as you, and refer all the honour to him which we give to other things. I would he had told us what answer he gave them; but I find not a word of that; neither can I see what it was capable of, unless he told them, that they lied. And we have a considerable Testimony of an understanding Gentleman of Rome, who had the curiosity to enquire strictly into the worship the Gentiles in India gave to their Deities, that they have no other name to express their Deity but *Deu* or *Deurù*, which are likewise given to Princes; from whence he infers that the Gods of the Gentiles although adored and worshipped both in ancient and modern times, were never looked on in the same degree with God the Creator of the Universe, and wherein al-
most

most all Nations of the world have and do hold him, some calling him the First Cause, others the Soul of the world, others Pera-brahmi as the Gentiles at this day in India: but the other Gods are and were always with them, as Saints are with us: of the truth whereof I have great arguments at least among the Indian Gentiles; or at the highest they esteemed them only as men Deified by the Favour of God, as Hercules, Romulus, Augustus, &c. Mons. Bernier when he was at the University of the Brachmans in Benares upon Ganges, discoursing with one of the most learned men among them, he proposed to him the Question, about the adoration of their Idols, and reproaching them with it, as a thing very unreasonable; they gave him this remarkable answer, *we have indeed in our Temples store of divers Statues, as those of Brahma, Mahadeu, Genich and Gavani, who are some of the chief and most perfect Deuties; and we have also many others of less perfection, to whom we pay great honour, prostrating our selves before them and presenting them Flowers, Rice, Oyles, Saffron and such things with much ceremony; but we do not believe these Statues to be Brahma or Bechen, &c. themselves, but only their Images and Re-*
pre-

Bernier
Memoires,
Tom. 3.
p. 171.

presentations, and we do not give them that honour but upon the account of what they represent. They are in our Temples, because it is necessary for praying well, to have something before our eyes that may fix the mind; and when we pray, it is not the Statue we pray to, but he that is represented by it. For the rest we acknowledge, that 'tis God that is absolute, and the only omnipotent Lord and Master. This, saith he, was his answer without adding or subtracting any thing. And I desire to be resolved by T. G. whether upon these principles they were guilty of Idolatry, or no? I am sure their Church accounts them so; and yet they neither believe their Images to be Gods, nor terminate their worship upon them; and if they be guilty upon these principles, T.G. can never clear the Church of Rome.

P. 178.

But besides, they have another way of defending themselves, which the same Author gives this account of, viz. that God or that Sovereign being whom they call Achar (*immutable*) hath produced or drawn out of his own substance, not only souls, but also whatever is material and corporeal in the Universe, so that all the things in the world are but one and the same thing which is God himself; as
all

all numbers are but one and the same unity repeated. If this principle of theirs were true, I hope they might stand upon even terms with T. G. as to the adoration of the Host. For if the belief on one side will justify his Church from Idolatry, a sufficient object of adoration being supposed to be present, I hope the same supposition on their side may do it too; so that if men can be but foolish and extravagant enough in their opinion about a thing, they need not doubt the lawfulness of the worship they pay to it. And that this is not a meer supposition not only appears by the Testimony of this inquisitive Perion, but by what Trigautius Trigaut. de exp. apud Sinas, l. 1. c. 10. *saith of the Chineses, that this opinion is very prevalent among the Learned men there, that makes the world and God to be one substance, of which all particular things are members; and by what Alexander Valignanus, Provincial of the Jesuits in the Indies for thirty years, hath said upon this subject. In his discourse about the best means of converting the Japonese, printed by Posservine, he tells us of a Sect among them, who hold but one principle, which they call the first reason, and the true opinion, and the divine truth, and that this principle is all things, and all things* Posservine Biblioth. l. 10. c. 2.

things are nothing but it extended now and do return into it again upon their dissolution, that the soul of man is the same with it; that men by inward contemplation may now attain to a knowledge of and union with this first principle; and as one of the Japanese converts said, after a man hath spent thirty years in this contemplation, he is then fit to be Canonized, and to be worshipped among their Cami's and Fotoques. This first principle they grant to be one, absolutely Perfect and Wise, but not thoughtful, but living in perfect ease and happiness. This, saith Bernier, is the great Cabala of the Brachmans and Persians; and if Valignanus may be credited, is so of the Japanese too: and it seems to be the very same which Orpheus had from the Egyptians, and contains in it the most plausible Reason of giving divine worship to any thing, which is proposed for adoration. Valignanus offers a great many arguments against this opinion, but I dare lay not one of them stronger or plainer than those which are daily brought against transubstantiation: and yet T. G. will by no means allow any Idolatry therein, because the object supposed to be present, deserves our adoration. But the generality of the people

Valigna-

Valignanus confesses did acknowledge a Supreme Being whom they called *Tento*, and believed him to be the Governour of the world, and to him in their great distresses they made supplications, believing that all things are well known by him; but under him they suppose many *Cami's* and *Fotoques* to be, whom they acknowledge to have had a beginning, such as *Xaca*, and *Amida*, and *Canon*, and *Toranga* and many others, to whom they make their daily addresses in their Temples. And the Reasons which *Valignanus* gives against this way of worship among them deserve our consideration. 1. Because God only hath the power of conferring the blessings of this life or another upon us; and his argument must hold as to both, or else it doth not reach home; for the *Japoneses* are observed more to pray to their *Saints* or *Deities* for riches, and health and honour, than for what belongs to another life. 2. Because *Xaca* and *Amida* and the rest of the *Cami* and *Fotoque* were once men, and therefore the administration of the world cannot be committed to them, being a thing above humane understanding. Very well again; and if this argument signifie any thing, it must extend to their incapacity of

of receiving their addresses for want of divine knowledge; otherwise they might pray to *Amida* and *Xaca* still; as *Mediators* at least between God and them.

3. *Because the world was, before they had a being, and consequently was governed by that wise Being which made it; and he that disposed of things then, doth so still; therefore it is an absurd thing to pray to and adore such beings which did not make the world.* All which I grant to be reasonably, and truly said, and only desire they may be remembered against another day: and what he adds about the great affront which is offered to God, when the honour which belongs to him is given to any creatures, either dead men, or Images, or Devils; and yet he makes no scruple notwithstanding the former pretences, to charge these Gentiles with Idolatry.

¶ 6.

It remains now, that I consider the Religion of the *Chineses*; that I mean, which is properly theirs, and is by Writers commonly called the *First Sect* among them, and by *Martinius* the *Philosophical Sect*. Although he admires them for their morality; yet, he saith, although anciently they did believe and worship one God,

Martin.
prefat. Atlant. Sinic.
p. 7.

God, yet that now they have left off to worship him because they do not know how to do it: but Greuber, who came later from thence saith, that they do profess to worship one Supreme Being which they call Sciax-Ti, and adore him by certain sacrifices of paper and incense. They worship no Pagod or Idol, saith Samedo, but acknowledge a Superiority or Deity who is able to chastise or reward: but they have no Churches wherein they worship him, nor any divine service which they celebrate, nor any prayers that they rehearse, nor any Priests or Ministers which officiate at his service. Yet they speak and write very honourably of him, neither do they attribute any undecent thing to him, as our Ancestors did to their Gods: but they have Temples for Heaven and Earth in Nankin and Peking, in which the King himself offers the sacrifice; and in the Cities they have Temples for Tutelar Spirits, to which the Mandarins do sacrifice; as, to the Spirits of the Rivers, Mountains and four parts of the world, &c. and there are Temples to the honour of great Benefactors to the publick, and therein are placed their Images. Trigautius saith, that he finds in their ancient Books that the

*Voyage du
Greuber;
p. 6.
Samedo
hist. of
chinach;
18.*

*Trigaut. de
Christ. ex-
ped. apud
Sinar, l. i.
c. 10.*

Chineseſes did of old time worſhip one Supreme God, whom they called King of Heaven, or by another name Heaven and Earth: and beſides him they worſhipped Tutelar Spirits; to the ſame purpoſe with Seme-do: and the ſame, he ſaith, continues ſtill in the learned Selt among them, whoſe firſt Author was their famous Confutius: to him they have a Temple erected in every City with his Image, or his name in golden letters, whither all the Magiſtrates every new or full Moon do reſort, to give honour to Confutius with bowings, and wax-candles, and incenſe: the ſame they do on his birth-day, and other ſet times; there to expreſs their gratitude for the mighty advantages they have had by his Doctrines, but they make no prayers to him, and neither ſeek nor hope for any thing from him. They have likewiſe Temples to Tutelar Spirits for every City and Tribunal; where they make oblations, and burn perfumes, acknowledging theſe to have power to reward and puniſh. Bartoli ſaith, it is not out of any contempt of Religion, but out of reverence to the Deity becauſe of the excellency of his Majeſty, that they ſuffer none but the King to offer Sacrifice to him: and accordingly the larger Power the Tutelar Spirits are

Bartoli
Aſiat. hiſt.
l. 1. u. 73.

are supposed to have, the greater Magistrates are to attend their service: and the lesser those of Cities, and Mountains, and Rivers. But that which is more material to our present business, is, to consider the Resolution of a case of Conscience not long since given at Rome by the Congregation of Cardinals *de propagandâ fide*, after advising with and the full consent of the Pope obtained 12 Sept. 1645. Which resolution, and decree was Printed in the Press of the Congregation the same year, with the Popes Decree annexed to it, and his peremptory command for the observation of it by all *Missionaries*; and that Copy of the Resolution I have seen, was attested by a publick Notary to agree with the Original Decree: which case will help us very much to the right understanding the Notion of Idolatry according to the sense of the Church of Rome.

The case was this; The *Missionaries* of the Society of *Jesuits*, having had a plentiful harvest in *China*, and many of the Great men embracing the *Christian Religion* by their means; the *Missionaries* of other Orders, especially the *Franciscans*, had a great curiosity to understand the arts, which the *Jesuits* used in prevailing with so many Great persons to become

Christians ; and upon full enquiry , they found they gave them great liberty, as to the *five Precepts of the Church* , as they call them, *viz. bearing Mass, annual Confession, receiving the Sacrament at Easter, Fasting at the solemn times , and Tithes and First-fruits* : besides , they did forbear their *Ceremonies of baptism, their oyl and spittle in the ears, and salt in the mouth, when they baptized women, and giving extreme unction to them, because the jealousy of their Husbands would not permit them to use them ; but that which is most to our purpose is the liberty they gave the Mandarins in two things. 1. To go to the Temple of the Tutelar Spirit in every City, as they are bound by vertue of their office to do twice a month, or else they forfeit their places, and there to prostrate themselves before the Idol, with all the external acts of adoration that others used ; and swearing before it when they enter into their office , so they did secretly convey a *Crucifix* among the flowers, that lay upon the altar, or hold it cunningly in their hands, and direct all their adorations to the *Crucifix* by the inward intention of their minds. 2. To go to the Temple of Keum-Fucu, or Confucius, twice a year, and to perform all the solemn*

solemnities there, that the rest did: and the same as to the Temples of their Ancestors which are erected to their honour according to the precepts of Confucius; because the *Chineses* declared that they intended only to give the same reverence to the memory of their Ancestors, which they would do to themselves if they were still living; and what they offer to them is nothing but what they would give them, if they were alive, without any intention to beg any thing from them, when they know them to be dead: and the same allowance they gave, as to the Images of their Ancestors, about which many Ceremonies were used by them. The *Missionaries* of *S. Francis* order, being well informed of the Truth of these things, from the *Philippines* they send a Memorial to the King of Spain concerning them, who by his Ambassador represents it to the Pope, whereupon the Congregation of Cardinals was called, and after great deliberation and advising with the Pope about it, they made their Decree, wherein, they by several resolutions, declare it unlawful upon any of those pretences to use acts in themselves unlawful, and superstitious, although directed by their intention to the worship of the true God. And lest any

should imagine it was only *matter of scandal*, which they stood upon (as T. G. doth, *about worshipping towards the Sun*) they make use of several expressions, on purpose to exclude this, for so they resolve the seventh Quere, *nullatenus licere, it is by no means lawful*; and the eighth, *nullo prætectu, under no pretence whatsoever*, and to the ninth expressly, *that it could not be salved propter absentiam gentilium, if there were no gentiles present*: from this Resolution we may observe several things to our purpose.

- I. That *Idolatry* is consistent with the belief of the *Supreme God*, and reserving *soveraign worship as due only to him*: For the *Congregation* calls the *Image* of the *Tutelar Spirit* an *Idol*, and consequently the *act of adoration* must be *Idolatry*, yet it is very clear that the *Chineses* (especially the *Christians*) did never intend to give to the *Tutelar Spirit* the *honour proper to the Supreme Deity*: And Bartoli hath at large proved, that the *Chineses* did of old acknowledge the true God, and his *Providence over the world*: and that their *Princes* do worship the same God still, to whom they offer *Sacrifice*: and they call him by two names, *Scianti*, which signifies *supreme Monarch*, and *Tienciù*, Lord

Bartoli
hist. Asi.
l. 1. n. 70.

of Heaven, and as he tells us, they put an apparent difference between *Tienciù* and *Tienscin*, i. e. between God and Angels, and say that the power of forgiving sins belongs only to God and not to them; that, upon a debate among the *Missionaries* about the use of these words for the true God, and some scruples raised from some misinterpretations of it by an *Atheistical Sect* among them, they were satisfied by plain and perspicuous testimonies out of their Books, that they could mean no other than the true God: and that he to whom the King every year offers sacrifice is a pure Mind, free from all mixture, governing all things, and therefore to him all the acts of sovereign worship are performed; such as *Sacrifices, Vows, Prayers and thanksgivings*. Therefore the worship they give to the *Tutelar Spirits* or *Guardian Angels*, (as they suppose them) must be of an *inferiour nature*, and yet the *Congregation* of the *Cardinals* by the direction of the *Pope*, condemn this for *Idolatry*.

That giving an *Inferiour worship* on the account of *created excellency*, when it appears to be *Religious*, is utterly *unlawful* among *Christians*. For this is the only imaginable reason why the *Congrega-*

Thom. Hurtado Reso-
luciones de
vero Mar-
tyrio Fi-
dei, p. 487.

tion did so absolutely condemn the wor-
ship of *Confutius* and their *Ancestors*;
and *Hurtado* in the explication of this de-
cree, confesses, that the *Chineses* did not
esteem *Confutius*, as a God, but only look-
ed on him as a holy and vertuous Philoso-
pher; yet, saith he, because they did those
acts to him which are only proper to God,
they commit manifest Idolatry in it. For,
saith he, they who give to a creature the
worship due only to God, do commit Idola-
try; and from hence the Gentiles who ac-
knowledged one God were Idolaters, be-
cause they gave to the creatures the ho-
nour due to him, in the doing of which
they made an acknowledgement of divine
excellency in the things they gave it to.
By which it appears, that there are some
external acts of worship so proper to God,
that although a man hath never so clear
apprehension in his mind of the *Supreme*
excellency of God above the creatures he
worships, yet the giving that worship to
them makes his act Idolatry. The *Jesu-
its* to excuse these things, speak very high
things of *Confutius*, and of his admirable
Life and *doctrine*, and surely not with-
out great reason, if their relations hold
true, as I see no reason to suspect them:
but the more *Confutius* is extolled, the
worse

worse they make their own case, for all these acts of *external worship* towards him, are condemned for *Idolatry*: and how then comes the *worship* of *Ignatius Loyola* to be otherwise, who, I dare say, never was so great a *Philosopher*, nor did so much good in the world, as the *Jesuits* say *Confutius* did? But at last, they would have all these honours to *Confutius* to be only *civil honours*; although *Trigautius* confesses, that he hath a Temple in every City, that his Image with that of his Disciples, is set up in it; that these Disciples are looked on as a sort of Divi, i. e. as Canonized Saints; that here they make use of all the rites of adoration, genuflections, wax-candles, incense, oblations, prayers only excepted: but we see, notwithstanding all their pretences, the Pope and Congregation of Cardinals have condemned them as guilty of *Idolatry*.

Martin.
hist. Sinic.
l. 4. p. 151.

Bartoli
hist. Asiat.
l. 1. n. 54.
Trigaut.
l. 1. c. 10.

That the Pope and Congregation of Cardinals were not of T. G's mind, that acts do certainly go whither they are intended; For all these acts of *worship* were directed by the intention of the persons to the secret *Crucifix*, which lay among the flowers upon the *Altar*; but notwithstanding, this in their opinion were a fit object of *worship*, yet other circumstances

stances did so much alter the nature of it, that they declare these acts to be in themselves unlawful. By actions going whether they are intended, I do not mean, as T. G. suggests, *that the Physical act of the mind doth not pass to the object whether the act is directed, i. e.* that I do not think of that which I do think of; but my meaning is, that such a directing the intention of the mind doth not give a *moral denomination* to the nature of the action, viz. that it becomes *lawful* or *unlawful*, by vertue of such an intention of the mind, but that the *Law of God* may so determine the nature of our acts of worship, as to make them unlawful, whatever the *intention* of the mind be. And thus the *Congregation of Cardinals* here resolves the case; the Persons used only those acts of adoration that may be directed to God, by a secret *intention* of the mind; they suppose a *Crucifix* a fit object for *divine worship*, and going together into an *Idolatrous Temple*, and using all the external *equivocal acts* (as T. G. calls them) which the rest did, they direct their acts by vertue of this intention to the *Crucifix*; yet although the *Congregation* thought this *intention* rightly directed, they condemn the acts as in them-

themselves unlawful. But of these things hereafter; the first *observation* being sufficient to my present purpose, *viz.* to shew that according to the present sense of the *Roman Church* the *practice* of *Idolatry* is consistent with the acknowledgement of one *Supreme God*.

From the *Idolatry* of the *East-Indies*, §. 16.
 I proceed to that of the *Tartars*, whose Dominion hath extended it self over that vast *Continent* from the utmost *North-East* parts, to the *borders* of *Europe* that way; and this account I shall give from the least suspected *witnesses* in this matter, *viz.* the *Emissaries* of the *Roman Church*, who had conversed most among them, and made it their design to understand their *Religion*. In *A. D.* 1246. after the horrible devastations made by the *Tartars* in *Poland* and *Hungary*, Pope *Innocent 4.* sent *Johannes de Plano Carpini* as his *Legat*, or *Nuncio* to them: and after a year and four months stay among them he gives this account of their Religion, *unum Deum credunt, quem credunt esse factorem omnium visibilium, & invisibilium; & credunt eum tam bonorum in hoc mundo quam pœnarum esse factorem; non tamen orationibus, vel laudibus aut ritu aliquo ipsam colunt.*

Job. à Plano Carpini Libellus historicus de Tartaris, c. 3.

colunt. They believe one God, whom they believe to be the maker of all things visible and invisible; and to be the Author of all worldly goods and punishments; and yet he saith, they had no manner of worship of him: but their worship they gave to Images, which he there at large describes. But there is an inferiour Deity, whom he calls *Itoga*, *Paulus Venetus* *Natagay* which they believe to be the God of the earth, and him they worship with great superstition; and besides they worship the Sun, Moon and Fire, and make oblations to the Image of their first Emperour; and the same thing is affirmed by *Vincentius Bellovacensis*. After him, *Lewis* the ninth of France sent *William de Rubruquis*, a Franciscan, A. D. 1253. who passed through the several Courts of the Tartarian Princes, and gave an exact account to his Prince of the Religion he found among them. In the conference he had with *Mangu-Chan* (who was then Emperour) about Religion; the Emperour told him, *We Moals* (which is the name they call themselves by, that being the name of the Tribe from whence *Jingiz-chan* came, the Tartars being another Tribe, but better known to the Europeans,) *we*, (saith he,) believe that that there is but one God,

Paul. Venet. de Reg. orient. l. 1. c. 38. l. 3. e. 47.

Specul. hist. l. 29. c. 72. 74.

Genl. de Rubruquis Itin. c. 43.

God, through whom we live and die; and we have an upright heart towards him: and he added, that as God had given to the hand five fingers, so he hath given many ways to men. But there was a Sect of Idolaters among them, whom he calls *Tuinians*, who held two first Principles, and many Gods; but it seems by their discourse, that they acknowledged the Superiority of one above all the rest. For when the Frier said there was but one God; the *Tuinian* who disputed with him before *Mangu-Chan*, said, Fools say there is but one God, but wisemen say there are many; are there not great Lords in your Country? and here is a greater Lord *Mangu-Chan*. So is it of the Gods, because in divers countries there are divers. And afterwards he acknowledged, that there is one Highest God in the Heavens, whose Generation we know not yet, and ten are under him, and under them there is one Inferiour: and in the earth there are infinite. And of another Sect, called *Jugurs*, he confesses, that they believe one God, and yet ^{c. 42.} make Idols; from whom the Tartars had their letters; and he affirms the same of ^{c. 27.} the *Moals* or Tartars in general, and yet they make and worship many Images: and their Priests pray by their Beads, having

ving a string with a hundred or two of Nutsbels upon it; and the repeating of certain words with them, they account meritorious at Gods hand. Haithon, the Armenian, agrees with the former, saying of the Tartars, that they confess one immortal God. Gregorius Abul-pharajius brings several examples of Jingiz-Chans acknowledging one Supreme and omnipotent God, (who laid the foundation of the Tartarian Empire) as, when he made his prayers to him upon the injury of Gayer-Chan: when he owned his Power to be given him from the God that is King over all and omnipotent; and therefore, Haithon makes that the first command of Jingiz-Chan to his followers, that they ought to believe and obey the immortal God, by whom he obtained his Empire. And that the Tartars, who have not embraced Mohometism, did still acknowledge and worship one Supreme God maker of Heaven and Earth, is confessed by Jacobus Navarchus among the Indian Epistles; and the same, Nicephorus Callistus affirms, of the ancient Turks, who where a race of Tartars living beyond the Bactrian Mountains.

The like might be easily discovered of the most considerable Nations of the West-Indies,

Haithon.
Armen.bist.
Orient.
c. 48.

Greg. Abul-
pharai. bist.
Dynast. p.
285. p. 290.

Haithon.
bist. Orient.
c. 16.

Jac. Na-
varch.
Epist. Asi-
atic. p. 344.
Niceph.
Callisth.
l. 18. c. 30.

Indies, if it would not have swelled this discourse into too great a Bulk; in general we take this remarkable *Testimony* of *Josephus Acosta*, a learned *Spanish Jesuit*, who lived seventeen years in those parts.

They, (saith he, speaking of the *Indians*) *Joseph. Acosta Natural and Moral History of the Indies, l. 5. c. 8.*
do commonly acknowledge a Supreme Lord and Author of all things, which they of Peru call *Viracocha*, and gave him names of great excellence, as *Pachacamac*, or *Pachaiackachic*, which is the Creator of

Heaven and Earth, and *Usapu* which is admirable, and such like. Him they did worship as the chiefest of all, whom they did honour in beholding the Heaven. The like we see amongst them of Mexico, and China, and all other Infidels. which accordeth well with what is said by *S. Paul* in the *Acts of the Apostles*, where he did see the inscription of an *Altar Ignoto Deo*, To the unknown God: whereupon the Apostle took occasion to preach unto them, saying, Him whom you worship without knowing him, do I preach unto you. In like sort those which at this day do preach the Gospel to the *Indians*, find no great difficulty to perswade them that there is a high God and Lord over all, and that this is the *Christians God*, and the true God. As it is therefore a truth conformable to reason,

reason, that there is a Sovereign Lord and King of Heaven, whom the Gentiles with all their Infidelities and Idolatries have not denied, as we see in the Philosophy of Timæus in Plat. in the Metaphysicks of Aristotle, and in the Asclepius of Trismegist, as also in the Poesies of Homer and Virgil : So the Preachers of the Gospel have no great difficulty to plant and perswade this truth of a Supreme God, be the Nations to whom they preach never so barbarous, and bruitish. But it is hard to root out of their minds that there is no other God, nor any other Deity than one: and that all other things of themselves have no power, being, nor working proper to themselves, but what this great and only Lord doth give and impart to them. To conclude, It is necessary to perswade them by all means, in reprovins their errours, as well in that wherein they generally fail, in worshipping more than one God, as in particular, which is much more to hold for Gods, and to demand favours and help of those things which are not Gods, nor have any power, but what the true God their Lord and Creator hath given. And in another place he saith, *Hoc enim commune apud omnes pene barbaros est, ut Deum quidem*

*De procu-
randa In-
dorum salu-
te, l. 5. c. 10.*

omnium

*omnium rerum Supremum & summe bonum
fascantur. This is common among almost
all the barbarous nations, to acknowledge
one Supreme God, infinitely good. But
there is so pregnant a Testimony concern-
ing the acknowledgement of a Supreme
Deity among the Incas of Peru, that it
ought not to be slightly passed over. The
thing it self is confessed not only by Aco-
sta, but by Eusebius Nierembergius, Au-
gustinus de Zarate, Antonius de Calan-
cha who was himself a Peruan born, and
afterwards an Augustinian: and these two
mention the conference between Atahual-
pa the last of the Incas, and Vincentius
de Valverde, about Religion, wherein, the
Inca told the Spanish Priest, that they
believed in Pachacamac the Creator of
the world, and after him they worshipped
the Sun and Moon for their universal in-
fluence on the world. But the most per-
fect account of their way of worship is
delivered by Garcilasso de la Vega, who
was himself of the blood of the Incas by
the Mother, and he corrects several mi-
stakes of Acosta and other Spanish Au-
thors, which were occasioned by their ig-
norance of the Peruvian language and
Customs. He saith, that Manco Capac,
(who was the founder of the Empire of*

Euseb. Nier-
emb. hist.
Natur. l. 8.
c. 13.

August. de
Zarate, l. 2.

Anton. de
Calancha
apud Jo-
ach. Brul.
hist. Peru-
an. l. 2. c. 9.

Le Commen-
taire Royal
Des Incas
liv. 2. c. 1.

c. 2.

the Incas,) did reduce the barbarous Indians from the promiscuous Idolatry of almost all sorts of creatures before, to the worship of the Sun, as the great instrument of Pachacamac in the Government of the world; but although they had a great veneration for the Moon, as Wife and Sister of the Sun, yet he cannot find that they did ever worship her as a Goddess; or offer Sacrifices, and build Temples to her. Thunder and Lightning they called, the Executioners of the Justice of the Sun; and did not look on them as Deities, as the Spaniards imagined. But the main thing he discovers as to their Religion is, that they had only two Deities, the one visible, the Sun; the other invisible, the Creator of the world, whom they called Pachacamac, from Pacha which signifies the world, and Camac from the verb Camar to enliven, and that from Cama the Soul; so that Pachacamac is as much as, the Soul of the world: which word they had in so great veneration that they durst not pronounce it but with a great deal of ceremonie, and with the most humble posture of adoration: which was the external sovereign worship which they gave to the Supreme Deity, and above what they gave to the Sun, whose name they

they did usually pronounce: from whence he infers, that although the external worship of Sacrifices was performed to the Sun, yet they had in their Soul a greater adoration to Pachacamac, as an invisible Deity, that gave being and life to the world. He saith, that without all question the Yncas and their Amautas or Philosophers, did intend no other by this word, but the true Sovereign Creator of the world; however the Spaniards thought some Devil was understood by it: but, saith he, the Indians when they meant the Devil they called him Cupay; and at the naming him did spit on the ground in token of execration; but when they mentioned Pachacamac, they did it with all the Reverence and Devotion imaginable. And withall he adds, that whatever Acosta and others say, this is the proper name for God in the Peruvian Language; and they do not know how to express him otherwise; and that all other names given by the Spaniards, as Tici Viracocha, Pachaia Chacher, Pacharurac, do not set forth the unexpressible Majesty of God in their Tongue, as Pachacamac doth. He tells us, that it was an inviolable Law of the Yncas, throughout their Empire, that Divine worship should be given only to Pachacamac

c. 3. p. 146.

as the Sovereign Deity, and to the Sun, for the great benefit the world received by him: and that it was held a very reproachful thing among them to attribute the Name, Honour, Authority, Power of God or any other Divine perfections to any sublunary things: but they had an inferiour reverence for the Moon as Wife and Sister of the Sun, and for the Stars, which they called her Daughters and Servants of her House; and so they had for their Yncas too, whose bodies were set up in the Temple of the Sun in Cozco, on either side his Golden Image; and in the Chappel of the Moon were the bodies of the Empreses after the same manner: in which he observes, that the Yncas were wont to make their vows to the Moon, and recommend themselves to her as their Mother; but they offered no sacrifices to her, as they did to the Sun. They have likewise great respect for the Stars, and especially for the Planet Venus, which they call the Page of the Sun; as they have for the Thunder, and Lightning, and Thunderbolt, which he saith again, they did not hold to be Gods, but to be his domestick Servants; which the Spaniards, because they represented them as three in one, mistook for the Trinity worshipped among

2. 3. c. 20.

2. 21.

among them, which *Eusebius Nierember-*
gius from *Acosta* calls *Tangatanga*: *Gar-*
tilasso knew nothing of it, but faith, that
 they called them *Yllapa*. They have like-
 wise a great veneration for the *Rainbow*
 as the production of the *Sun*; and for
 the *City* of *Cozco*; but as to all these, they
 give only an *inferiour* and *honorary worship*
 to them; but they reserve the *Sovereign*
internal worship for *Pachacamac*, and *ex-*
ternal by *sacrifice* for the *Sun*. This
Pachacamac, although he had no *Temple*
 erected by the *Runcas*, yet the same *Au-*
 thor tells us, that under the power of *t. 6. c. 30;*
Cuyfmanco, King of the *Runcas*, there was
 a Valley, called the *Valley* of *Pachacamac*,
 where was a *Temple* erected to his wor-
 ship; and when the *Ruca* of *Peru* demand-
 ed subjection to him, and to joyn in the
 worship of the *Sun*; he said, *Pachaca-*
mac was Creator and preserver of all, c. 31
 and therefore greater than the *Sun*, whom
 they worshipped, with the utmost expres-
 sions of adoration; the King himself not
 daring to enter the *Temple* with his face
 towards his *Image*: and besides Him they
 only worshipped the *Oracle* of *Rimac*,
 and *Mamacohca* i. e. the *Sea*; But for the
Sun, they found too great inconvenience
 by his heat for them to worship him.

The *Tnca* replied, that they did not only worship the Sun, but Pachacamac too; but because he was an invisible and incomprehensible Deity, they offered him no sacrifices, nor built him any Temple: but they had the greatest inward veneration towards him, which they expressed by all possible demonstrations as oft as they mentioned his name. At last the difference was composed on these terms, the *Tuncas* were to retain the Temple of Pachacamac, but to forbear any Image of him, as unworthy of him, and humane sacrifices, and to receive the worship of the Sun; and the *Tncas* to admit the Oracle of *Rimac*. *Huayna Capac*, one of the *Tncas*, made use of this argument to the High-Priest his Uncle, that the Sun could not be the Supreme God: who dares, said he, command me to go a long journey and never rest? But if I command any Officer I have to go to Chili, he dares not disobey: surely then, saith he, our Father the Sun (so the *Tncas* still called him) must needs have a greater Lord than himself, which commands him to take such a journey every day. By these things, it fully appears, that the mighty Empire of Peru, while it was under the Power of the *Tncas*, did acknowledge one Supreme God, to whom they

they gave *internal worship* as most proper for him; and *external adoration* at the mention of his name, although they offered their *Sacrifices* to the *Sun*. And it is observable what the same excellent *Author* farther adds, *that the Indians worshipped Pachacamac, under the very title of the Unknown God: which was the inscription on the Altar at Athens, from whence S. Paul said, whom ye ignorantly worship, him I declare unto you.* l. 9. c. 4.

Acosta saith, *that the Supreme God was worshipped in Mexico with a very magnificent Temple, and after him the Sun; in Virginia, one that had it from intimate familiarity with the Priests declares, that they believe there are many Gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts and degrees, one only chief and great God, which hath been from all eternity. Who, as they affirm, when he purposed to make the world, made first other Gods of a principal order, to be as means and instruments to be used in the creation and government to follow, and after, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, as petty Gods, and instruments of the other order more principal. And when Tomocomo a principal person of Virginia was here in England,* Acosta l. 5. c. 4.

*Havrots
descript.
of Virgin.*

*Purchas
Pilgr. l. 8.
c. 6.*

that made Heaven and Earth: who was the Author of all good to them. Crenxi-
 us the Jesuit, in his late History of Cana-
 da, saith, that when Paulus Juvenax
 discoursed with the Inhabitants about God,
 and describing him to be of infinite power,
 and that made Heaven and Earth, they
 cried out to each other Atoachan, Atoa-
 chan, intimating that all things were
 made by that God whom they worshipped
 under that name; but they believe the
 seasons of the year, and the affairs of hu-
 mane life to be managed by certain Spi-
 rits under him, whom they endeavour to
 propitiate by certain rites of worship.

Crenx. hist.
 Canad. l. 1.
 p. 78.

p. 86.

Leo Africanus, testifies concerning some
 of the ancient African Idolaters, that they
 worshipped Guighimo, i. e. the Lord of
 Heaven; which part of Religion, he saith,
 was not delivered to them, by any Pro-
 phet or Teacher, but was inspired into
 them by God himself. Varenius takes no-
 tice of the false and imperfect description
 which is commonly given of the Religion
 of the Negroes, and saith, he understood
 by those who lived long among them, that
 although they worship many Gods, yet they
 acknowledge one Supreme, whom they call
 Fetisso: and believe him to be the Author
 both of the good and evil they receive, and
 therefore

Leo Afric.
 descrip.
 Afric. l. 1.

Varen. de
 divers.
 gent. Relig.
 p. 304.

therefore endeavour to appease him by many Sacrifices, Ceremonies and Prayers.

Mandelslo saith, of the Inhabitants of Madagascar, that he was informed, that they believe there is one God who made

Mandelslo
Voyage L.

3.

Heaven and Earth; and will one day punish bad actions and reward the good.

Joh. de Barros saith, that the Inhabitants of Monomotapa, believe in one God whom they call Mozimo; and if we believe him,

Barros Dec.
I. l. 10. c. 1.

they worship nothing else besides him: the same others say of the Mordui, a people that inhabit the farther parts of Muscovy,

Linda de-
script. Or-
bis, p. 1149.
Archontol-
og. Cosmic.
de Mosco.
S. 44.

who declare, that they worship only the Creator of the Universe to whom they offer the first fruits of all things, even of

their meat and drink, casting some parts of them towards Heaven: but they have

no Idols, nor baptism, and say they live according to nature: but Brietius saith,

they worship Idols, or are Mahometans. Teixeira and Pimenta say that the Sect of

Briet. Geog.
To. 2. l. 6.
c. 2.

the Baneans called Lon Kab, worship only the Supreme God, without Idols; but

Mexery hath Idols and doth worship them. Josephus Indus, a Native of Cranganor

India vera
descript.
p. 118.

saith, that the Gentile Idolaters there, did worship the God of Heaven, under the

form of a Statue with three faces, and his hands folded, whom they called Tam-

Piment. in
Ep. Ind.
Joseph. In-
di Navig.
c. 3.

bram:

Lud. Vartom.
10m. Navig.
l. 5. c. 21.

Jarric.
Rerum In-
dicul. l. 6. c. 4.

Inda.
p. 1145.
Linschot.
Navig. c.
33.

bram: and he saith, *the King of Calecut is of the same Religion with them of Cranganor*: and *Ludovicus Vartomannus* saith, that in *Calecut*, they call the Great God *Tamerani*, whom they believe to be the maker of the world; but he adds, that they believe him to live at ease, and that he hath committed the Government of the world to *Deumo*, whose Image they worship, having on his head, saith *Vartomannus*, just such a Crown as the Popes of Rome have, only it hath three horns upon it: and the same is confessed by *Farricus*. The people of *Narsinga* likewise believe one Supreme God, but worship Idols as the rest of the Indians do. *Linschoten*, gives this general testimony of them, that although they worship the Sun and Moon, yet they acknowledge one God, Creator and Governor of all things; and do believe the rewards and punishments of another life to be according to mens good or bad actions in this life. But withall they worship Idols called *Pagodes*, after such a terrible representation as we make of Devils, whom they assert to have lived formerly upon earth, and to have been famous for sanctity and miracles, and to whom they address themselves, as Mediators to the Supreme God for them. The

Kingdom

Kingdom of Siam is supposed to have been the ancient Seat of the Bramans, from whence the Religion of the Indies did spread it self: and here Schouten, who lived long among them, saith, that the common perswasion of the Gentiles, although different in other points, is, that there is one Supreme God, who created all things, and after him many inferiour Gods in Heaven; that men shall receive rewards and punishments in another life according to their actions here. And that this Religion hath been delivered down to them by the succession of many ages; and confirmed by the Testimony of Saints, whose memory they worship in their Images, which they have set up like so many lesser Deities: who have merited Heaven by their good works. The Ceremonies of their worship, the nature of their Images, the manner of their Oblations, the customs of their Talapoïs, (or Friars) are such, that, some few things excepted, one would imagine no great difference between the Varelles of Siam, and the Jesuits Church and devotions there. M. de Bourges, who hath given an account of the late French Mission into those parts, confesses, that their external devotion to their Images is extraordinary,

Schoutens
descript.
of Siam.
p. 141.

Relation du
voyage de
Mons. l'
Eveque de
Berrye, &c.
13-p. 170.

ordinary, that they offer no bloody sacrifices, but all their oblations are of the fruits of the earth: and that they free themselves from the charge of Idolatry, because they acknowledge and worship one God, who is Lord over all; and that their Images are intended to preserve the Memories of their Saints, that by the sight of them the people might be excited to imitate their virtues. And it is very true, saith he, that the Priests of Siam do thus answer the Christians who charge them with Idolatry, and think themselves no more guilty than the Missionaries of the Church of Rome who charge them. But he thinks, he hath cleared the difference between them by saying, that those of Siam are more uncertain in the belief of the Supreme God, and defective in giving any peculiar worship to him: and that they terminate their worship absolutely upon their Idols, and ask of them those things, which God alone can give. As to the former, we have seen the general consent of the Indians in the belief of a Supreme God, (which is no token of their uncertainty) and that many of them did think internal worship most proper to him; and for the latter, if they suppose those Deities to be so by participation,

pation, and *subordinate* to the *Supreme*,
 I do not see, how the difference is made
 appear between the *addressees* they made
 to their *Saints* by their *Images*, and those
 made in the *Church* of *Rome*; unless it be
 sufficient to say, that the *Pope* at *Rome*
 hath only power to *Canonize Saints*, and
 not the *High-Priest* of *Siam*. And there-
 fore *Campanella* very wisely confesses upon Campanel.
 these principles, the *Heathens* were no Atheism.
 more guilty of *Idolatry* than themselves, triumph. c.
 in case the persons they worshipped had 11. p. 135.
real vertues: and he doth not blame
 the wiser *Gentiles*, but the common people
 who forgot the true *God*, and worshipped
 their *Varells* or *Images* with the worship
 of *Latria*; which the *Church* of *Rome* like-
 wise gives to the *Cross*: but of these things
 afterwards.

If from the *Indies*, the model of this
Discourse would allow us to search into
 the *Idolatries* of these *Northern parts*, we
 should find that the *Nations* which were
 the deepeest sunk into *Idolatry*, did yet
 retain a sense of one *Supreme Deity*.
 Among whom we may justly reckon our
Saxon Ancestors; and yet from the *Go-
 thick Antiquities* which have been lately
 published, we have reason to believe,
 that there was a *Supreme God* acknowledged
 among

Edda Islan-
dorum edi-
ta à Rese-
nio Hau-
nii. A. D.
1665.

Mytholog.
304.

among them too. For in the Edda of Snor-
ro Sturleson which contains the ancient
Religion of the Goths; the first Question
proposed is, *who was the Supreme, and
the most ancient of the Gods?* To which
the Answer is, *that the most ancient of the
Gods is called Alfader, the Father of all:
and he had twelve names which are there
enumerated: and after it is said of him,
that This God lives for ever, and go-
vern all things, that he made the Hea-
ven, and Earth, and Air, and all things
in them; and which is the greatest of
all, he made Man and gave him a Soul
that should live for ever, although the body
be destroyed; and that those who were good
should be with him in a place called Gimle
or Wingulf, but those that were bad to
Hela, and from thence to Nifheim.
Which Nifheim, they add, was made ma-
ny ages before the Earth; and then they
proceed to the creation of things, which
is there reported after a fabulous manner.
It is true, this Tradition came to be cor-
rupted among them, when the attributes
and worship belonging to this God were
given to that Prince who conducted the
Goths from their former Seat about the
Palus Meotis into the Northern Regions,
who was called Odin, or Woden; and so
there*

there came in such a confusion in their *Idolatry* as was among the *Greeks* between *Jupiter Olympius*, and *him of Creet*. But since they do mention this *Odin* as chief of the *Ase*, and tell the circumstances of his leading the people first to one place, then to another, they cannot mean by him, the *same God* whom they assert to have been from eternity, and to have created all things: but all this confusion did arise among them and other Nations, when vain and ambitious men did take upon them the names of the *Deity* on purpose, that they might have worship given to them; and such a one this *Odin* is described to have been by all the *Northern Historians*; and from hence likewise the names of *Deified men*, have been given to him whom they worshipped for the *Supreme God*. Thus also *Thor* was the *Son of Odin*; yet in some of the *Northern parts*, they worshipped the *Supreme Deity* under his name, attributing the power over all things, even the *inferiour Deities* to him. And accordingly he was worshipped with a *Crown on his Head*, a *Scepter in his hand*, and *twelve Stars* about him; as he is described by *Olaus Magnus* and others; and *Joh. Magnus* saith, that *Thor* was worshipped in the *Golden*

Olaus Magnus
hist. l. 3.
c. 3.

Steph. Stephan. *Golden Temple at Upsalia, tanquam potens-*
phan. Comment. in *tissimus & summus omnium Deorum;*
Sax. Gr. *and to this day among the most barbarous*
l. 6. *Laplanders the Supreme God is worship-*
Ola. Worm. *ped under the same representation of Thor,*
Mon. Dan. *(as we are informed by a late credible*
l. i. c. 4. *Writer) and to him they give besides,*
Alb. Crant. *the name of Jumala: under him they wor-*
Vandal. *ship a Deity, whom they call Storjunkare,*
l. i. *or Vice-Roy, like the Tartars Natagay;*
Joh. Magn. *under whose care they suppose all inferi-*
hist. Goth. *our creatures to man to be, and therefore*
l. i. c. 8. *they living much by hunting, make many*
Scheffer. *supplications to him, and worship him un-*
Lappon. c. *der the representation of a rough hollow*
7. p. 61. *stone, which as rude and barbarous as*
6. 10. *they are, they are far enough from think-*
Joh. Lascius de Sa- *ing to be the Deity it self, but only a Sym-*
magit. *bol to represent him: And the Idolatrous*
p. 46. *inhabitants of Samogitia, although they*
Joh. Meletii ep. de *worship a multitude of Gods under sever-*
Relig. Bo- *al names, and as having a particular care*
russ. *over some things, and a sort of Serpents*
as Ministers of their Gods, yet they con-
fess a Supreme God: so Lascius saith,
they have one omnipotent God, but many
Zemopacii, or terrestrial Gods, which he
there at large enumerates; and the same
is acknowledged by Joh. Meletius, who
lived among them and describes their Idolatrous

lacious customs in an Epistle to *Georg. Sabinus*, A. D. 1553. who saith, *that in the first place they invoke Occopirrus, the God of Heaven and Earth; and then the inferiour Deities who are set over the Sea, Air, Spring, Woods, &c.* Thus far I have clearly proved, that the acknowledged *Idolatry* of the present world, doth not exclude a *Supreme God*, but either the *Idolaters* suppose him to be above their *worship*, or think it not *unlawful* to *worship inferiour Deities* with the same *external acts of worship* which they perform to the *Supreme God*.

The last thing I shall prove the consistency of *Idolatry* with giving *Soveraign Worship* to the *Supreme God* by is, from the *Testimony* of those *Fathers* who have charged such *Christians* with *Idolatry*, concerning whom there could be no dispute whether they *believed* and *worshipped* a *Supreme God*. ϕ. 17.

Athanasius frequently lays this to the charge of the *Arians*, *that by giving adoration to the Son of God, supposing him to be a Creature, they did bring in the Heathen Idolatry among Christians*: *κρίμα*
λέγοντες ἰδὲ τὸ Θεοῦ λόγον, καὶ ὡς ἄν Ἕλληνες,
λατρεύοντες τῇ κτίσει ὡς τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ Θεόν,

Athanas. c.
Arian.
orat. 1. p.
286. ed.
Par.

M

which

p. 296.

p. 297.

which words are the more remarkable, because he accuses them of doing the same thing, which S. Paul charges the Gentiles with; which therefore doth not imply, the passing by the worship of the Creator, but giving the same divine worship to a creature, which they do to the Supreme God. The same words he repeats afterwards in the same Oration, and desires the *Arians* to shew the difference between the *Greeks* and them, if they believed *Christ* not to be the true God, but only by participation, as the *Greeks* supposed their Gods to be. The force of this argument were wholly lost, if either the *Greeks* supposed many independent Deities, or Idolatry were inconsistent with the acknowledgement of one True God; for the *Arians* might upon either of those grounds have shewed the disparity between them and the *Greeks*. Afterwards he saith expressly, they fell into the Polytheism of the *Greeks*; from whence it unavoidably follows, that their Polytheism did not suppose several Deities of necessary and eternal existence; but one Original and Supreme God, and the others only made to by participation from him. If it be impossible for a man who hath a right opinion of Gods incomparable excellency

above

above the most noble creatures, to attribute the honour due to God alone, to that which he conceiveth to be a *mere creature*; then the *Arians* were unjustly charged with *Idolatry*; for they were supposed to do that, which it seems is impossible to be done: for they asserted, *Christ to be a mere creature*, and yet *Athanasius* saith, *they were therein guilty of Idolatry*, although they believed God to be incomparably above his creatures, in as much as all creatures, and Christ himself had what he had by *participation* from him: and whatever excellencies are attributed to a mere creature, as to Power, or Wisdom or Goodness, supposing them to be derivative from a Superior Being, they do still suppose an incomparable distance between the Creator and the creature. And it is farther observable in *Athanasius*, that he doth not lay the force of his argument in any distinction of the degrees of the *divine worship*, but useth promiscuously the terms of *Latria* and *Dulia*, as to the *worship* given to a creature; for where he speaks afterwards of the *Arians* and *Gentiles* agreeing in giving *divine worship* to a creature, he thus expresses it, τῇ κτίσει δουλῶντες ὡς τῷ κτίσῃ τὸ πᾶν ὁδοῦ, giving the worship of *Du-*

*Orat. 3.
p. 385.*

p. 387.

lia to a creature as well as to the Creator; not as though he looked on the worship of *Dulia* as distinct from *Latria*, but by using these words promiscuously he shews, that he understood by both of them that divine worship which is alone proper to God, and which being given to a creature makes it *Idolatry*. He farther saith, that supposing what excellencies we please in Christ, although derived from God, yet if we withal suppose him to be a mere man, if we give divine worship to him, we shall be found ἀνθρώπολάτρες worshippers of man, i. e. such kind of Idolaters as the Heathen were in the worship of Deified men: from which nothing can be more evident, than that the supposing the most real excellencies in a creature to have been by participation from God, doth not take off from the guilt of *Idolatry*, when that worship is given to the creature, which belongs only to God. S. Athanasius farther argues, that nothing but the divine nature is capable of adoration, and not any created excellency how great soever it be. For saith he, if the height of glory did deserve adoration, then every inferiour creature ought to worship the Superior; but it is no such matter, κλισμαν ὃ κλισμα ἰ περσωνει, for one creature

p. 394.

ture is not to worship another; but a servant his Lord, and the creature God. From hence Peter forbid Cornelius who would have worshipped him saying, For I also am a Man. And the Angel S. John saying, See thou do it not, for I am also thy fellow servant; worship God. Whence he infers, not that the Angel complemented S. John, nor that S. Peter only did it to shew his humility, but *Θεῷ ἡμῶν τὸ προσκυνᾶν*, that it is proper only to God to be worshipped, without any distinction of the nature, kinds, or degrees of worship. But how many distinctions would T. G. and his Brethren make before they would grant that proposition? It is true, say they, of *Latria*, sovereign and absolute worship, which is proper only to God; but not of an inferiour kind of divine worship, which may be given to a creature on the account of divine excellencies communicated to it by God: This we may suppose was the Answer of the Arians; but S. Athanasius was not certainly so weak a man to argue at this rate, if he had supposed this a sufficient answer; for he could not but foresee it; and a man of so much understanding, as it is evident he was, would have prevented this answer if he had thought it to the purpose; but in-

Orat. 4.
p. 64.

stead of that, he lets himself to prove, that the *Angels*, knowing themselves to be creatures, have on that account rejected all divine worship; on the other side the *Angels* are commanded to worship Christ, and Christ did receive divine worship; therefore, saith he, let the *Arians* burst themselves they can never make it appear that Christ would have been worshipped, if he had been a creature. And to prevent all subterfuges in this matter, in his fourth Oration, he argues against joyning Christ together with God in our prayers to him, if he were a creature, ἐκ ἀν γὰρ δεῖται λαβεῖν οὐδὲ τὸ πατέρις καὶ τῷ Ἀγγέλων, ἢ οὐδὲ πρὸς τῷ ἄλλων κτισμάτων. No man would ever pray to receive any thing from God and Angels; or from God and any creature. Little did *Athanasius* think of men joyning God and the Saints, or God and the *B. Virgin* in their prayers or praises: little did he imagine, that ever it would have been received in the Christian Church, to conclude their Books with a *Doxology* to God and the *B. Virgin*, *Lam Deo & B. Virgini*, as many of the greatest reputation in the Church of *Rome* have done: and as *Baronius* hath done it very solemnly at the end of every *Tome* of his *Annals*: as at the conclusion of the First, after

after the mention of the *Father, Son and Holy Ghost*, he adds, *Nec non & sanctissima virgini Dei Genitrici Maria, ut conciliatrici Divini Numinis; ipsi namque sicut hac omnia nostra accepta ferimus, ita pariter & offerimus; ut ipsa eadem qualiacunque sint dilecto filio suo porrigat, &c.* And in the end of the second he hath these words, *Et beneficii memor actura gratias (oratio) ex more ad sanctissimam Dei Genitricis Maria pedes prona se sternat; ut Cui accepta fert Omnia, dono offerat quicquid à Deo se ejus precibus intelligit consecutum.* Is not this joyning God and the creature together, which *Athanasius* supposes no Christian would ever do? but supposing they did it, he doth not at all suppose them to be excused from *Idolatry* in so doing. But *Athanasius* goes on shewing, that if the *Arians* confess *Christ* to be God, and to be of a distinct substance from his Father, they must bring in *Polytheism*; or at least worship two Gods, the one uncreated and unbegotten, the other created and begotten: and in so doing they must oppose one to the other. For, saith he, ἡ ὁμοουσιότης ἡ ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀπορροῖα καὶ ἀποκοπή ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ υἱὸν ἀπορροῖα καὶ ἀποκοπή ἐστίν, we cannot see one in the other, because of their different na-

Baron. Ann.
To. 1. in
Fina.

Tom. 2. A;
306. in
Fina.

Athan. or.
4. p. 468.

tures and operations. Which is an argument I desire *T. G.* to consider the weight of. He is proving, that supposing Christ to be of a different nature from God, although he had all imaginable excellencies in him communicated from the *Father*, yet God could not be worshipped in the *worshipping* of the *Son*; but these two *worships* must be opposite to each other, because the one is the *worship* of a *created*, the other of an *increated Being*. How far was *Athanasius* then from supposing, that the *worship* given to any *created Being* on the account of *communicated excellencies*, is at last carried to the *Supreme*, and terminated only upon him? For, he saith, that these two *worships* do *fight one against the other*: and therefore who ever do give such different *worships*, they must bring in more Gods than one, which is an *Apostasie* from one God: where we still observe that *Polytheism* is consistent as well as *Idolatry*, with the *acknowledgement* of one *Supreme Being*: and that they are said to *worship other Gods*, who do believe the true, but give *divine worship* to a *Creature*. And therefore he would have the *Arians* to reckon themselves together with the *Gentiles*: and although they shun the reproach of

of the name, yet they hold the same opinion with them: And it is to no purpose for them to say that they do not worship Two uncreated Beings, for this is only to deceive the simple: for although they do not worship two uncreated, yet they worship Two Gods of a different nature, the one created, the other uncreated. For, saith he in these remarkable words, if the Hea-
 thens worshipped one uncreated and many created; and they worship one uncreated, and one created, what difference is there between them and the Gentiles? for that one whom they worship is but as the many which the Gentiles, being of the same created nature together with them: therefore, he saith, they deny Christ and joyn with the Gentiles, giving the same worship to several Gods. I do not think any proposition in Euclid can be made more clear, than it is from these expressions of Athanasius, that he believed Idolatry to be consistent with the belief and worship of one God. The same thing he urges in other places, but if this be not proof enough, I know not what will be.

p. 469.

Epist. ad
 Adelph. p.
 157, 158,
 160, 161.

S. Gregory Nazianzen parallels those who worshipped the Son or Holy Ghost, supposing them to be creatures, with those who worshipped Astaroth or Chemosh or Remphan,

Greg. Na-
 zian. orat.
 40. p. 669.

phan, because they were creatures too: For whatever difference of honour or glory there be, all creatures are our fellow servants, and therefore not to be worshipped by us. Might not the Arians have charged Gregory Nazianzen to have imitated Julian the Apostate upon as good reason as T. G. doth me? For however in words they professed to abhor the worship of *Ashtoreth*, or *Chemosh*, or *Remphan*, as much as he did; yet he did not regard their professions, but thought it reasonable to judge by the nature of their actions. And what profaneness would T. G. have accounted this, to parallel the worship of the Son and Holy Ghost with that of *Chemosh* and *Ashtoreth*? Yet we see Gregory doth not forbear making use of the similitude of the worship, although there were so great a disparity in the objects. Gregory Nyssen saith, that the Devil by the means of Arianism brought Idolatry again insensibly into the world, persuading men to return to the worship of the creature by his sophistry, and that Arius, Eunomius, Eudoxius and Aetius were his instruments in restoring Idolatry under a pretence of Christianity. In another place, he hath this considerable passage. God commands by the Prophet, that

Grig. Nyss.
in laud.
Basil. Tom.
3. p. 484.

De Fide ad
simpl. Tom.
3. p. 38.

that we should have no new God, nor worship any strange God; but that is a new God which was not for ever; and that is a strange God which is different from our God. Who is our God? the true God; who is a strange God? he that hath a different nature from the true God. He that makes the Son a creature, makes him of a different nature. And they who make him a creature, do they worship him or no? if not, they joyn with the Jews, if they do worship him, εἰδωλολατρεῖν, they commit Idolatry. Therefore we must believe him to be the true Son of the true Father, that we may worship him, and doing so, that we be not condemned as worshipping a strange God. To the same purpose he argues against Eunomius; that it is the property of Idolaters to worship the creature, or any new or strange God; and that they who divide the Father and the Son, must either wholly take away the worship of the Son, or they must worship an Idol (the very word used by S. Gregory) making a creature and not God the object of their worship, καὶ χεῖρ ὀνοματὶ εἰδῶλον θιμνωσθῆναι, placing the name of Christ upon an Idol: that this was the fault of the Heathen Idolaters that they did δουλεύειν τοῖς μὴ θεοῖς, worship those which were not Gods

Greg. Nyss.
serm. c. Eunom.
orat. 2. p. 450.

p. 437.
453.

by

by nature, and therefore could not worship the true God: where it is observable that he uses the word *ἑωκείν* both for the worship given to Idols by the Heathens, and for that which is proper to God: from which it is evident that these Fathers knew of no such distinction of the nature of divine worship, as is understood in the Roman Church under the terms of *Latria* and *Dulia*: for if they had, having to deal with subtle adversaries, they would not have failed to have explained themselves in the matter; which had been absolutely necessary to the force of their own arguments, if any such distinction had been known or allowed in the Christian Church. Again he saith, that he that puts the name of Son to a creature ἐν τοῖς ἑωκείν τοῦ θεοῦ must be reckoned among Idolaters; for they, saith he, called Dagon, and Bel, and the Dragon God: but for all that they did not worship God; and therefore he still urgeth against Eunomius, that either with the Jews he must deny the worship of Christ, or he must joyn with the Gentiles in the worship of the creature.

Orat. 4. p. 563.

P. 443.

S. Basil. homil. 27. Sabel. & Ari.

S. Basil charges the Arians and Eunomians with bringing in the Polytheism and Idolatry of the Greeks; for they who say, that

that the Son of God is a creature, and yet worship him as God, do worship a creature and not the Creator, and so introduce Gentilism again. And against Eunomius, he urges the same places and reasons, which I have already mentioned out of Nys-
 sen, viz. that if Christ be not the eternal God, he must be a new and strange God; and to worship that which by nature is not God, is the fault S. Paul charges the Heathen Idolaters with.

C. Eunom.
 l. 4. οτι ε
 κτισμα ε
 υιου.

Epiphanius proves, that Christs being a creature, and having divine worship given him, are inconsistent according to the Scriptures: and that those who worship a creature, fall under S. Pauls reprehension of the Heathen Idolaters, who did call the creatures God: but true faith teaches us to worship the Creator and not the creature. He thinks this Rule sufficient against all the arts and sophistry of men, οτι οτι ουδεις ε προσκυνητων, that no creature ought to be worshipped. For, saith he, upon the same reason we worship one, we may worship all together with their creator, οτι οτι υιου κτισμα: where we see he doth not speak of such worship as doth exclude the Creator, but of that which is supposed to be joyned together with his; nor of a Sovereign worship to be given to them, but

Epiph. ha-
 res. 64. n. 8.

Heres. 69.
n. 31.

n. 35.

but of such as doth suppose the distance between the Creator and his Creatures. Upon this principle, he saith, the Arians made the Son of God like to the Idols of the Heathens: for if he be not the true God, he is not to be worshipped; nay, he adds, that those who said Christ was to be worshipped although a creature, did build up Babylon again, and set up the image of Nebuchadnezzar, and by their words as by Musical instruments draw men to the worship of an Image rather than of the true God. Is it credible, saith he, that God should make a creature to be worshipped, when he hath forbidden men to make any likeness of things in Heaven or Earth, and to fall down and worship it? when the Apostle makes this the Idolatry of the Heathen that they worshipped the creature as well as the Creator: wherein they became Fools: for it is a foolish thing to attribute divinity to a creature, and to break the first Commandment of the Law, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. Therefore, saith he, the holy Church of God doth not worship any creature, but the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father, together with the Holy Ghost. To the very same purpose, he speaks in his
An-

Ancoratus. If the Son of God be a creature, he is not to be worshipped; for it is *Ancor. n. 1*
 folly and wickedness to worship a crea- 50.
 ture. But these are not the only persons
 whom Epiphanius charges with such Ido-
 latry as is consistent with the belief of
 one True God: for he charges those with
 Idolatry who gave Divine worship to the *Heres. 78.*
 B. Virgin; and saith, that this was that *n. 23.*
 very Idolatry which God condemned in the
 people of Israel, *ἱουδαῖοι καὶ βασιλεῖς λατρεύοντες*
 there shall be worshippers of the dead:
 which worship of the B. Virgin, was of-
 fering up a Cake to her (which surely is
 not so much as mens offering up them-
 selves to be her slaves, and offering up
 their devotions and services to her) yet
 this Epiphanius cries out upon as rank Ido- *Heres. 79.*
 latry, and destructive to their Souls who *n. 4.*
 did it, and the device of the Devil; who *78. n. 23.*
 always brought in Idolatry, saith he, un- *79. n. 3.*
 der fair pretences. Which of all the Pro-
 phets ever suffered a man to be worship-
 ped, not to speak of a woman? And al-
 though she have never so great excellen-
 cies, yet her nature remains the same
 with others: But neither is Elias to be
 worshipped, although still alive; nor S. John,
 although he received extraordinary favour
 from Christ; nor Thecla, nor any other
 of

h. 4.

98. n. 24.

of the Saints. For, saith he, the old deceit shall not prevail over us, to leave the living God, and to worship the things that are made by him: for they, saith S. Paul, served and worshipped the creature more than the Creator, and therein became Fools. But if it be not lawful to worship Angels, how much less to worship the Daughter of Anna? Of whom our Saviour said on purpose *τι ποιῶς σοί*; what have I to do with thee? Lest any should think more than was fitting of her, he calls her woman, as foreseeing the Schisms and Heresies that would come into the world on her account. We are not to imagine that these people were so silly to take the B. Virgin for the Great God, nor that they did forsake the worship of God and Christ for that of the B. Virgin; but all that Epiphanius saith of them is, that they brought her in *ἀντὶ Θεοῦ* in stead of a Deity, i. e. that they gave divine honour to her; and whosoever did give this to a creature, they looked on them as guilty of forsaking the true God, however they might in words still profess and acknowledge him; So he charges those with Idolatry who worshipped Jephthas daughter, and Thermutis the daughter of Pharaoh; but it were madness to think that either of these were esteemed

esteemed by their worshippers, the Supreme Deity. But Epiphanius fully explains himself, when he saith that Idolatry comes into the world through an adulterous inclination of the mind, which cannot be contented with one God alone; like an adulterous woman that is not satisfied with the chaste embraces of one Husband, and wanders in her lust after many Lovers. Therefore as adultery is consistent with the owning of one lawful Husband, so is Idolatry with the profession of one true God. Therefore Epiphanius bids men, have a care of too great an admiration of the Saints, lest it should lead them into this dangerous error; that the safest way is to honour their Lord; that those are equally to blame who too much extol the B. Virgin, as those who depress and vilify her; too great praises being apt to become an occasion of others falling: and therefore he repeats it twice as the saying he would have all Christians remember, *ὁ Μαρία ἐν κυρίῳ, ὁ Θεὸς προσκυνοῦμεν*, Honour the Virgin, but worship God; and lest any should think worship were a part of that honour which was due to her, he saith expressly, *ἢ Μαρία μὴδεὶς προσκυνοῦμεν*, Let no man worship the B. Virgin: for that belongs neither to the Woman, nor to her Husband,

Husband, nor to Angels, but to God alone: How punctually hath the Church of Rome followed the Counsel of Epiphanius ! But of this at large hereafter.

S. Cyril.
Alex. The-
saur. assert.
15. p. 149.

S. Cyril of Alexandria likewise makes those guilty of Heathen Idolatry, of worshipping the creature rather than the creator, who give adoration to Christ supposing him to be a creature : and he undertakes to demonstrate out of Scripture, that no creature ought to be worshipped as God ; and that nothing which doth give adoration to God, ought to receive it from others : which he proves, from the examples of Peter to Cornelius, the Angels to S. John, and Manoe ; and that whatever excellency we suppose in creatures, it doth not make them capable of divine worship ; but although they have different excellencies, yet one sort is not to worship another, but all of them are to worship God alone, and his Son Christ Jesus. Again, if Christ be not God, and we give him worship, we shall be found *ἐκείνῳ θεῷ καὶ κτίσιν δουλῶντες*, worshipping the creature rather than the Creator ; (where we are to observe that S. Cyril applies *δουλῶντες* to proper divine worship.) Again, it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve ; how then, if he be a
crea

Assert. 32.
p. 307.

P. 314.

creature, can be worshipped by us?

And elsewhere, the question being proposed, whether we may worship Christ as man? he answers, God forbid: for, saith he, this would be vanity, error and deceit; and we should differ nothing from those who worshipped the creature rather than the Creator, and be liable to the same charge S. Paul draws up against the Heathen Idolaters, viz. that they changed the Truth of God into a lie, &c. and at large there shews, that this would be relapsing into the old Idolatry. In his Commentaries on S. John he shews, that although Christ had never so divine excellencies communicated to him, yet he was not a fit object for our worship if he were not the true God; because we are bound to serve and worship God alone: and that if he be not so, not only mankind but the Angels will be guilty of Idolatry in giving him adoration. In his Dialogues about the Trinity, he saith, it is one of the great blessings we have by Christ, to be delivered from the worship of the Creature; but in case we return to that, the institution of Moses will be found better than that of Christianity; for that did strictly forbid all worship of creatures, and

De Incarn.

unigenit.

p. 700.

Concil.

Ephes. Cy.

vil. 263.

περσφ.

S. 31.

Comment.

in Evang.

Joh. l. 2.

p. 217.

l. 10. p. 830.

Dialog. 4.

de Trinit.

p. 512.

called men from them to the worship of God alone; that this was the reproach of the Gentiles, that they worshipped Creatures, and that the Christians returned to Gentilism, if they worshipped a Creature together with God; τῇ κτίσει συναναπλήκοντες τὸν πῶς Θεόν: and afterwards, he calls this a falling from Christ; all which doth fully discover S. Cyrils judgement that Idolatry is consistent with the acknowledgement and worship of one Supreme God.

Theodor. de heret. fab. l. 3. c. 3. Theodoret saith, he that came to take away the worship of the creature, would never set it up again: for this would be a most absurd thing, to bring them back again, τῇ ᾧ πομπῶν δαλῆς to the worship of creatures, where he uses *dulia* likewise for the adoration that is due to the Son and Holy Ghost.

S. Chrysost. Tom. 6. c. 6. τειδ' S. S. Chrysostom saith, that the Arians and Macedonians making one Great God, and another less and created God, did bring in Gentilism again. For it is that which teacheth men to worship a Creature; and to make one great God, and others inferiour. Such as these S. Paul condemns, for giving worship to a creature: and they are accursed according to the Law of Moses: which saith, Cursed is

it every one who worships a creature, or any thing that is made.

S. Ambrose goes farther and saith, S. Ambros.
S. Paul foresaw that Christians would de Fide,
be brought to the worship of Creatures, l. 1. c. 7.
and therefore not only condemns the Gen- ad Grat.
tiles, but warns the Christians by say- De Fide c.
ing, that God would damn those who Arian. c. 2.
worship the creature rather than the
Creator. Either therefore let the Arians
cease to worship him whom they call a
creature; or cease to call him a creature
whom they worship; lest under the name of
worshippers they be found to commit the
greater sacrilege.

De Incarn.
Sacr. c. 8.

S. Augustin saith, that the Arians by
giving worship to Christ as God, whom
they believed to be a creature, did make
more Gods than one, and break the Law
of God which did forbid the worship of
more than one God; and set up Idols to
themselves, although they acknowledged
one Great God, and made the Son and
Holy Ghost lesser and inferiour Gods.

S. Aug. c.
Sermon.
Arian. c.
29. c. Max.
l. 1.

l. 3. c. 4.
Ep. 66.

From this unanimous consent of the
Fathers in charging the Arrians with
Idolatry, it most evidently follows, that
according to them Idolatry is consistent
with the belief and worship of one Su-

preme God; which is not, the *only* considerable advantage we gain by those *Testimonies*, but from them it likewise appears, 1. That it is *Idolatry* to give *divine worship* to any *creature*, how great soever the *excellencies* of that *creature* be; for none can be imagined greater, than those which the *Arians* attributed to the *Son of God*. 2. That the *Fathers* looked on the *worship* of *Dulia* as *divine worship*; as appears by their applying that term to the *worship* which was given to *Christ*. 3. That the name of an *Idol* doth belong to the most *real* and *excellent* being, when *divine worship* is given to it; for they give this name to *Christ* himself, when he is *worshipped* as a *Creature*. 4. That *relative Latria* is *Idolatry*, when given to any *Creature*. For this was all the *Arians* subterfuge, that it could not be *Idolatry* to *worship Christ* as a *Creature*, because they *worshipped* him only as the *Image* of *God*, and relatively terminating their *worship* on *God the Father* through him: notwithstanding which answer of theirs, the *Fathers* with one consent, declare such *worship* to be *Idolatry*; and that it would make way for the *worship* of any *creature*,

ture, and was the *introducing of Heathen Idolatry* under a pretence of *Christianity*. These things which are here only observed in passage, will be of great use in the following *Discourses*.

N 4 CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Nature of Divine worship.

Q. I. **I** Now come to the second Enquiry, wherein the Nature of that Divine worship lies, which being given to a creature makes that worship Idolatry? And that I may proceed with all possible clearness in this matter, I shall enquire, 1. What worship is? 2. What Divine worship is, and what are the proper acts of it? 3. How the applying of these Acts to a Creature, doth make the worship of it Idolatry?

I. What worship is. *Aquinas* hath given this distinction between honour and worship; that honour is *quadam recognitio excellentie alicujus*, an acknowledgement of anothers excellency, but *cultus* or worship in *quodam obsequio consistit*, implies subjection to another. The foundation of this distinction doth not lie so much in the force and signification of the words, as in the different effects that excellency alone conside-

*Aquin. 2. 2.
q. 102.
art. 2.*

considered hath upon our minds ; from what it hath when it is joyned with *Superiority* and a *Power* over us. Meer *excellency* doth produce only in our minds a due *esteem* according to the nature and degrees of it ; which is a *debitum morale* , as the Schoolmen speak, from us towards it, *i.e.* something which according to nature and reason we ought to give it, and therefore it is accounted a part of *natural justice*, to esteem whatever excellencies we apprehend to be in others, although we receive no benefit by them our selves ; and whatever implies a real excellencie, whether it be intellectual or moral, whether infinite or finite, whether natural or acquired, it deserves an estimation suitable to its kind and degree. But the *honour* which is due to *excellencie* doth not only lie in an act of the mind ; but in a correspondent inclination of the will to testifie that esteem by such outward expressions as may manifest it to others ; and that either by *words*, which is called *Praise* ; or by *gestures*, as *bowings* of the body ; or by *facts*, as *gifts*, *statues*, &c. All these *Aquinas* tells us do belong to *honour*. But *worship* implies something q. 103.
art. 1. beyond this ; which is *subjection* to another on the account of his *Power* over us ;
for

for we may express *honour* and *esteem* towards *equals* or *inferiours*, because the reason of it may be in those as well as others; therefore there must be a different duty in us with respect to *Superiority*; and this is *worship*. So the *Schoolmen*

define *adoration*; *adorare non dicimur, nisi in dignitate constitutos, quos nobis Superiores cognoscimus*, saith *Vasquez*. *Honor potest esse ad aequalem*, saith *Suarez*, juxta *Tanner*. *Theolog. Scholast. Disp. 5. q. 25. sect. 1.* *illud ad Rom. 12. honore invicem prævenientes; adoratio vero respicit alium ut excellentem & superiorem. Ex parte adorantis plane necessarium est*, saith *Tanner*. *n. 27.* *Pujol de sacro ador. cultu disp. 1. sect. 1.* *Pujol*, *Adoratio est submissio quædam & quasi humiliatio, quam subditus facit propter excellentiam superioris, & in honorem illius: and Gamacheus, Adoratio essentialiter includit subjectionem ac submissionem aliquam. Adoratio est inferioris ad superiorem*, saith *Rsambertus*: *Cardinal Lugo* goes farther, saying of *Cultus*, *se apud probatos auctores videre, semper eam vocem applicari ad significandam reverentiam erga superiores. And although Arriaga thinks Cultus of a larger signification, yet the definition he gives of adoration*

Vasquez in 3. part. Tho. disp. 93. c. 1. Suarez in 3. part. disp. 51. q. 25. sect. 1. Tanner. Theolog. Scholast. Disp. 5. de Rel. q. 2. dub. 1. n. 27. Pujol de sacro ador. cultu disp. 1. sect. 1. Gamacheus. Comment. in 3. p. Th. q. 25. de Adorat. Rsambert. in 3. part. Thom. ad. q. 25. Lugo de mysterio Incarn. disp. 33. n. 2. Arriaga in 3. Th. disp. 50. sect. 1.

ration

ration is, that it is *honor exhibitus superiori in signum submissionis & humiliationis*. Bellarmine makes the first act of adoration, to be in the mind, and that only the apprehension of the excellencie of the object; but the second in the will, to be not only an inclination of it towards the object, but a willing by some internal or external act to acknowledge the excellencie of the object and our subjection: and to these he adds, the external act, either of bowing the head, or bending the knee, or some other token of subjection. So that Bellarmine agrees with the rest in making the formal act of adoration to be subjection to a superiour: but withal, he makes the meer apprehension of excellencie to include the formal reason of it; whereas meer excellencie without Superiority doth not require any subjection but only estimation. For let us apprehend never so great excellencie in a Person that hath no Authority over us, the only effect of it in us, is only a mighty estimation; whereas the apprehension of Power and Authority in a Person, where there is not that opinion of excellencie doth naturally incline men to submission to him. Nay, although we apprehend a conjunction of Excellencie and Power together,

Bellarmin. de
sanct. bea-
tit. l. 1. c.
12.

gether, if that power doth not respect us, we find no inclination in our selves by any acts to testifie our subjection to it. As if we apprehend the greatest things in the world of the *Emperor of China*, or *Japan*; how doth that apprehension move us to express any acts of subjection to either of them? we are well enough contented for all that to let them govern at home, and think it more our own interest and duty to submit to those who have the *Power* over our *Selves*. Nay, yet farther, if according to the *Epicurean Hypothesis*, we could suppose *God* himself to be a most excellent being, but to exercise no *power* or *Authority* over the world, there would be still reason for a great esteem left; but not for the *subjection* of our selves to him: and we might express that esteem by *praises*, and other *testimonies* of his *honour*; but there would be no ground for any proper *service* or *worship* of him; either in *prayers* or *thanksgivings*, or any rites of *Religious worship* which imply any *dependence* upon him, or *subjection* to him. So that the notion of *Honour* and *worship* are in themselves distinct things, the one arising from the apprehension of *excellencie*, and the formal reason of the other, being *Superiority* and a *Power* over us.

For

2. For the *nature* of *Divine worship*; it must consist in *such a subjection of our selves to God*; as is most suitable to the apprehensions we ought to have of his infinite Power and Sovereignty over us. And because his Sovereignty is *supreme, absolute and peculiar* to himself; therefore our worship of him must approach as near to the expression of this, as it is possible for us to come, *i. e.* it must be of the highest nature, with the greatest submission of our souls to him, it must be entire, not divided between him and others, and it must have such a *peculiarity* in it, as may not be given to any besides himself. For whatever *worship* is common to him and others, doth not serve to express the sense of our minds as to his *peculiar Sovereignty* over us; and this is one of the inviolable *Rights of Sovereignty*, to have such acts of *worship* appropriated to it, that the giving of these to any other, is a violation of the *Royal Dignity*: and this hath been looked on as a *crimen Læsæ Majestatis*, and to deserve as high a punishment as any other whatsoever; because it is an immediate attempt upon the *Sovereign Power*, and whatever lessens it tends to overthrow it. If then God be
acknow-

p. 2.

acknowledged by all to have the *only Supreme Power* over us, nothing can be more unreasonable in it self, nor a greater affront to his Majesty, than to make all outward expressions of our duty to him common to himself and his Creatures.

I know it is not denied by T. G. or his Brethren, that there is a *Sovereign worship which belongs to God*: but we are to consider, that withal they tell us, (1.) That the external acts of adoration or worship are equivocal, and sometimes may signify the honour which belongs to God, and sometimes that which belongs to the Creature. (2.) That even sacrifice it self, which they look on as most peculiar to God and an acknowledgement of the absolute worship due to him, doth receive the formality of such an act from an intention to profess a total submission of our selves to God as the *Supreme Author of life and death*; otherwise T. G. saith, the material action of sacrifice may be done for several ends and intentions. By which it appears that upon the whole matter, the nature of divine worship is not, according to them, to be taken from any external acts, but from the inward intention of the mind.

But that there are some peculiar external acts of *Divine worship* which ought to be attributed

attributed to none but to God himself ;
 I prove, 1. From the *nature and design*
of Religious worship. 2. From the *Law of*
God appropriating some acts only to God.
 3. From the *practise of the Christian*
Church, condemning those for Idolatry, who
have given them to any creature.

1. From the *nature and design of Religi-*
ous worship, which is to put a difference
 between the *worship* we give to God and
 to his *Creatures.* For since God hath ap-
 pointed *Government* among men, it is
 plain that his intention was, that some
 kind of worship should be given from
 some of his creatures to others, although
 of the same nature with themselves ; for
 where there is a power to punish and to
 reward, there is the foundation of *wor-*
ship in those who are under that power :
 which *worship* lies in expressing a due re-
 gard to that *power*, by a care not to pro-
 voke it, and an endeavour to obtain the
 favour of it ; which being among man-
 kind living in *Society* with each other, is
 therefore called *civil worship.* Which
 denomination it doth not lose although
 we give that *worship* to *Superiours* upon
 a *Religious account*, *i. e.* though I give
 worship to my Sovereign with a respect
 to God, because he hath commanded it,
 and

and I intend to honour him by it; yet the worship doth not take its denomination from my intention, but from the nature of the *Act*, which being *civil*, the worship continues to bear that name. By which we see that the *external circumstances* which do accompany mens acts, are those which do so circumscribe and limit them, that from thence they become either *civil* or *Religious*. I cannot therefore but extremely wonder to see men of understanding so much to seek in this matter, *because the same external acts are common to divine and civil worship*; but what then? doth it therefore follow that there is no certain way to discriminate these one from the other? I grant the same *external act* of *adoration* may be used to men which is used to God; as *Abraham* bowed to the *Children of Heth* in token of *civil respect*, as well as when he worshipped God; but could not any one that considered the *circumstances* make a plain difference between these two sorts of *adoration*? When the *Roman Emperours* would have *divine honours* given to them, were any of the people of *Rome* so senseless to say they knew no difference between them and the *worship* given them before, because they might use
the

the same *external acts of adoration* in both cases? Suppose the *Pope* one day to sit on a throne as a temporal *Prince*, and on that account summoning his subjects to give *homage* to him, and another day to be placed upon the *Altar*, as he is after his election by the Orders of the *Roman Church*, there to receive *adoration* from the *Cardinals* as the *Vicar of Christ*. Ceremon. Rom. l. 1. sect. 6. would any man say he could see no difference in these, because the same postures may be used in both? Although then the *outward acts* may be the same, yet the *signification* of those *acts* may be far from *equivocal*, because determined by the *circumstances* which do accompany them. I grant then, that the meer external act of adoration in bowing or kneeling, may be given both on the account of *honour* and *worship*, i. e. upon the account of excellencie, and superiority; as some of the *Patriarchs* bowed to *Angels*, as a token of *honour* of their excellencies, and not out of *Religious worship*; and men may bow and kneel to their Sovereign Princes on the account of *civil worship*; and Children to their Parents in token of their *subjection* to them; as well as *creatures* to their *Creator* in their solemn acts of *devotion*: but I say in all these cases,

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the

the different signification of these acts is to be gathered from the *circumstances* of them.

§. 3.

De Invent.
l. 2. c. 53.

And that acts of *Religious*, and *civil worship* might be distinguished from each other, came the appointment of *set times* and *places*, and *solemn rites* for the performance of *Religious worship*. From hence *Cicero* gives that definition of *Religion*, *Religio est, qua superioris cujusdam naturae (quam divinam vocant) curam ceremoniarumque affert*: therefore they thought the *solemn rites* and *circumstances* of *Religious worship* were sufficient to discriminate the *nature* of that worship from any other: and these they thought so peculiar to the *divine nature*, that whatever Being they gave this *solemn worship* to, they thought to deserve the name of a *Deity* although inferior and subordinate: because these acts of worship were appropriated to a *Divine Being*. *Aquinas* cannot deny that there are some external acts of *Religion* so peculiar to God that they ought not to be given to any other; and on this account he makes *Religion* a moral virtue, and a part of justice, because it is its office reddere cultum debitum Deo, to give God the worship which belongs to him; now, saith he, be-
cause

Aqu. 2.2.
q. 81. art.
1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

cause the excellencie of God is peculiar to himself, being infinitely above all others, therefore the worship which belongs to him ought to be peculiar. *Ad Religionem pertinet, saith Cajetan, exhibere reverentiam uni Deo, secundum unam rationem, in quantum sc. est primum principium creationis & gubernationis rerum.* But since this reason of Religious worship, from the creation and government of the world, is so peculiar to God, as to be incommunicable to any else besides him, is there not all the reason in the world that the Acts of this worship should be peculiar to him too? And upon this ground *Aquinas* doth grant it in the case of sacrifice; *hoc etiam videmus in omni Republica observari, quod summum Rectorem aliquo signo singulari honorant, quod cuicunque alteri deferretur esset crimen lese Majestatis; & ideo in lege divina statuitur pena mortis iis qui divinum honorem alius exhibent.* From whence we infer, not only that there ought to be peculiar external acts of Religious worship appropriated to God, but that the giving the worship done by those acts to any creature, is a crime of the highest nature. The same *Aquinas*, disputing against the *Heathens*, saith, that it is an unreasonable thing, to those that hold one first prin-

Cajet. Comment. in
Aq. 2. 2.
q. 81. art. 3.

Aq. 2. 2.
q. 83. art. 2.

Aqu. c. Gra-
tius c. 120.

ciple, to give divine worship to any other besides him: and we give worship to God, not that he needs it; but that hereby the belief of one God may be confirmed in us by external and sensible acts, which cannot be done, saith he, unless there be some peculiar acts of his worship, and this we call divine worship. Besides, this external worship is necessary to men, to raise in their minds a spiritual reverence of God; and we find that custom hath a great influence on mens minds; but it is a custom among men that the honour or worship given to the Supreme Governour should be given to none else; therefore it ought to be much more so towards God; because if a liberty be allowed of giving this worship to others of a higher rank and not only to the supreme, then men and Angels might give divine worship to one another. To which he adds, that the benefits we receive from God are peculiar to him, as that of creation and preservation, and that he is our Lord by a proper title, and Angels and the best of creatures are but his servants, therefore we ought not to give the same worship to them that we do to God as our Lord. In his disputation about Idolatry, he shews, that the command *Exod. 20.* doth reach to external

well as internal worship; and he argues against those, who pleaded that all visible and external worship ought to be given to other Gods, and only internal to the supreme God; as being much better, upon this principle, that the external belongs only to him, to whom the internal belongs; and he disputes against those Hereticks, who thought it lawful in time of persecution to give external worship to Idols, as long as they preserved the true faith in their minds; for, saith he, the external worship is a profession or sign of the internal, but as it is a pernicious thing for a man to speak contrary to his mind; so it is to act contrary to it, and therefore S. Augustin condemned Seneca as so much the more culpable in the worship of Idols, because he acted against the sense of his own mind. In the next article, he shews, that art. 3. idolatry is a sin of the highest nature; for, saith he, as in a commonwealth, it is the greatest crime to give the honour due to the Sovereign to any other (for this is as much as lies in a man to put all things into disorder and confusion) so among the sins that are committed against God, that seems to be the greatest, whereby a man gives divine worship to a creature: and saith, that it includes blasphemy

in it, because it takes away from God the peculiarity of his dominion; Cajetan there saith, that the Idolater, as much as in him lies, tollit à Deo suam singularem excellentiam qua solus est Deus; robs God of that peculiar excellencie whereby he is God alone. Thus we see the necessity of some peculiar external acts of divine worship is asserted by these men in order to the preserving the belief and worship of one God in the world. Suarez grants, that as the excellency of God is singular and above all creatures; so he ought to have a singular and incommunicable worship, as plain from those words of Scripture, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve: but then he makes this worship peculiar to God, to consist chiefly in the internal acts of the mind, which only in themselves and of their own nature are such as do belong to the worship of God; but external acts are not so determined of themselves, but they may be given either to God or to the creature: however, he grants, that although outward acts be in themselves indifferent, yet when sufficient Authority hath appropriated some acts as peculiar to divine worship, they ought to be used for no other purpose; and that if these acts of worship be

Suarez in
3. p. q. 25.
disp. 51.
sect. 4.

applied to a creature, it makes that worship at least external Idolatry, if it be not done *ex animo* and out of a false opinion.

§. 4.

In this point of the external acts of divine worship, these two things may be observed of the Divines of the Roman Church.

1. That in the general they confess, that there ought to be some peculiar external acts of divine worship, as most agreeable to Gods incommunicable excellencie; and in particular, when they are pressed with any difficulties from *Scripture* or *Fathers*, about not giving divine worship to a creature, then they are sure to tell us, those places are to be understood of the worship that is proper only to God. Thus they think to escape the force of that place which is so evident, that it blinds them with the light of it; *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*; which was certainly understood of an external act of worship; for the Devil said to Christ, *Fall down and worship me*. Yes, say they, that is very true of the adoration proper to God; but what is that? for they say there is no outward act of adoration but is common to God and his Creatures. *Tanner* excepts no creature, inanimate or animate, but only the Devil;

Mat. 4. 10.

Tanner. Toi
3. disp. 5.
de Rel. q. 2.
dub. 1. n.
19.

yet lest he should have gone too far in this, he saith afterwards, *that physically speaking God may be worshipped in any creature, but then men must have a care that they do not truly and properly worship the thing it self; but only use the external signs of divine honour before it, applying them to what is represented.* I confess this gives a very slender account of our Saviours answer, for it seems he might *physically speaking* have worshipped God, by falling down before the Devil; all the danger was in the scandal and indecencie of it: but being done in a wilfulness, the scandal of it, as to men at least, had not been great. Vasquez resolves the case, *that if the Devil appear to a man, he may do all the external acts of adoration before him, provided he be not well assured it is the Devil, and that he direct his worship to God:* and that he proves by this demonstrative argument, *because all external acts of adoration are to be directed by the inward intention of the mind;* but he confesses many of their Divines allow only a conditional adoration in this case; however it seems our Saviour spake a little too peremptorily, in utterly refusing it upon any terms. But when they tell us the Devil was too saucy, and

Vasquez in
3. p. Thom.
disp. 110.
c. 5.

and demanded the *absolute worship proper only to God*; i. e. saith *Vasquez*, not merely the external act of adoration, but that inward submission of mind which is only due to God, which is more than appears by the words. *Bellarmino* and the rest of them say that our Saviour refused to give the worship of *Latria* to the Devil; by which it seems, our Saviour did not answer to the purpose, for the Devil expressed no more, than falling down and worshipping him; which according to them might be done without *Latria*, by the same external act, but not the same intention of mind: which not being in the power of him that demands, but only of him that gives, nothing had been more necessary than to have expressly required the intention of the mind, otherwise the Devil might have been easily cheated by directing the intention of the external act quite another way; but for all that we can see, the Devil was then to learn these subtilties. However, this now serves to turn off the plainest places that would seem to prove, that all external acts of Religious worship are to be given only to God. The Hereticks, saith *Arriaga*, object many things out of Scriptures, and Fathers, and Councils, in which it is said

disp. 94.

c. 1.

Bellarmino. de

sanct. bap-

tist. l. 1. c.

14.

Arriaga. in

3. p. Th.

disp. 54.

sect. 1. n. 5.

said that God only is to be worshipped; but to all these we answer in one word, that they only speak of the worship of *Latria* which is proper to God: and so they would have answered thousands of places more, as well as those that are urged against them: so that the reserving this worship as peculiar to God serves them to very good purpose, viz. to turn off as with a wet finger whatever is urged against them. So *Bernardus Pujol* without more ado sends away all the Testimonies of the Fathers, *Ad loca sanctorum Patrum respondemus, illa intelligenda esse de adoratione Latria quæ soli Deo tribuitur*; and so fare them well, without any farther examination. And yet some of these men upon better thoughts have concluded that some of the places of Scripture cannot be understood of the worship of *Latria*. For although *Aquinas*, *Tannerus* and several others, answer the instance of *Mordecai* refusing to worship *Aman*, with the common shift, that he would not give *Latria* to him, yet *Cajetan*, *Suarez*, *Vasquez*, *Pujol* and *Arriaga*, all conclude, that *thū* is not to be understood of the worship of *Latria*; but that *Mordecai* refused to use the same external act of adoration, which among the Jews they were wont to give

*Pujol de cultu Ador-
rat. disp. 2.
sect. 3. in
fin.*

*Aq. 2. 2.
q. 84. art. 1.
Tanner. xbi
supra.*

to God: wherein Cajetan thinks, he was ^{Cajet. in} not so wise as he might have been, be- ^{Aq.} cause Jacob worshipped his Brother Esau; Arriaga, that he did well though he followed an erring conscience: Suarez, Vas- ^{Suarez in} quex, and Pujol, that he did prudently, ^{3. p. disp. 52. sect. 3. Vasquez. disp. 97. Pujol. ib.} because the constant using of that act of adoration to Aman, which among them did belong to the worship of God, would have tended to the dishonour of God and Religion, and have been a great scandal to the Jews. Neither is Cajetan satisfied with the same answer to the instance of St. John's offering to worship the Angel, for this were, saith he, to charge St. John with committing a very great sin, which the Angel hindred him from the consummation of: but, saith he, St. John intended no more than the greatest external act of Reverence; but because so great reverence ought to be reserved only to God, that some outward reverence might be appropriated to Him, therefore the Angel forbade him giving it to him. Suarez confesses, that it cannot be understood of Latria, but that the Angel put it off with a complement, as St. Peter did to Cornelius: and with him the rest agree, either as a complement to his Person, or to humane nature since the Incarnation: but

Aquin. 15

Aquinas pertinently saith, it was to avoid the occasion of Idolatry, because the Angel immediately adds, worship God. Thus far we find they go in the avoiding of difficulties.

2. But when they deliver their minds freely, they reserve no one act of external adoration as proper to God; and to be performed by all Christians. *Bellarmin* saith, that *fere omnes actus exteriores communes sunt omni adorationi*, almost all external acts are common to the adoration of God and the Creatures, excepting sacrifice, and what belongs to that, as Temples, Altars and Priests, which, he saith, God hath reserved to himself. *Arriaga* saith,

*De sanct.
beat. l. 1.
c. 12.*

*Arriag. ad
3. p. disp.
51. sect. 6.
in fin.
Suarez in
3. p. quest.
51. sect. 4.
quest. 52.
sect. 3.*

that there is no external act of adoration but may be given to creatures, excepting only sacrifice; *Suarez*, that sacrifice it self doth not signifie our acknowledgement of Gods sovereignty of it self, but only by custom and imposition; for the killing of a sacrifice doth not of it self signifie that God is the Author of Life and Death. And for other parts of Religious worship he confesses, that Temples are erected and Festivals kept to the honour of Saints, at least secondarily; that they are worshipped with Fastings, Vigils, Pilgrimages, and such like; that their wor-

worship is deservedly called Religious worship. 1. Because it consists of Religious actions. 2. Because it is so nearly conjoined with divine worship. 3. Because it tends to mens improvement in Religion. 4. Because it is founded in sanctity, which is next to Religion. It seems then nothing is left to God, but having the same things done to him in the first place, which may in a secondary respect be done to his creatures; for we are told, that even Sa- T.G.p.993.
crifice it self may be offered to God for the honour of his creatures. But what is this sacrifice now among Christians, which is peculiar to God? There is no other, saith Arriaga, but that of the Altar; and this, as Cajetan observes, cannot reach to all Christians, but only belongs to the Priests to offer it: but instead of this, he saith from Aquinas, that two sorts of spiritual sacrifices do belong to all, viz. the offering up of their minds in devotion to God, and the offering up the acts of other virtues. So that at last we see no one external act of proper Religious worship is by them left as peculiar to God, which all mankind are obliged to perform.

And to this purpose we have the plain resolution of Cardinal Lugo, which I the rather mention because of his great Authority, and

Disput. 52.
sect. 2.
Cajet. in 2.
2. q. 86.
art. 4.

Lugo de
Myst. In-
carn. disp.
33. sect. 1.
p. 22, &c.

and Eminency, and writing since the rest ; He puts the question, Whether there be any sign, or external act of adoration, which it is not lawful to give to any, but to God alone? For, saith he, *genuflection, and smiting the breast, and such like, are given to Saints.* To this he answers, 1. *That it is possible such a sign or external act may be instituted by men, as may signify only that worship which is proper to God.* 2. *That Sacrifice is not properly an act of adoration, but of another kind distinct from it.* 3. *That there is no one external act of adoration, which is proper to Latria, or the worship peculiar to God.*

Q. 5.

But to what end were there any such thing as *publique Religious worship* among men, on the account of Gods peculiar *Sovereignty* over us, if the acts of that worship be not appropriated to himself? For there is no necessity of *publique worship* for the acts of the *mind*, which are performed out of the view of others. What is *publique* must be *external*, and if there be any necessity that God be publicly owned and worshipped by us, as our only Lord and Almighty Maker of Heaven and Earth; the very same natural reason which directs

to this, doth likewise shew, that what is intended for his publique worship, ought to be communicated to none else besides him. Neither is it enough, *that he have the first and chief place in worship*, which only implies a *superiority of order and degree*; but since he is acknowledged to be infinitely above all creatures, and to be the *sole Creator and Governour of the world*, the *acts of worship* to him as such, ought to be *peculiar*, and *appropriated* wholly to himself: For if other *Beings* come to have a share, although *secondarily*, with him in the *acts* of his worship, they ought to have a share with him in the proper reason of that worship, *i. e.* in the *Creation and Government* of the world. But if *Creation and Providence* be the *Foundations* of *divine worship*, and those do suppose *infinite and incommunicable perfections*, on what pretence of reason can beings infinitely distant from *God*, come to have a share in the *Acts of Religious worship*, which were purposely designed for the acknowledgement of such a *Being*, whom the most *excellent creatures* are bound to adore as well as we? Is not this joyning *Subjects* together with their *Sovereign* in the highest expressions of our duty to him? What Prince in the world would bear such an affront

front from an *Embassadour* of a *Foreign Prince*, as that in a publique *Audience*, when he is introduced on purpose to express the *Honour* that is to be given to the *Person* of the *King*, he should use all the same expressions of it, to his *servants* and *subjects* who stand about him, that he doth to himself? Would this be a just excuse, *that these were done to him in the first place, and only secondarily to his servants?* And if this would not be born by one Prince from the subject of another, how much less from his own? And if Princes will not bear this from their subjects, who are of the same nature with themselves; how can men be so vain to imagine the great *God* will bear it from his creatures, to have no publique Religious act of worship given to himself, but what is given to those who are confessed to be infinitely distant from him? It is not the supposition of *excellency* in them will ever justify this: For let their *excellency* be never so great, it is still but a *created excellency*: And their *excellency* can never make them so much *above us*, as their being *created* makes them *inferiour to God*: and in acts of *Religious worship*, we ought not so much to consider our distance from them, as their distance from *God*. Let them be never so much
above

above us, they are *creatures* still, and that sets them at an *infinite distance* from him, whereas all their *excellencies* can make them but *finitely distant* from us. Let them be never so *excellent*, they still worship the same *God* that we do, and with the most profound *adoration* of Him; and if their *excellency* be consistent with their worship of a Being *infinitely* above them, it is not sufficient to make them an object of *adoration* to us. We are willing to give them the utmost, their *excellency* requires from us (provided, we be well assured of it) and that is, a mighty esteem of them, and a readiness to express our honour in celebrating their praises; and commending them as Heroick patterns of goodness, and (supposing them actually present with us) the expressing our esteem in the highest tokens of respect that are used among men: Thus far we go; and if those beings are such, as we suppose them, they would not have us to go farther; but (as the *Angel* said to *St. John*) they would bid us, *worship God*. But we dare not use the same solemn *Acts* of *Religious worship* in *places* and at *times* set apart for the service of the *Great God*, to any of his *Creatures* how excellent soever they be: for this is an encroachment upon the *Di-*

vine Majesty, and as Cajetan expresses it, A taking away from him, as much as in us lies, that peculiar excellency whereby he is God over all, Blessed for evermore. We dare not apply those things to the worship of his creatures, which God hath ever appropriated to His own worship as the proper acts of it; such as Sacrifice, Incense, &c. we dare not give that honour to his servants, which God hath forbidden to be given to any creature, such as incurvation to Images, Invocation of Persons, &c. we dare not express our adoration of any created being in such a way as doth suppose those perfections which can be only in an uncreated being, as knowing the desires of our hearts, help in trouble, pardon of sin, strength in Grace, and receiving to Glory; we dare not make the outward acts of Religious worship common to God and his creatures, for that would be repugnant to the nature and design of Religious worship, which was intended for a publique manifestation of the peculiar service we owe to the Creator and Governour of the World.

And herein those of the Church of Rome fall short of the Heathens themselves, who had so great an apprehension of the necessity

sity of some appropriate acts of divine worship, that some of them have chosen to die, rather than to give them to what they did not believe to be God. We have a remarkable story to this purpose in *Arrian* and *Curtius* concerning *Callisthenes*. *Arrian de expod. Alex.* l. 4. *Curt. l. 8.* *Alexander* arriving at that degree of vanity, as to desire to have divine worship given him, and the matter being started out of design among the Courtiers, either by *Anaxarchus*, as *Arrian*, or *Cleo* the Sicilian, as *Curtius* saith; and the way of doing it proposed, viz. by incense, and prostration; *Callisthenes* vehemently opposed it, as that which would confound the difference of humane and divine worship, which had been preserved inviolable among them. The worship of the Gods had been kept up in Temples, with Altars, and Images, and Sacrifices, and Hymns, and Prostrations, and such like; but it is by no means fitting, saith he, for us to confound these things, either by lifting up men to the honours of the gods, or depressing the gods to the honours of men. For, neither would *Alexander* suffer any man to usurp his Royal dignity by the votes of men; how much more justly may the gods disdain for any man to take their honours to himself? Which freedom

Plutarch
vit. Ar-
taxerx.
Ælian.
Var. hist.
l. 1. c. 21.

of speech cost Callisthenes his life, a little after. And it appears by Plutarch, That the Greeks thought it a mean and base thing for any of them, when sent on an Embassy to the Kings of Persia, to prostrate themselves before them, because this was only allowed among them in divine adoration; therefore, saith he, when Pelopidas and Ismenias were sent to Artaxerxes, Pelopidas did nothing unworthy, but Ismenias let fall his Ring to the ground, and stooping for that, was thought to make his adoration; which was altogether as good a shift as the Jesuits advising the Crucifix to be held in the Mandarins hands while they made their adorations in the

Justin. l. 5. Heathen Temples in China. Conon refused to make his adoration, as a disgrace to his City; and Isocrates accuseth the Persians for doing it, because herein they shewed, that they despised the gods rather than men, by prostituting their honours to their Princes. Herodotus mentions Sperchies and Bulis, who could not with the greatest violence be brought to give ado-

Herod. l. 7. ration to Xerxes, because it was against the Law of their Country to give divine honour to men. Valerius Maximus saith, the Athenians put Timagoras to death for doing it; so strong an apprehension had possessed

Val. Max.
6. c. 3.
l

possessed them, that the manner of worship which they used to their gods, should be preserved *sacred* and *inviolable*. And yet *Artabanus* in *Plutarch*, when he was perswading *Themistocles* to do it, made use of the very argument of a *relative Latria*, viz. *that he was to do it to the King as the Image of God that preserves all things*; which according to *T. G.* and his Brethren was a sufficient *salvo* for it. For why may not a Prince have this *relative Latria* given him, with far better reason than a *senseless Image*, in as much as he represents God with much more *Authority* and *Majesty* than any *Image* can do? I confess *Cajetan* hath in some measure proposed this objection, but he only puts it *as to man in general as made after the Image of God*, viz. *why God may not be worshipped in that Image well as in an inanimate one?* And the answer he gives, shews how much he was troubled with it; for he distinguishes of a *twofold Image*, viz. *one that is capable of no honour for it self*; and another that is, viz. *a rational Image such as man is*; now, saith he, *we may give a relative Latria, where the Image is not capable of honour for it self; but not where it is*. For what reason, I beseech him? I had thought, the more lively the

Plutarch in Themist.

T. G. p. 190.

Cajet. in Aq. 2. 2. qu. 103. art. 3.

representation had been ; and the more excellent the *Image*, it had been the greater *Motive* to worship what was represented by it. Otherwise the more deformed and unlike the *Image* is, the fitter it were for worship ; and I should think there were no comparison between the representation of *God*, in the perfections of mens minds, and their dominion over the inferiour creatures, and that which is made of dull and senseless matter : and among men no *Image* so fit to represent *God*, as that of a *mighty Prince* sitting upon his *Throne of Majesty*, which strikes more awe and terror into mens minds, than the picture of an *old man upon a Church wall* : and notwithstanding

T. G. p. 88, what T. G. hath admirably said on behalf of pictures (which I shall consider in its due place) I am still apt to think, that the nearer any being approaches *God* in *Majesty* and *wisdom*, it doth give more lively and powerful representation of him, as an object of worship ; why then may not we worship *God* in the *Person* of a great *Prince*, better than in a curious *Image* or *Picture* ? All the sense that I can find by way of answer in *Cajetan* is this, *That we ought not to worship God in a man although he be the Image of God, to avoid the danger of giving divine worship to a Creature :*

T. G. p. 88,
89.

ture: very well! but is it not a greater fault to give *divine worship* to *mans creature* than to *Gods*? for a *picture* at the best is but *the work of mens hands*. But he cannot deny, that in such a case the *Latria* passes to *God*, through such an *Image* as a *man* or a *Prince* is; but because of the danger men are in of giving *divine worship* to *creatures*, they ought to abstain from it. Very good! but is there not as much danger of mens worshipping *Stocks*, and *Stones*, and *Images*, as there is in worshipping *Princes* or *mankind*? And if a *relative Latria* will not justify the one, much less certainly can it do the other. But of this hereafter. The thing I observe now is, how careful even the *Heathens* have been, notwithstanding they heard of the same pleas that are used in the *Church of Rome*, to preserve the *customs of external adoration peculiar* to their *Gods*.

2. I come now to shew, That God by his Law hath appropriated some external acts of worship to himself, so as to make it unlawful to use them to any other besides him. Maimonides saith, That to make a man guilty of Idolatry by the Law of Moses, it was necessary that he were con-
q. 7.
Maimon. de Idol. c. 3. sect. 2, 3, 4, 5.
P 4 victed

victed of one of these two things. 1. Either that he did use the acts of worship proper to the Idol, therefore the Sanhedrin were to enquire not only whom men worshipped, but in what manner. Or, 2. That he made use of any of those acts of worship to an Idol, which God hath appropriated to himself, for which he instanceth in *Incurvation, Sacrifice, Incense, and Oblations*: and adds, *That whatever worship was made proper to God by their Law, the using of that to an Idol, although it were not the proper worship of that Idol, made a man guilty of Idolatry.* Here are two things farther to be enquired into. 1. *What those acts are which God did appropriate to himself?* 2. *How far Gods appropriating them to himself doth now concern us?* i. e. whether the Church hath any liberty to alter the nature of those acts, so as to make any to be common to God and his creatures, which were then peculiar to God?

1. *What those acts are which God did appropriate to himself?* i. e. which he commanded to be used to himself, and did forbid to be used to any other?

1. And of these, the most indisputable between us and our Adversaries is *Sacrifice*. For they confess in words, that *Sacrifice is*

so peculiar to God that it ought not to be
 offered to any else ; because the words of
 Scripture are so plain to this purpose. He Exod. 22.
 that sacrificeth to any God save unto the 20.
 Lord only , shall surely be put to death : Aquin. 2. 2.
 which words are cited by Aquinas to this q. 85. art. 2.
 purpose ; and my Adversary T. G. doth
 confess, that the offering of sacrifice not
 only by the custom of the Church but of all
 mankind, as St. Austin teacheth, is appro- T.G. p. 389.
 priated to signifie the absolute worship due
 only to God. It seems so much the more
 strange to me, that after this he should con-
 tend, that Saints may have a share in
 the honour of sacrifices, but he pretends,
 that all that their Church means by it,
 is no more than giving God thanks by a
 sacrifice offered to him for the vertues and p. 395.
 prerogatives (for instance) he bestowed
 on the Blessed Virgin, although the sacri-
 fice be offered to God and not to her. What
 the sense of their Church is, will be best
 understood by the practice of it. In the
 Missal of Sarum, A. D. 1554. and in the
 Portiforium of Sarum, 1556. and in an
 old Sarisbury Missal, A. D. 1494. I
 find this prayer to be used by the Priest ;
 when he offers the Sacrifice, as the express
 words of the Rubrick are,

Suscipe

Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam ego indignus peccator offero in honore tuo, B. Maria & omnium sanctorum pro peccatis & offensionibus meis, & pro salute vivorum & requie omnium fidelium defunctorum. In nomine Patris & Filii & spiritus sancti acceptum sit omnipotenti Deo hoc sacrificium novum.

In the old and new Roman Missal, and the Missal of Paris, 1520. and the Missal of Lyons, it is thus,

Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus ob memoriam passionis, resurrectionis, & ascensionis Jesu Christi Domini nostri; & in honore B. Maria semper Virginis, & B. Johannis Baptista, & sanctorum Apostolorum, Pauli, & istorum & omnium sanctorum, ut illis proficiat ad honorem, nobis autem ad salutem, & illi pro nobis intercedere dignentur in caelis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris, per Christum Dominum nostrum.

In the old Monastick Missals, mentioned by Cardinal Bona, the Offertory ran in this Form,

Bona de rebus Liturg.
l. 2. c. 9.

Suscipe sancta Trinitas unus Deus, hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus in memoriam beatae Passionis, Resurrectionis,

&

& Ascensionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, & in honorem B. Mariae semper Virginis, genitricis ejusdem Domini nostri, & omnium sanctorum & sanctarum, Caelestium virtutum, & vivifica crucis, ut eam acceptare digneris, pro nobis peccatoribus, & pro animabus omnium Fidelium defunctorum.

In the Ambrosian Missal, it runs thus, Et suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus pro regimine & custodia atque unitate catholicae fidei, & pro veneratione quoque B. Dei genitricis Mariae, omniumque simul sanctorum tuorum; & pro salute & incolumitate famulorum, famularumque tuarum, &c.

In the old Missal of Illyricus, published by Cardinal Bona, the form in other things agrees with the Roman Missal, only after Jesu Christi, it hath, & in honorem sanctorum tuorum, qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi, & eorum quorum hodie Festivitas celebratur, & quorum hic nomina & reliquia habentur, ut illis proficiat ad honorem, nobis autem ad salutem, &c.

Bona Append. p. 545.

I desire to know of T. G. whether this be no more than giving God thanks for their vertues, when a propitiatory sacrifice is offered up to God for their honour? and that their honour may be increased

by it, and at the same time to pray, that they would intercede with God for them. What is joyning creatures together with God in the honour of sacrifice, if this be not? How comes a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, and that both for the quick and the dead, to be turned into a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the Graces of a particular Saint? How strangely would it have sounded among the Jews, for a man to have offered a sin-offering to give God thanks for the Faith of Abraham, or the meekness of Moses, or the wisdom of Solomon? And at the same time when this sacrifice was pretended to be offered only to God, to pray that they would intercede with God for him. Is not the address to be made to him to whom the sacrifice is offered? And yet we find, that this is not only practised but justified and defended in the Roman Church; for Bellarmin not only saith, that the Mass of St. Peter is so called, because it is offered to God to give thanks for the Glory conferred on him, but because he is at the same time called upon as a Patron and Advocate with God. But saith T. G. Honour is nothing but a Testimony or Protestation of some excellency; and whether thanks be given to God by words or by sacrifice for the Gifts and Graces he hath be-

Bellarmin. de
cultu sancti.
l. 3. c. 4.

bestowed on such a person, it is an evident Protestation of such excellency in that person, and consequently for his honour, though both words and sacrifice be directed to God and not to him. Who denies, that it is for the honour of a Person to praise God for him? but the Question is, if sacrifice be appropriated to the sole Honour of God, how the Honour of Saints comes to be declared by it? For a man whose understanding is not shrunk up as Beggars arms use to be, might have stretched it at least so far, as to have considered, that sacrifice being an external sign, there are two things to be looked at in it. 1. The signification of that sign. 2. The term to which it is directed. Now the main thing to be regarded in it as to Honour, is not the direction of it to its term by the mind, for that is secret; but the external signification of it among men. For, saith Aquinas, the reason of sacrifices is, that men by some sensible external Actings should make a Protestation by offering them to God, of the subjection and Honour that is due to him: now if this sign may be made use of to signifie any other thing, it is not a peculiar and appropriate sign only for that purpose to testifie our subjection to God. And to return the kindness of his twitch,

Aqu. 2. 2;
qu. 85.
art. 1.

twitch, by an example far more pertinent to the purpose than his was; how strange would it have been thought among the *Persians*, where *prostration* was appropriated to their *King* as a sign of *subjection* to him alone, for a man to have said to him, *Sir, I fall down before you in honour of the Captain of your Guards; or of such and such a Minister of State*: would the King have taken this for an appropriate act of Honour to himself? So that though he falls down only to the King, if he declares he intends it for the honour of another, he takes away by his words, the *significancy* of his action: Thus if *sacrifice* be so appropriate to the honour of God, that it cannot signify any thing else; then it is nonsense to sacrifice to God for the Honour of another; if it may signify any thing else, and be so used in the Church of Rome, then they do not reserve so much as sacrifice for an appropriate sign of the absolute worship of God.

- Q. 8. 2. Religious adoration is appropriated to God in Scripture; for so the command runs, as it is explained by our Saviour, *Mat. 4. 10. Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* They who would make the restrictive particle belong

to the latter clause and not to the first, do not attend to the reason of our Saviours using these words, which was to reject the Devils temptation about *adoration*; and it would not have had force against the temptation, if men were more at liberty as to *worship*, than they are as to *service*. And it is observed by those who have most considered the importance of the *Hebrew* word, *anaw*, that it doth not signify an *act* of the *mind*, but of the *body*, either by *incurvation* or *prostration*. Although *adoration* be sometime taken for all the *external acts* of *Religious worship*, as *John* 4.27. *Acts* 8.27. yet the general signification of it, is that *act* of *Religious worship* which is performed by the *motion* of the *body*. And so *adoration* is accounted in the *Schools* one particular part of proper *Religious worship*; *Aquinas*. puts it before *sacrifice*, and makes that place of our *Saviour* the foundation of it; and among *external signs*, he makes this the greatest; and that it is intended not barely to declare our *inward Reverence*, but that by the use of this, our *inward devotion* may be more excited, it being natural for us to proceed from sensible to intellectual acts. And it is observed by *Rsambertus*, a late Professor of *Divinity* in the *Sorbon*, That where ever

Concil. Ni-
cen. 2. Leo-
nard Ruben.
de Idolol.
l. 2. c. 15.
n. 1.
Bellar. de
sanct. Bea-
tit. l. 1. c. 14

Aq. 2. 2.
q. 84.
art. 1, 2.

Rsambert. in
3. part.
Thom. ad q.
25. disp. 1.
art. 4.

the

the Scripture speaks of adoration, it is always expressed by some external sign, as a note of subjection in him that adores towards him that is adored: (which observation if understood of a corporeal sign, is not intended for Angels, but men, for adoration is in Scripture attributed to Angels.) And he well observes, as to the sense of Aquinas, That he must make the external sign necessary to the formal act of adoration, because he ranks prayer among the internal acts, which he could do upon no other reason, but because prayer may have its compleat act in the mind, which he supposed that adoration could not; and withal he proves (contrary to the opinion of Suarez) That the internal acts of vertue, though designed by the mind, as a token of submission to God, cannot be the proper acts of adoration, because they are not adequate and proportionable signs to express our submission to God. And therefore Damascen defined adoration to be *σημειον υποταξης*, a sign of subjection, and Anastasius Bishop of Antioch, *ὑποτακτικόν*, an outward expression of honour, by which, saith Vasquez, he doth not mean any bare honour, but that which implies subjection. But Damascen yet more fully saith, it is a sign, not barely of honour, but *ὑποτακτικόν*

Damascen.

orat. 3.

p. 775.

Synod. 7.

Act. 4.

Vasq. in 3. p.

disp. 93. c. 4

reminders, of *submission* and *humility*; not as it is taken for that particular *virtue*, whereby an inordinate value of our selves is repressed, but as it implies an *acknowledgement* of Gods *superiority* and *dominion* over us. And it is observable that St. *Augustine*, where he speaks of those things which are most peculiar to the worship of God, he joyns *adoration* and *sacrifice* together. Putaverunt quidam de-
ferendum Angelis honorem vel adorando
vel sacrificando, qui debetur Deo; & eorum
sunt admonitione prohibiti, jussique sunt
hac ei deferre cui uni fas esse noverunt;
 whereby we see he makes *external adoration* as peculiar to God as *sacrifice*; and *Ludovicus Vives* there saith, That he meant by the *Angel* that refused *adoration*, the *Angel* that forbad St. *John*, and bad him to worship God. Which makes me wonder, that T. G. should make the act of *adoration* equivocal, and only *sacrifice* according to St. *Augustin*, to be appropriated to signify the absolute worship of God; for St. *Augustin* joyns both together, and makes one as unlawful to be given to any creature as the other. How then comes St. *Augustin*'s authority to be quitted for the one, and so greedily embraced for the other? Is it that *sacrifice* doth of

Aug. de Ci-
 vit. Dei.
 l. 10. c. 19

Suarez ad
3. p. Th. q. 25
disp. 51.
sect. 4.

it self more properly signifie our inward and total subjection of our selves to God than the other doth? But it would become T. G's learning to inform us in this matter: since the best learned of their Divines do confess, *That sacrifice doth not naturally signifie any worship of God but only by the imposition of men, and that which it signifies, say they, is Gods being Author of Life and Death, and if we take away this imposition it contains nothing of divine worship in it; so Suarez, who saith, he follows St. Augustin in it. How comes the destruction of any creature under our command to signifie the inward subjection of our selves to God? What pleasure can we conceive the Almighty should take in seeing us to destroy his creatures for his sake? Our minds may be as far from submitting to God, as these things are of themselves from signifying such a submission. Nay how comes a sacrifice to stand so much in our stead, that because we take away the life of that, therefore we own God as our Lord? It might rather of it self signifie that we have the power of life and death over Beasts, than that God hath it over us: yet all that Sacrifice signifies, saith Vasquez, is, that God is acknowledged thereby to be the Author of life and*

Vasquez ad
3. p. disp.
93. q. 25.
art. 5.

and death; and to this end, saith X^{am}bertus, it is necessary that the thing be destroyed, because the reason of Sacrifice lies in the destruction of a thing offered to God. Beit so: but of all things in the world, it would never have come into my mind, nor I think into any mans well in his senses, to offer up God himself unto God as a Sacrifice, in order to the testifying the devoting of our selves unto him; and yet this, after all their talk, comes to be that external Sacrifice which is the only appropriate sign of the absolute worship of God, viz. the Sacrifice of the Mass, wherein the Priest is believed, to offer up God himself under the species of Bread and wine to the Eternal God in token of our subjection to him. Methinks yet it were somewhat more reasonable to offer up brute Creatures that are under us, than God that is so infinitely above us; and such is the weakness of my understanding, that this seems to be rather an argument of our power over God, than of our subjection to Him. But since the formal reason of a Sacrifice is said to lie in the destruction of it, Good Lord! what thoughts must these men have in their minds, (if they have any) when they think it in their power, first to make their God by speak-

X^{am}bertus.

ad 3. p. 7.

2^a. disp. 1.

art. 4. in

fine.

Tanner. ad

3. p. disp. 5.

de Relig.

q. 3. dub. 1.

n. 8.

ing five words; then to offer him up as a Sacrifice; then to suppose him destroyed, and all this to testify their submission to God! I want words to express the intolerable blasphemy and absurdity of these things. Yet this, saith T. G. is so appropriate a sign of the absolute worship of God, that that Religion which admits no external visible Sacrifice, must needs be deficient in the most signal part of the publick worship of God. What external visible Sacrifice have you that we have not, besides that of God himself whom you believe to be personally present as the object of divine worship under the species of Bread and Wine? and yet when you have pleaded so much for this presence to justify your Adoration, you then make a Sacrifice of Him; and that he may be so, you grant it is necessary there be some destruction of what was before, i. e. (if to the purpose) of him that was the Sacrifice, otherwise the species are made the Sacrifice, and not the body and blood of Christ. But suppose you only make him a Sacrifice, as to his body and blood, and not as to his divine nature; what becomes then of the body and blood of Christ? for, it must be destroyed to make a Sacrifice; where, how, by what means comes the body and blood

blood of Christ to be destroyed? *when you say, it is there without the qualities of a body, that it cannot be seen, or felt, or tasted; and yet is capable of being destroyed: suppose all this be passed over, how comes the offering up the very body and blood of Christ to God to signify our absolute worship of him? Will nothing else satisfy to testify, that we are his subjects, unless we offer up to him the body and blood of his own Son? Is this indeed the most signal part of divine worship, which we must be deficient in, if we have it not? We do from our souls praise God for that unvaluable sacrifice, the Son of God was pleased to make of his own life, when he was incarnate in our nature; We do frequently commemorate this Sacrifice of his according to his own institution; and in the doing of that, we offer up our selves unto Him as a reasonable service; we adore, and magnify Him for all His mercies, especially the sending of His Son to die for us, as the greatest of all: But we dare not let it enter into our thoughts, that we should ever eat or swallow down the very body and blood of Christ; and then pretend we have offered it up to God as a Sacrifice, and that in token of our absolute worship of Him. But setting aside*

the nature of this *Sacrifice*, which is the only external and visible sign of appropriate worship to God, they pretend to have; I desire yet to know how a *Sacrifice* doth come to signify this *absolute worship* more than *adoration*? Not by nature, for the lowly submission of our bodies seems more naturally to signify the behaviour of our minds, than any thing without us can do: if it be by *institution*, it must be either Gods or mans; if mans, then either offering *Sacrifice* to a creature is *Idolatry*, or not: if not, then giving *absolute worship* to a creature is no *Idolatry*; if it be, then it is *Idolatry* to make use of the outward signs of divine worship which mankind have agreed upon, to any thing else but God. If it be said to be Gods institution; then it follows, that the applying any outward signs of worship which God hath appropriated to himself, to any Creature, is *Idolatry*; which is as much as I desire, for then it will equally hold for *Religious Adoration*; especially if the principle of *Arriaga* hold true true, that the value of *Sacrifice* lies in the act of adoration performed by it.

Arriaga in
3. p. Thom.
Disp. 50.
sect. 4. n. 4.

But T. G. pleads, That the act of adoration is equivocal, that is, that we read in Scripture, that it hath been given to men

as well as to God, and therefore cannot be such an appropriate sign of divine worship. To this I have already answered, by distinguishing the *Act*, and the *signification* of it; the *external act* I grant may be performed upon several grounds; As 1. *Civil subjection*, as by *Nathan* to *David*, 1 Kings 1. 23. 2. *Civil respect*, as by *Abraham* to the *Children of Hetb*, Gen. 23. 7. 3. *Religious respect*, or as some call it, *Moral Reverence*, i. e. out of an opinion of great sanctity, without superiority, as *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Daniel*, Dan. 2. 46. And so *Abraham* bowed to the *Angels*, Gen. 18. 2. if he knew them to be what they were; but if not, as appears more probable both of *him* and *Lot*, by *Heb.* 13. 2. then it was only an expression of *civil respect* to them. 4. Out of a sudden transport, as *St. John* did to the *Angel* twice, which he would not have done a second time, if he had considered his being checked for the first, *Rev.* 19. 10. 22. 8, 9. Now if these things may by their *circumstances* and *occasions* be apparently differenced from each other, and from that *Religious adoration* which God doth require to be given to himself, then there can be no reason from thence to make the *signification* of *external adoration* to be

equivocal. There is the same nature in these *acts* that there is in *words* of different *significations*; which being taken in *general* are of an *equivocal sense*, but being considered with all their particular *circumstances* they have their sense *restrained* and *limited*, that it is easie to discern the one from the other. That we call therefore *Religious adoration*, which is performed with all the *circumstances* of *Religious worship*, as to *time*, *place*, *occasion*, and such like; as if men used *prostration* to any thing within the *Courts* of the *Temple*, (wherein some of the *Jews* thought that *posture* only *lawful*;) if it were done in the *time* of *Sacrifice*, or *devotion*; if the *occasion* were such as required no *respect* of any other kind, as when the *Devil* demanded of *Christ* to *fall down and worship him*; in these and such like *circumstances* we say *adoration* hath the determin'd *signification* of *Religious worship*, and is an *appropriate sign* of it, by *Gods own institution*. Thence the *Psalmist* saith, O come let us wor-
 Psal. 95.6. ship and bow down, let us kneel before the Lord our Maker; and God forbids bowing down to and worshipping any *graven Image*, or *similitude*, where the bowing down is one *act* of *worship*, and was so esteemed by the *common consent* of *mankind*, as might be easily

easily made appear by the several customs of external adoration, that have been used in all parts of the world, and it might for the universality of the practice of it, we with Sacrifice. So that on this account, as well as the proper signification of it, adoration ought to be esteemed as significant and peculiar a sign of absolute worship as Sacrifice. There are only two things that remain yet to make this adoration not appropriate to God; (for the instances of Balaam and Saul are not worth mentioning) and those are, Josbua's Religious adoration of the Angel that appeared to him; and the adoration that the Jews performed towards the Ark; the latter is easily answered, the Ark being only a Symbol of the divine presence of Gods own appointing, towards which they were to direct their adoration; (but of this at large, when I come to the worship of Images) the other cannot be denied to be Religious worship, but we are to consider, what Aquinas saith to this place, *Aq. 2. 2. that it may be understood of the absolute worship of God; who did appear and speak in the person of an Angel.* And St. Athanasius expressly saith, that God did speak in an Angel to Moses at the burning Bush when Moses was bid to put off his Shooes; as Josbua was now; and by the description

*Athanas.
orat. 4. c.
Arrian.
p. 467.*

Exod. 3. 5. on of him, as *Captain of the Host of the Lord*, it is apparent *Joshua* looked not on him as an *ordinary Angel*, but as the *Angel* of whom God said, *that he should go before them, and whom they were bound to obey*; and by comparing the places in *Exodus* to-
 21, 22, 23. gether, where God afterwards threatens to send an *Angel*, and *Moses* would not be
 33. 2, 14. satisfied till God said *His Presence should go with them*; it is evident this *Angel of His Presence* was more than a *meer Angel*; and therefore the *Fathers* generally suppose it was the *Eternal Son of God* who appeared in the *Person* of an *Angel*, as *Petavius*
 Petav. de Trinit. l. 8. hath at large proved: and is sufficiently
 6. 2. manifest from hence, that they make use of *Adoration* as a certain argument to prove, *that Christ was not a creature*; which argument were of no force at all, if they did not believe, that *adoration* was an appropriate sign of that *absolute worship* which belongs only to God: and therefore they observe that when *meer Angels* appeared, they refused *adoration*, as the *Angels* that appeared to *Manoe* and *St. John*; but when *adoration* is allowed or commanded, it was the *divine nature* appearing in the person of an *Angel*.

3. The erection of Temples and Altars, §. 9.
 in another appropriate sign of divine worship
 which I need not go about to prove from
 scripture, since it is confessed by our Ad-
 versaries. *Ad Patriam pertinent templa* Innocent. 3.
& altaria, sacerdotia, sacrificia, festivi- de Myst.
tates, ceremonia, & hujusmodi quæ soli Deo Missæ l. 3.
sunt exhibenda; saith Durandus *Mima-* c. 11.
teus from Innocentius 3. and the applying Durand.
 these things to any but God, he makes to Ration. di-
 be Idolatry. Bellarmine joyns Temples and vin. offic.
 Altars together with Sacrifice as peculiar l. 8. c. ult.
 to God; *Templum*, saith Cardinal Bona, Bellarm. de
est domus Numini Sacra, a house Sacred sanct.
 to God; and yet Bellarmine had the confi- Beatis. l. 1.
 dence to lay down this proposition, *Sacra* c. 12.
domus non solum Deo, sed etiam sanctis Bona de reb.
esse edificantur & dedicantur: and he Liturg. l. 1.
 is not satisfied with the answer of some c. 19.
 Moderns, that say, That Temples cannot Bellarm. de
 properly be erected to any, but God, any cultu sancto-
 more than Sacrifice can be offered to any rum l. 2. c. 4.
 but him; but because there are many
 Temples dedicated to God, that they may
 be distinguished from each other, they
 have their denomination from particular
 Saints, (which is an answer we find no
 fault with, if they do not proceed to the
 worship and invocation of those Saints to
 whose

whose memory the *Churches* are dedicated, as the particular *Patrons* of it,) but *Belarmin* hath found out a *subtlety* beyond this ; for he saw well enough this would not reach home to their case, and therefore he saith, *That sacred places are truly and properly built to Saints ; but how? not as they are Temples, but as they are Basilicæ ; For, saith he, Temples have a particular relation to sacrifice, but Basilicæ have not: and he confesses it would be Idolatry to erect them as Temples to Saints, but not as they are Basilicæ.* This is a distinction without any difference ; for *Isidore*, who certainly well understood the signification of these words, as used among *Christians*, saith, *Nunc autem ideo divina Templum Basilica nominantur, quia ibi Regi omnium Deo cultus & sacrificia offeruntur :* and that which we insist upon, is not, the names that *Churches* are called by, nor the preservation of the memories of *Saints* in them, but the erecting them to *Saints* as places for the worship and invocation of them. And the vanity of this distinction of *Temples* from *Basilicæ*, because *Temples* relate only to sacrifice, will easily appear, if we consider that the proper signification of *Templum* was *Domicilium*, as *Turnebus* observes, which is that which *Varro* calls *Templum*

Isidor. Orig.
l. 15.
c. 4.

Turneb. Adv.
vers. l. 19.
c. 5.
Varro de
Ling. Lat.
l. 6.

Templum naturæ; and in this sense, he
 saith, *Nevius* called the Heaven, *Tem-*
plum magnum Jovis altitonantis; and
 from thence it was applyed to any place
 consecrated by the *Augurs*, and so by de- A. Gill.
 grees, was taken for any sacred place that l. 14. c. 7.
 was set apart for divine worship; for that
 was it which made them sacred, *sacra sunt*
loci, saith *Isidore*, *divinis cultibus insti-* Isid. Orig.
tuta. Either therefore they must say, there l. 15. c. 4.
 is no proper worship of God but Sacrifice,
 or the notion of a Temple cannot be said
 only to refer to Sacrifice. And among the
Jews, our *B. Saviour* hath told us, that the
 Temple had relation to prayer as well as
 Sacrifice, *My House shall be called a House* Mat. 21. 13
of Prayer. Would it not have been a Mark 11.
 pleasant distinction among the *Jews*, if any 17.
 of them had dedicated a Temple to *Abra-* Luk. 19. 46
ham, with a design to invoke him there,
 and make him the Patron of it, for them
 to have said, they built it as a Temple to
 God, but as a *Basilica* to *Abraham*; for
 they sacrificed there only to God, (orto
 God for the honour of *Abraham*) but they
 invoked *Abraham* as the particular Pa-
 tron of it? This is that therefore we
 charge them with, upon their own princi-
 ples, that when they dedicate Churches to
 particular Saints as the Patrons of them,
 and

and in order to the *solemn invocation* of them there, they do apply that which themselves confess to be an *appropriate sign* of *divine worship* to *Creatures*, and consequently by their own confession are guilty of *Idolatry*. Neither can it be pleaded by them, that *their Churches and Altars* are only dedicated to the honour of God for the memory of a particular Saint; for they confess, that it is for the *solemn invocation* of that Saint. And with all in the *Form of dedication* in the *Pontifical*, there is more implied, as appears by these two prayers at the *Consecration* of the *Altar*; The first when the Bishop stands before the *Altar* in these words,

Deus Omnipotens, in cujus honorem, ac Beatissima Virginis Mariae & omnium Sanctorum, ac nomen & memoriam Sancti tui N. nos indigni altare hoc consecramus, &c.

The other, after the Bishop hath with his right thumb dipped in the *Chrism*, made the sign of a Cross upon the Front of the *Altar*,

Majestatem tuam, Domine, humiliter imploramus, ut altare hoc sacraunctionis libamine ad suscipienda populi tui munera inunctam potenter benedicere, & sanctificare digneris, ut
quod

quod nunc à nobis sub tui nominis invocatione, in honorem Beatissima Virginis Maria, & omnium Sanctorum, atque in memoriam sancti tui N. &c.

Where we see, besides the memory of the particular Saint to whom the Altar is dedicated; the honour of the B. Virgin and the Saints are joyned together with the Honour of God in the general dedication of it.

By the Pontifical, no Altar is to be consecrated without Reliques, which the night before, the Bishop is to put into a clean vessel for that purpose with three grains of Frankincense, and then to seal it up; which being conveniently placed before the Church door, the Vigils are to be celebrated that night before them, and the Nocturn and the Mattins, for the honour of the Saints whose the Reliques are; and when the Reliques are brought into the Church, this is one of the Antiphona's,

Surgite Sancti Dei, de mansionibus vestris, loca sanctificate, plebem benedicite, & nos homines peccatores in pace custodite.

The form of consecration of the Altar itself, is this,

Sanctificetur hoc Altare in honorem Dei omnipotentis, & gloriosa Virginis Maria

Mariae atque omnium sanctorum, & ad nomen ac memoriam Sancti N.

Trigaut.

Exped. Sin.

l. 5. c. 15.

In China, Trigautius saith in the Chapel they had there, they had two Altars, one to our Saviour, the other dedicated to the B. Virgin, without any distinction at all. In the speech the Bishop makes to the people, he utterly overthrows Bellarmins distinction of *Templum* and *Basilica*; for, he saith, *nullibi enim quam in sacris Basilicis, Domino offerri sacrificium debet.* It seems then *Basilica* is taken with a respect to sacrifice as well as *Templum*: and then he declares that he hath dedicated this *Basilica in honorem omnipotentis Dei, Beatae Mariae semper virginis, & omnium Sanctorum, ac memoriam Sancti N.* So that *Basilica* is here taken with a respect to God, and not meerly to the Saints; although they joyn them together with God in the honour of dedication.

Let us now compare the practice of the Roman Church in this matter, with the argument which the Fathers made use of, to prove the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, because we are said to be his Temple. If we are said, saith S. Basil, to be his Temple because he is worshipped by us and dwells in us; then it follows that he is God, for we are commanded to worship and serve

S. Basil. ep. ad Casariens. ed. Basil. p. 361

serve God alone. Where it is plain S. Basil takes a Temple with a respect to worship and not meerly to sacrifice. A Temple belongs only to God and not to a creature, saith S. Ambrose, therefore the Holy Ghost is God, because we are his Temple. This is peculiar to the Divine nature, saith S. Cyril, to have a Temple to dwell in. If we were to build a Temple, saith S. Augustin, to the Holy Ghost, in so doing, we should give him the worship proper to God, and he must be God to whom we give divine worship, for we must worship the Lord our God, and him only must we serve: the same argument he urges in several other places; a Temple, saith he, was never erected but either to the true God, as Solomon did, or to false Gods as the Heathens; and this argument from our being said to be the Temple of the Holy Ghost, he thinks is stronger, than if adoration had been said to be given to it; for this is so proper an act of divine worship to erect a Temple, that if we should do it to the most excellent Angel, we should be anathematized from the Church of God. *Hoc nunc fit quibuslibet Divis,* (saith Erasmus there in the Margin.) This is every where now done to Saints, at which Petavins is very angry; and

Ambros.
de sp. sancto.
l. 3. c. 13.

S. Syril. The-
saur. fid. l.
34. p. 357.
S. August.
ep. 66. c.

Sermon.
Arrian. c.
20. 29.
c. Maxim.
l. 1. c. 11.
l. 2. c. 11.
l. 3. c. 3.

R

saith,

*Petav. de
Trinit. l. 2.
c. 16. n. 11.*

saith, *they do it not to the Saints per se & præcipuè*. But what becomes then of the argument of the *Fathers*, which supposes the erecting a *Temple* to be such a *peculiar act of adoration*, that it cannot be applied to any creature, *no not secondarily*? For then the opposers of the *Divinity* of the *Holy Ghost* might have easily answered *S. Augustins* argument after the same fashion, *viz.* that we were said to be the *Temple of the Holy Ghost*, not *per se & præcipuè*, but *only secondarily*, as it was the *divine instrument* of purifying the *Souls* of men. From hence we see, how unanimously the *Fathers* looked on the *dedication of Temples and Altars*, as an *appropriate sign of that absolute worship we owe to God*; and that not merely as an *Appendix to sacrifice*, but as it contains in it such an *act of adoration* as is peculiar to God.

§. 10.

4. *The burning of Incense as a token of Religious worship*. For otherwise, it is of the nature of the *outward act of adoration*, and may be done on merely *civil accounts*; and so far *T. G.* was in the right when he said, *that burning incense is a ceremony of the like nature with bowing, i. e.* it may be accommodated to seve-

several uses; but as I have proved that *Religious adoration* is a peculiar act of divine worship, so I shall now do, concerning the burning of incense when it is used as a token of *Religious worship*. If there were any difference under the Law between the *Altar of burnt offerings*, and the *Altar of incense*, this latter seems to be more particularly appropriated to the worship of God. For the *High Priest* is not only commanded to burn upon it perpetual incense before the Lord; but it is said, to be most holy to the Lord; and it stood in a more holy place. And we see by our Saviours interpretation of the precept of worship, although the restrictive particle were not in the words of the Law, yet he shews us that it was in the sense of it; and that certainly is to be understood, where a thing is said to be most holy to God, i. e. appropriated to himself after a peculiar manner: and we have seen by *Maimonides* that incense is joyned with sacrifice; so that a person is made by their Law as guilty of *Idolatry*, if he burns incense to an *Idol*, as if he offered sacrifice. But we need not depend on the Jews testimony in this matter; for the Scripture is express in it, where it speaks of *Hezekiah's* breaking in pieces the bra-

Exod. 30.
8. 104

2 King. 18. *zen serpent that Moses had made, for in
4. those days the Children of Israel did burn
Bellarm. de incense to it. Bellarmine cannot deny,
imag. sanct. that burning of incense was a sacrifice
l. 2. c. 17.*

*among the Jews, and that was the reason
that Hezekiah brake the brazen Serpent
in pieces; but, he saith, it is not a sacrifice
now. But how comes it to change its na-
ture? hath it lost any part of its definiti-
on? if not, hath the Church power to
make that which was a sacrifice to become
none? i. e. to take away an appropriate
sign of Gods absolute worship? for so they
acknowledge sacrifice to be.*

*Paul. Ma-
ria Quarti
Comment. in
Rubric Mis-
sal. part. 2.
tit. 4. sect.
1. dub. 2.*

*ria Quarti in his late Commentaries on
the Rubricks of the Missal confesses that
all the material parts of the definition of a
sacrifice agree to the burning of Incense
in the Roman Church, for it is an oblati-
on made to God for his honour by the change
of a sensible thing, but, he saith, from
Suarez that it is not a sacrifice among
them, but only an accidental appendix to
a sacrifice: and might not the same have
been said among the Jews? and yet him-
self afterwards grants, that it is a part of
Religious worship as honour is thereby gi-
ven to those that are incensed; and is to
be determined according to the nature of
the object; if it be given to God, it is La-
tria,*

tria, if to Saints, it is *Dulia*, &c. It seems now, it is become more than an appendix, being a proper act of worship; but all their care is to avoid its being a sacrifice, because they give it to Saints and Images, and when they are off from that difficulty they think they can dispose of it as they please. Catharinus grants, that burning of incense had the proper nature of a sacrifice among the Jews; and that the reason why Hezekiah brake in pieces the brazen Serpent was because they did not direct their incense to the thing represented by it, but terminated their worship on the sign: but (1.) it seems then, the Scripture gives a very lame account of the reason of it, for that mentions no more but their burning incense before it, which was no fault of it self; but only that they did not direct their intention far enough. (2.) It seems, that sacrifice it self may be offered to an Image; for Catharinus grants, that this had the nature of sacrifice, and there was no harm in the meer oblation, but only in the shortness of the intention. Sanders saith, that God commanded the Jews to give Religious worship to the brazen Serpent; for, he saith, their very looking upon it was such; and from thence he proves it lawful to worship

*Catharin.
de cultu &
adorat.
imaginum.
p. 126.*

*Sander. de
honorat.
imaginum
adorat. l. 2.
p. 138.*

Alan. Cope
Dialog. 5.
p. 662.

Vasquez in
3. p. disp.
104. art. 3.
c. 5.

T.G.p.428.

Images; but Cope (or rather Harpsfield) will not allow it to be of the same nature with *Images*, easily discerning, that the breaking of it down would make more against the worship of *Images*, than the setting of it up ever made for them. For Vasquez saith, the peoples looking upon it in order to their being healed, was no part of worship, being no token of submission; and that God intended no worship should be given to it. And he ingenuously confesses, that when Hezekiah brake it in pieces, it was not because it was worshipped for a God among them, or had the worship terminated upon it, but because the people gave the same kind of worship to it which in the Roman Church they give to their *Images*: but he thinks that worship was unlawful to the Jews, which is lawful to Christians. And then why not the offering sacrifice to *Images*, as well as burning of Incense? But T.G. thinks, that perhaps the smoke of the incense (when used as a sign of Religious worship) troubles my eyes so that I cannot distinguish between the use of it, as applied to God, and as applied to his servants, or other things relating to him. It is pity T.G. had not been Hezekiahs Confessor, to have better informed him about the Jews burn-

ing of *Incense* before the *brazen Serpent* ;
 for he would in all probability have done
 his endeavour to have preserved it ; and
 if *Hezekiah* had pleaded the *Law* that ap-
 propriated *incense* to the worship of God ;
 “ he would have desired him to clear his
 “ eyes a little better ; for then he might
 “ discern that *burning incense* was an in-
 “ different ceremony, and may be applied
 “ either to God or the creature ; and that
 “ the difference of these depends on the
 “ intention of the persons who do them ;
 “ now how could any man tell by the out-
 “ ward act what the intention of these
 “ persons was ? For all that appeared,
 “ they intended only to honour God by it
 “ in memory of the great miracles he had
 “ wrought by means of it ; and then it
 “ was so far from being evil, that it was
 “ an act of *Latria* to God. And why
 “ should *Hezekiah* destroy the *brazen*
 “ *Serpent*, for being an occasion of Gods
 “ honour ? This were fitter for *Senache-*
 “ *rib*, or *Rabshakeh* to do, than one that
 “ professed to worship the true God : Is
 “ not *incense* used daily in the *Temple* ,
 “ are not the *Altar* and the vessels of the
 “ *Temple* perfumed by it ? Why then
 “ should the *brazen Serpent* be profaned
 “ by that, which sanctifies other things ?

"Therefore only advise them to *direct*
 "their *intention* aright, and there can be
 "no harm in the use of such an *indifferent*
 "ceremony; and let the *Brazen Serpent*
 "stand, to excite the devotion of the people
 "towards God in remembrance of what
 "he did to the people of old by the means
 "of it. But it seems *Hezekiah* had not
 looked over *Aristotle's threshold* so far as
 to know, *that acts go whither they are*
intended; and therefore he took the
 giving of that part of *worship* which God
 had appropriated to himself, to the *Brazen*
Serpent, to be sufficient ground for the *de-*
molishing of it, without particular enqui-
 ry into the *intentions* of the persons. Yet
 I must say for *T. G.* that he doth not seem
 so confident of the *indifferency* of this ce-
 remony under the Law; for he saith, *That*
it is not appropriated, at least in the new
Law, to the worship of God, and there-
fore it is in the freedom of the Church to
determine how and when it shall be used.
 If he means by the *new Law*, the *Rubricks*
 or *practise* of *their Church*, he saith true;
 for *Incense* is appointed to be *burnt* to
Images and *Crucifixes*, and *Reliques* out of
Religious honour to them: but if by the *new*
Law he means the *Law of Christ*, that
 doth not, that I can find, make any thing
 that

Bellarm. de
 sanct. beat.
 l. 1. c. 13.

that God had appropriated to himself, as a sign of his own worship, to be common to any creature with him; but I am sure before, that *burning of Incense before Images*, Ezek. 8. was accounted one of the *abominations* of 9, 10, 11. Israel.

5. *Solemn Invocation was an external act of worship appropriated to God himself.* *My House is the House of Prayer*, saith our Saviour of the Temple; by which it appears that *solemn Invocation* was then looked on as a *peculiar part of divine worship*. But I need not prove this, since it is granted by our *Adversaries*, that one sort of *Invocation* is so proper to God, that to give it to any besides him were *Idolatry*; which is, as T. G. expresseth it, *the Prayer we make to God as the Author and Giver of all Good*; but a lower sort of *Invocation*, he contends, may be given to *Saints and Angels*. My business here, is not to discuss the point of *Invocation*, (which is to be handled at large in its proper place) but to shew, in what sense it was understood among those to whom God gave the *Laws of his worship*, and whether this *inferiour* sort of *Invocation* were thought consistent with the *true worship of God*. We will then suppose

p. 11.

Luk. 19. 48.

T.G. p. 288.

pose that in the *Temple of Hierusalem*, at the *hours of prayer*, the *Jews* at the same time, and with the same outward *solemnity of worship*, should make their *prayers* first to *God*, to have *mercy upon them*; and then immediately to make their *addresses* to *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Isaac* and *Rebecca*, *Jacob* and *Joseph*, and *Moses*, and the *Prophets* to pray for them; whether would this have been thought agreeable to the command of *worshipping God* alone? especially, if these *prayers* were said before the *Images* of those *persons* set up in the *Temple*: for if the *Law* did only forbid the *worship* of *Heathen Idols*, there would be no repugnancy to the *Law* in all this. What course can we now take to resolve this *Question*? I know but three waies of doing it. 1. By comparing this practice with the *precept of worship*. For *God* being to appoint the *Laws* and *Rules* of it, we are to enquire in the first place, what his will and pleasure was, as to this matter; for he best knew what *worship* was pleasing to him. If he hath therefore appropriated all *acts of Religious worship* to himself, as it is plain he hath done by that *Law*, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*, then it is unlawful to give it to any other.

If

If it be said, they do not give the *worship proper to God*; I desire to know who shall judge what is the *worship proper to God*, He by his *Law*, or we by *distinctions* of our own making? Hath *God* himself made any such *distinction* as this is? Hath He bid men to pray to Him as the *Author and Giver of all Good*, but to *Angels or Saints* as *Mediatours and Intercessors* to Him? Nay hath He not forbidden it, when he commands that all *Religious worship* without *distinction*, be given to himself? And where the *Law* doth not *distinguish*, what *presumption* is it in us to do it? 2. By the *practise* of the *Jewish Church*; and it is granted by our *Adversaries*, that *there was no Invocation of Saints then used*, because, say they, *the Saints were then only in Limbo, and not in their perfect happiness, nor placed over the Church as they are now*; but the *Jews* knew of no such reason as this to hinder them; for they believed those great *Saints* to be in a *state of perfect Felicity*, therefore this could be no ground to hinder them; and withal they had so mighty a *veneration* for the *Patriarchs*, and so great a *dread* of the *Divine Majesty*, that if it had been lawful, none would have been more ready to have made use of them as *Mediators* than

Billarm. de
Sanct.

Beatit. l. 1.

c. 19, 20.

Perron Re-

plie. l. 5.

p. 981.

Suarez in

3. p. Tb. fo. 2.

disp. 42.

sect. 1. de

orat. l. 1.

c. 10.

Deut. 5. 27.

than they ; for we see how ready they were to entreat *Moses* to be a *Mediator* between *God* and them ; why should not they have continued this after his death , if they had believed one to be as *lawful* as the other ? But *although they did not Invoke Saints, they might do Angels ;* and some have attempted to prove they did , although the *Jews* know of no such practice among them , albeit they attribute so much to the *Power of Angels* , that nothing but the fear of *Idolatri* could restrain them ; for *they believe one to be a Spirit set over Fire, and another over Water, another over Clouds, &c. as the Eastern Idolaters did.*

Reuchlin. de
arte Caba-
list. l. 3.
Vorstinus in
Maim.
de Fund.
legis p. 16,

17.

But did not *Jacob* pray to the *Angel*, *Gen. 48. 16. the Angel that redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads ?* No saith *Abarbinel* , it was only a prayer to *God*, that had made use of his *Angel* ; for, he saith , *God before whom my Fathers did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the Angel which redeemed me, &c.* if this were an invocation of the *Angel*, it was an invocation of him as the *Author and Giver of all Good* ; which *T. G.* confesses to be *Idolatri* : but *Abra vanel* parallels it with that saying of *Abraham*, *The Lord God of Heaven which took me from my Fathers House, He shall send*

Abarb. de
capite fidei
c. 12. ad
dub. 2.

Gen. 24. 7.

send his Angel before thee. But we need not run to the Jews to clear this place, for S. Athanasius supposing it to be an *Invocation*, from thence proves, that it must be understood of the Eternal Son of God, for, saith he, Jacob would never have joyned a Creature together with God in his prayers: and S. Cyrill, more generally; who would ever pray in the name of Angels? And S. Hierome in terms as large and express as may be, *Nullum invocare*, i. e. *in nos orando vocare nisi Deum debemus*; we ought to invoke none by praying to them but God himself: and from thence he proves the wisdom there spoken of could be no created wisdom. So that neither Jews nor Christians did believe the *Invocation* of Angels to have been practised in the Church of Israel.

Athanas. c. Arrian orat. 4. p. 464.

cyrill. thesaur. assert. 20. p. 209. S. Hier. in Proverb. 2.

3. In this case it is reasonable to appeal to the sense of Jewish Writers, who must be presumed to understand their own customs best; especially in respect to *Idolatry*, which they have suffered so much for; and they unanimously declare it to be against the sense of the Law, to make Saints or Angels to be Mediators between God and them. Maimonides makes this to be consequent upon the precept against *Idolatry*; and makes it the fifth Fundamen-

Maimon. ap. Abrav. p. 7.

tal of the Law; That we ought to worship God alone, and to make no Mediators between God and us; neither Angels, nor Stars, nor Elements, nor any such things, because we ought to direct all our thoughts to God alone. And Abravanel in his Commentary upon the Fundamentals of the Law, saith, their wise men interpreted that verse, the Lord our God is nigh unto us in all that we call upon him for, that they should only invoke God, and not Michael or Gabriel, &c. and saith presently after, That this sort of worship belongs only to God, and to none else, according to the sense of their wise-men. Maimonides saith, That none of the Idolaters were ever so mad to think there was no God besides the Idol they worshipped; or that the Figure they worshipped made and governed the world; but they worship them as Mediators between the great God and them, and so he interprets that place, Mal. I. II. Incense shall be offered וְשֵׁן not *Nomini meo*, but *propter me*: as though the Incense they offered to their Idols were for his sake, and so it is a meer relative *Latria*: and he adds, That the Idolaters did believe one God, but offended against the precept which commands Him alone to be worshipped. The Paraphrase of Jonathan

Abrav. de
capite fidei
c. 12. p. 43.

Maim. More
Nevoch. l. I.
c. 36.

than upon 1 Kings 18. 21. *If the Lord be God, follow Him*; renders it thus, *Is not God thy Lord? therefore serve Him alone: and why do ye wander after Baahim in which there is no profit.* But I need mention no more since a Learned person of our Church hath proved in a set Discourse from the several Testimonies of *Aben-Ezra, Kimchi, Farchi, Moses bar-Nachman, R. Bechai, Alschech*, and others of greatest reputation among the Jews, that they were guilty of *Idolatry* by their *Law*, who believed one true God, but gave Religious worship to other things, as *Mediators* between God and them.

*Veri cultus
unitas, &c.
Auct. L. S.
Lond. 1643.*

6. The last I shall mention as an appropriate act of divine worship, is, making Vows to God; which the Scripture hath so fully declared to belong to God, as a part of divine worship, that our Adversaries do not offer to deny it. For Vows are not only said to be made to God, Numb. 30. 2. Deut. 23. 21, 23. but they are joyned with Sacrifice and Oblations, Isa. 19. 21. And therefore Aquinas makes *vowing* one of the proper acts of *Latria*; and Bellarmine confesses, *That it is an act of Religion due only to God.* Who could now have imagined, after such confessions to have found

q. 12.

*Aq. 2.2. q.
88. 5.
Bellarm. de
cultu sanct.
l. 2. c. 9.*

found them in the *Church of Rome* making *vows to Saints* as solemnly as to *God himself*; so that if ever men did condemn themselves for *Idolatry*, they seem to do it by such plain *confessions* of both parts, *viz.* that *Vows* are a part of the *worship due only to God*; and that they give *this worship to Creatures*. Here one would think we had them fast; yet if we do not look to our selves, they will slip through our fingers, and escape. Is not, say I, a *Vow* a part of *Latria* that is due only to *God*? Yes, say our *Adversaries*, it is so. Do not you make *Vows to Saints* as formally and solemnly as to *God himself*; as the *Dominicans* *Vow* at entrance into their *Order*, as *Cajetan* saith, is made *Deo, Beatae Mariae, Beato Dominico & omnibus sanctis*? True, say they, this cannot be denied. Do not you then give to the creature the *worship proper to God*, which you confess to be *Idolatry*? Hold, say they, we distinguish: but about what? about making *Vows to Saints together with God*; for may not we make a *Vow* to men and to *God* too, and who will say that is *Idolatry*? as for instance, may not a man *Vow* to *A.* and *B.* that he will give a hundred pound to an *Hospital*? here the *Vow* is made both to *God*, and to *A.* and *B.* But here

Cajet. in
Aq. ib.

here A. and B. are only witnesses to the Vow, but the formality of the Vow lies in the promise made to God to do such things for his service and honour; and A. and B. have no concernment in this. But may not men Vow obedience to Superiours, and that is more than making them witnesses? Very true, but then this obedience is the matter of the Vow, or the thing that is vowed; and in all Vows of obedience, there are many limitations implied, but there are none in the Vows made to God or the Saints; but withal they Vow to God and the Saints that they will obey their Superiours. So that their obedience to Superiours is but the matter of the Vow made to God and the Saints. Well then, say they, suppose we do make the Saints the object of our Vows as well as God; yet we do not consider the Saints as rational creatures; but as they are *Dii participativè*, as Cajetan and Bellarmin both say. And is not this the very answer of the Heathens, that they gave divine worship to creatures, not as creatures, but as Gods by way of participation? Is it indeed come out at last, that we are to look on the Saints as inferior Deities, and on that account may give to them the worship proper to God? *Votum non convenit sanctis*, saith Bellarmin, nisi

S

qua-

De sanct.
beat. l. 1.
c. 20.

quatenus sunt Dii per participationem.
 I see truth may be smothered a long time,
 and kept under by violence, but it will
 break out at last, one way or other. I be-
 gan to suspect something, when I found
 the *Master of Controversies*, speak of the
Saints being *prepositi Ecclesie* set over the
Church, but I could hardly have expected
 to have found them owned for *inferiour*
Deities, for what are *Gods* by *participation*
 but such as derive their power from God,
 and are employed by Him to take care of
 these lower things? So he saith, the *Saints*
do curam gerere rerum nostrarum, take
 care of our affairs: and now I do not won-
 der to see them make *Vows* to them, or
 perform any other act of *Religious worship*
 to them as well as to God. But after all
 this ado, may we not *Vow* to God upon a
 higher account, and to the *Saints* upon a
 lower? Yes, no doubt; just as a man may
 swear *Allegiance* to his *Prince* upon the ac-
 count of his *Sovereign Authority*; and to
 one of his *Subjects*, as a *less sovereign*.
 For if *Allegiance* be peculiar to *Sovereign*
Authority, how can it be given to any one
 that hath it not? And in this case, it is
 confessed that *Vows* are a part of that wor-
 ship which is proper only to God; and how
 then can they be given to any else besides
 Him?

Him? And *Bellarmin* confesseth; That *Vows* in the *Scriptures* are alwaies taken for promises made to God; for when they were writton, there was no such custom of *vowing* to *Saints*. A very fait confession! But how then comes that, which all the time when the *Scripture* was written was *peculiar* to God, to become *common* to Him and His *Creatures*? why may not *sacrifice* be made *common* as well as *Vows*? if it be in their *power* to change those things which God by the acknowledgement of our *Adversaries* hath throughout the *Scripture* made *petuliar* to himself.

2. This therefore will require a farther debate, viz. how far Gods appropriating these *Acts* of worship to himself doth concern us? For which we are to consider, Q. 13.

1. That it is granted by *T. G.* to be reasonable, that there should be some *external acts* of worship *peculiar* to God; because the *reason* of his worship is *peculiar*, as he is the *supreme Lord* and *Governour* of the world.

2. That *acts* of worship being designed to honour and please God, he is the fittest to determine what those *peculiar acts* of worship shall be. For *S. Augustin* mentions that saying of *Socrates* as a principle of

August. de consens. Evangel. l. 1. c. 18. *natural reason; Unumquemque Deum sic coli oportere, quo modo se ipse colendum esse praeceperit; that God ought to be worshipped according to His own appointment.*

To which himself adds, *That if men worship God against His will, they do not worship Him, but their own imagination: and therefore they are to examine what worship this God doth reserve to himself, and what He will allow to any other.* *Origen l. 8. p. 384.* embraces that saying of Celsus, *That no*

inferior Being ought to receive any Honour against the will of the Supreme: and therefore he desires Celsus to prove, that those Demons and Heroes, which had divine worship given them among them, ever had the consent of the Supreme God for it; but it rather came from the ignorance and barbarism of mankind, which by degrees fell off from the true worship of God. And he insists upon the demonstration of this, as to all their Deities, how they can shew that ever God gave way they should be worshipped. *Ἀνατρεψέτω τις τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα;* but we can prove, saith he, by evident arguments that it was the will of God that all men should honour the Son, as they do the Father. *Dei honorem per Deum docemur,* saith Hilary; we understand how to wor-

Hilary. de Trinit. l. 5. p. 54.

worship God by himself. S. Chrysostom saith, chrylost. hom. 60. ad pop. Anti-och. Let us learn to honour Christ as he would have us, for that is the most pleasing honour, which he would have, and not that which we would give. S. Peter thought to honour Christ by refusing to be washed, but this was not honour, but directly contrary. Which I desire T. G. to take notice of, that he may better understand, that God cannot be honoured by prohibited acts of worship, whatever the intention of the person be. But one would think this were a principle so reasonable in it self, that I need not vouch *Authorities* for it; yet we shall soon find that all these *Authorities* are no more than necessary.

3. *Acts appropriated to the worship of God by his own appointment, must continue so, till himself hath otherwise declared.* For who dares alter what God hath appointed? Indeed if the *peculiar acts of worship* had depended only on the consent of mankind, there might have been some reason for men by common consent to have changed the nature and signification of them. But since God by a Law hath appropriated some parts of worship to himself, we ought in manners to know his mind, before we give away any part of that which was once peculiar to himself,

to any of his *creatures*.

4. Christ hath no where made it *lawful* to give any *Acts* that were before *appropriate* to the *worship* of *God* to any *creature*. We do acknowledge that *Christ* did take away by the design of his doctrine, that *external ceremonial worship* that was among the *Jews*; but he no where gives the least intimation, that any *acts* which before were *peculiar* to *God*, might now be given to any *else* besides him. Nay, instead of this, he layes down the same *Fundamental precept* of *worship* which was in the Law, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*, and he explains it more clearly to avoid all ambiguity in it, by expressing that restrictive particle *only*, which was implied before: His *Apostles* utterly refused any thing like *divine honour* being given to them, and when one of them after an *ecstatical* manner fell down before an *Angel*, he was severely rebuked for it, and bidden to *worship God*. So that our *Adversaries* grant, that since the *incarnation* the *Angels* would not receive any *adoration* from men; it seems then the Gospel is so far from giving any countenance to it, that it suggests a new argument against it.

5. The *notion* of *Idolatry* under the *Gospel*, doth remain the *same* that it was before. For we find such a *sin* often expressed, and condemned, and *cautions* given against it, *Neither be ye Idolaters, as were some of them : wherefore my dearly beloved, flee from Idolatry ; Little Children keep your selves from Idols.* What *notion* of *Idolatry* could they have, but what was the *same*, which the *Jews* had from the *Law* of *Moses* ? The *notion* of *Idolatry* was a *new thing* among the *Gentiles* who knew no harm at all in giving *divine worship* to *creatures* ; from whence should they understand the *sinfulness* and the *nature* of it, if not from some *Law* of *God* ? the *Apostles* pretended to give no *new Law* about it, and never corrected any *mistake* among the *Jews* concerning it, as they did in other things ; therefore the *notion* of *Idolatry* did continue the *same*, that it was before.

I Cor. 10.
7. 14.

I S. John
5. 21.

6. It was *Idolatry* among the *Jews* to give the *appropriate acts* of *divine worship* to any thing but *God* : which I have already proved from the words of the *Law*, and the concurrent *Testimony* of the *Jewish Writers* ; and from these things laid together, it follows, that it is *Idolatry* for men now to give any of the fore-mentioned ap-

appropriate signs of divine worship to any thing but God: whether it be sacrifice, or adoration, or building Temples and Altars, or burning incense, or invocation, or making Vows; for if all these were things appropriated to the worship of God by his Law, the using of these to any creature, is not meer disobedience to his Law, but a giving to the creature the worship proper to God; which on all sides is confessed to be Idolatry.

¶ 14. No, saith T. G. this proves only an extrinsecal denomination of Idolatry; for if, for instance, God hath forbidden external adoration to be given to an Image, his prohibition of such worship may make it indeed to be unlawful, but hinders not the Act from passing whither it was intended; and consequently if it be intended or directed by the understanding and will to God, though after an unlawful manner, it will not fail to be terminated upon God; and the act is an act of disobedience, or of some other sin, and called Idolatry only by a Metaphorical denomination, as Idolatry is called Adultery, and the Fields are said to be joyful and sing. For, as he saith elsewhere, as no command of God can make that to be not Idolatry, which is so in the nature

T.G. p. 28,
29.

¶ 23.

nature of the thing ; so no prohibition (if there were any) could make that to be Idolatry which hath not in it the true and real nature of Idolatry.

To make this matter the more clear, I shall here take away this *cavil* of T. G., because it relates to the right stating of the *Nature of Idolatry* ; which is agreed on both sides to be, *giving to the creature the worship due only to God* ; and the *controversie* between us is this, whether on supposition that God hath prohibited the *act* of adoration to an *Image* under the notion of *Idolatry* ; that *act* be *real Idolatry* or no ? The only pretence on their side that it was not, was this, *that the intention of the Person being to terminate his worship on God, and not barely on the Image, it could not be real Idolatry* ; my business was to remove this pretence ; which I did by this argument, *because God himself denyes to receive it, and therefore it must be terminated on the creature* : the consequence of this T. G. rejects as utterly false , *because humane acts go whither they are intended, and that the prohibition of God only makes the act unlawful, and doth not hinder its going to its object.* To take off this, I undertook to shew, that where God hath prohibited any *acts of worship*, that
worship

worship so given cannot be said to be terminated upon him: because *worship* being as here understood, an outward signification of honour and respect, God making a rule for his own *worship*, whatever hath disobedience in it, must dishonour God; and that were a contradiction to honour God by dishonouring him; and therefore God giving it the denomination of *Idolatry*, mens intentions could not excuse them from the guilt of it. For I said, whithersoever men directed their intention, it is plain from *Scripture*, that God doth interpret this kind of *worship* to be terminated on the *Image*; and therefore the *Israelites* are said to worship the molten *Image*, although they directed their intention to God by it. This is the short and true account of the force and design of that discourse, upon which T. G. makes such clamours of vanity, impertinency, changing the Question, contradiction, downright *Sophistry*, and what not: save only answering the argument contained in it. But I beseech T. G. to let me understand the *Sophistry* of this argument: for he hath not yet discovered any thing like it, but only that he did not, or would not understand the strength and design of it. I will therefore do him the kindness to make it plainer to him.

T. G. p.
24, &c.

In

In all *Acts of worship* there are three things to be explained. 1. The *inward intention* of the *mind*. 2. The *outward act of worship*. 3. The *passing of that outward act* according to the *inward intention*, or the *terminating* of it.

1. The *inward intention* of the *mind*, is either (1.) *Actual cogitation* of the *object intended*, or (2.) *Directing* the *outward act* to some *particular end*. As when I see a *picture* that puts me in mind of a *Friend*, the *inward intention* of the *mind* in the *act of seeing* is carried to the *object represented*, which is no more than *simple cogitation*, or *apprehension* of the *Person* by an *Idea* of him in my *mind*; but when I *kiss* that *picture* out of the *esteem* I have for him, the *intention of the mind* is by that *outward act* to shew the *respect* I have for *his Person*.

2. The *outward act of worship* may be considered two ways. 1. *Physically*, and *abstractly* from any *Law*, and so it depends upon the *nature* of the *intention*. 2. *Morally*, as *good* or *evil*, and so it receives its *denomination* from the *Law*, and not from the bare *intention* of the *Person*; as if a man steals with an *intention* of *charity*, the *goodness* of his *intention* doth not hinder the *act* from falling under the *denomination* of *theft*.

3. The

3. The *passing* of the *outward act* according to the *inward intention*, or the *terminating* of it, signifies no more out of these terms, than that it was the *intention* of the person who did it to *honour God* by doing it; but whether this be *really* an act of *honour* to *God* or no, is not to be judged by the *simple intention* of the *Doer*, but by the *Law* and *Rule* of *worship* which *God* hath given. And how can *God* be *honoured* by a palpable act of *disobedience*? and how can that *worship* be *terminated* as *worship* upon him, who hath utterly *refused* it? And supposing that *God* hath *appropriated* that *outward act* of *worship* to himself, which is given to an *Image*, this is giving the *worship* to a *creature*, which is proper to *God*; which *T. G.* cannot deny to be the *definition* of real *Idolatry*. This was the meaning and intention of my former *discourse*, however *T. G.* lamentably mistakes and perverts it.

1. He saith, *this is changing the State of the Question*; how so? *why*, forsooth, *my charge was of real Idolatry, and my proof is only of Metaphorical Idolatry, and by extrinsecal denomination*. What need is there that men have a care of their words that have to do with such *Sophisters*! All
that

that I said of *denomination*, was no more than this, *The Divine Law being the rule of worship all prohibited ways of worship must receive that denomination which God himself gives them* : what is this to *Metaphorical Idolatry* ? If I say that unjust reproaching ones neighbour, or taking away his Goods, or lying with his wife, must receive that *denomination* which the *Law* gives them, doth this imply that it is only *Metaphorical Theft and Adultery, and false witness* ? I do assure him, I meant very *real Idolatry*, under that *denomination*; and that upon this reason, which I have now more largely insisted upon, *viz.* that it belongs to *God* to appropriate *acts of worship* to himself, that *God* having appropriated them, they become *due* only to him ; and therefore they who do these *acts* to any besides himself, do give to the *creature* the worship *due to God alone*, which is the very definition of *real Idolatry* *T. G.* contends for. But the *real Idolatry* I meant, he saith, was that which was so antecedently to any prohibition, as appears by my contending that the Church of Rome doth require the giving the creature the honour due only to *God*. What strange arguing is this, for so a subtile a Sophister ! Would not any one that had
looked

looked over Aristotles threshold (to use his own phrase) discern, that if *Idolatry* doth consist in *giving the creature the worship due only to God*, as many wayes as worship may become *due*, *Idolatry* may be committed? Cannot God make any of the former *appropriate acts of worship* to become *due only to himself*? cannot he tye us to perform them to him? and then they become *due to him*: and cannot he restrain us from doing them to any other? and then they become *due only to him*: and is not then the doing of any of these *prohibited acts to a creature*, the giving to them the *worship due only to God*? Is the *outward act of sacrifice due only to God* antecedently to a *prohibition* or no? If it be *due only to God antecedently to his will*, it is alwayes and necessarily *due to him*, and to him alone: and let T. G. at his leisure prove, that *antecedently to any Law of God, it was necessary to worship God by sacrifice, and unlawful so to worship any else besides him*. If it depends on the will of God, then either it is no *Idolatry* to offer *sacrifice to a creature*; and then the *sacrifice of the Mass* may be offered to *Saints or Images*: or if it be, then *real Idolatry* may be consequent to a *prohibition*. But he thinks he hath a greater advantage

vantage against me by my saying, *that any* p. 24, 25;
image being made so far the object of di- 26.
vine worship, that men do bow down before
it, doth thereby become an Idol, and on
that account is forbidden in the second
Commandment. This is downright tri-
 fling; for if I should say, that taking away
 a mans goods against his consent is *Theft*,
 and on that account is forbidden in the
eighth Commandment, would any man
 imagine, that I must speak of Theft ante-
 cedent to the Command? for it implies
 no more, than that it is contrary to the
 Command. But as it is in the case of
 Theft, that is alwayes a sin, although the
 particular species of it, and the *denomina-*
tion of particular acts doth suppose *positive*
Laws about *Dominion* and *Property*; so
 it is in the case of *Idolatry*, the general *na-*
ture of it is alwayes the same, viz. *the*
giving the worship to a creature, which is
due only to God, although the *denomina-*
tion of particular acts may depend upon
positive Laws, because God may *appro-*
priate peculiar acts of *worship* to himself;
 which being done by him, those *acts* be-
 ing given to a creature, receive the *denu-*
mination of Idolatry, which, without those
Laws they would not have done. So that
 still the general notion of *Idolatry*, is ante-
 cedent

cedent to positive *Laws*, but yet the *determination* of particular *acts*, whether they are *Idolatry* or no, do depend on the positive *Laws* which God hath given about his *worship*. And if *T. G.* had understood the *nature* of *humane acts*, as he pretends, he would never have made such trifling objections as these: For is it not thus, in the nature of the other sins forbidden in the *Commandments* as well as *Idolatry*, that are supposed to be the most *morally evil* antecedent to any prohibition? Suppose it be murder, adultery, or disobedience to Parents; although I grant these things to have a general *notion* antecedently to any *Laws*; yet when we come to enquire into particular *acts*, whether they do receive those *denominations* or no, we must then judge by particular *Laws*, which determine what *acts* are to be accounted *Murder*, *Adultery*, or *Disobedience*; as whether *execution* of malefactors be prohibited *Murder*, whether *marrying* many *wives* be *Adultery*, whether not complying with the *Religion* of ones *Parents* be *disobedience*. These things I mention, to make *T. G.* understand a little better, the *nature* of *Moral Acts*, and that a general *notion* of *Idolatry* being antecedent to a prohibition, is very consistent with the determining

ning any particular acts, (as the *worship* of *Images*, to be *Idolatry*,) to be consequent to that *prohibition*.

But I perceive a particular pleasure these men take, to make me seem to *contradict my self*; and here *T. G.* is at it, as wisely as the rest; thus blind men apprehend nothing but contradictions in the diversity of colours by the different reflections of light; but the comfort is, that others know that it is only their want of sight, that makes them cry out, *contradictions*. But wherein lyes this horrible *self-contradiction*? Why truly it seems I had said, *that an Image being made so far the object of divine worship that men do bow down before it, doth thereby become an Idol, and on that account is forbidden in the second Commandment*. Well! and what then? where lyes the *contradiction*? Hold a little, it will come presently: in the mean time *mark those words; on that Account*: but I say, *that the worship which God denies to receive, cannot be terminated on him but on the Image*. Is this the *contradiction* then? *No, not yet neither*. The conceit had need be good, it is so long in delivering; but at last it comes like a thunder-showre, full of *sulphur and darkness*, with a terrible crack: *either I mean*

T

that

that this worship cannot be terminated on God antecedently to the Prohibition, because on that account the worship of an Image is forbidden in the second Commandment ; or if it cannot be terminated on the account of the Prohibition, then it is not on that account forbidden. What a needless invention was that of Gunpowder ! T. G. can blow a man up with a train of consequences from his own words, let him but have the laying of it. Could I ever have thought, that such innocent words, as on that account, should have had so much Nitre and Sulphur in them ? For let any man read over those words, and see if he can find any thing antecedent to the prohibition in them. For having in that place shewed that the words *Idolum*, *sculptile*, *imago* are promiscuously used in Scripture, I presently add, By which it appears, that any Image being made so far the object of divine worship that men do bow down before it, doth thereby become an Idol, and on that account is forbidden in this Commandment. By which it appears (mark that) this T. G. pares off, as not fit for his purpose ; i. e. from the sense of the word in Scripture ; that any Image being made so far the object of divine worship that men do bow down before it ; i. e. if

men

men do perform that act of worship to an *Image* which *God* hath forbidden the doing towards it ; what then ? then say I, it becomes an *Idol*, for whatever hath divine worship given to it, is so ; and on that account, i. e. of its having that act of divine worship done to it by bowing before it, it is forbidden in this Commandment, i. e. it comes within the reach of that prohibition ; the meaning of all which is no more than to shew, that adoration of *Images* is *Idolatry* by vertue of that Commandment. But, thus are we put to construe and paraphrase our own words, to free our selves either from the ignorance, or malice of our Adversaries. But with this fetch *T. G.* stands and laughs through his fingers, at the trick he hath plaid me ; and bids me, with a secret pleasure at his notable invention, to extricate myself out of this *Labyrinth*. But doth not *T. G.* remember the old woman in *Seneca* ; that thought the Room was dark, when she lost her sight, and no doubt would have pleased her self to think she left Children in the dark, when the Sun shined ? I would desire *T. G.* to look for the *Labyrinth* nearer home ; for I cannot discern any, unless it should be in the perplexity of his own thoughts, for I am unwilling to believe that he doth this

P. 29.

with a design to *play tricks*; and to *fly* blow my words on purpose to make others *distaste them*. But what if after all this *Sophistry*, T. G. very mercifully yields me the thing I pleaded for, *viz. that the worship which God hath forbidden, cannot be terminated upon himself*? For, he saith, *that if God have forbidden himself to be worshipped after such a manner, the giving him such worship will be a dishonouring of him, though the Giver intend it never so much for his Honour*. I see T. G. after all, is a good natured man, and although he will shew a thousand tricks, rather than be thought to have it forced from him, yet let him alone, and he will give as much as a man would desire. For what could I wish for more, than he here grants? *Prohibited worship*, he grants, *is dishonouring God, though a man intend it never so much for his honour: and worship*, he yields to be an *external signification of honour*; then God is honoured when he is worshipped; how then can he be worshipped by the same act by which he is dishonoured; for so he would be honoured by that by which he is dishonoured; which comes much nearer to a *contradiction*, than any thing he charges me with. But all this while he cannot understand, *that this is*

ter-

terminating the honour due to God on the Image: I ask him then, where that honour rests? it must be some where; not on God, for, he confesses *God is dishonoured*, and therefore it can be no where else, but on the Image, and consequently it is *real Idolatry*, and not merely *Metaphorical*, or by *extrinsecal denomination*.

3. I now proceed to shew, that the *Christian Church* hath condemned those for *Idolatry* who have been guilty only of applying some *external appropriate acts* of *divine worship* to other things besides God. What made the *Church of Alexandria* be so severe with *Origen* for but holding the *incense* in his hands, which those about him cast from thence upon the *Altar*? yet for this, he was cast out of the *Church*, saith *Epiphanius*. In the *Acts of Marcel-* p. 15.
linus, which *Baronius* produces, he is con- Epiphan.
bar. 64.
demned for *offering incense* in the *Temple* Baron. A.
302. n. 90.
of *Vesta*, out of *compliance* with *Dioclesi-*
an; yet he was only guilty of the *exter-*
nal act of *Idolatry*, saith *Bellarmin*, having Bellar. de
R. Pont.
l. 4. c. 8.
no *infidelity* in his mind; and this was
the common case of the *Thurificati*, viz.
of those who *offered incense* only out of
fear; and not with an *intention* to honour
the *Idol* by it; yet these were looked on

as lapsed persons; and great severities of penance were prescribed them, as appears by the *Canons* of *Ancyra* and many others. But if there be no external appropriate acts of divine worship; if burning incense be an indifferent thing, and may be used to God, or the Creature; if Idolatry depends on the intention of the mind; I desire to know, what the fault of the *Thurification* was? For if it were lawful to burn incense to a creature, what harm was there in the doing it by *Marcellinus* at the request of the *Emperour*, if he intended it for no more than a civil respect to him? But it was in the *Temple of Vesta*, and therefore was divine worship. Then, say I, an act in it self equivocal, becomes appropriate to divine worship, being performed with the circumstances of Religion; which is that I have been hitherto proving. But if external acts receive their denomination from the inward intention of the mind, no doubt the *Jesuits* in *China*, were far more in the Right than the primitive Church; and by this doctrine of directing the intention in outwards acts of worship, the lives of many thousand *Martyrs* might have been saved. For in the *Roman Martyrology* Decemb. 25. we find in *Nicomedia* at one time, many thousand *Martyrs* destroyed

See on. not.
in Marty-
rol. Rom.
Decemb. 25.

stroyed by *Dioclesian*, being met together in a *Church*, rather than they would escape by offering a *little incense at their coming out* : the *Greek Menology* saith, they were *twenty thousand* ; too great a number to lose their lives for so *indifferent a ceremony*, as *T. G.* accounts it ; might not they, when they were bid to *offer incense to Jove*, direct *their intention to the Supreme God* ? and then *T. G.* would assure them, *the act must pass whither it was directed* ; and it was meer ignorance of the *nature of humane acts* for men to imagine otherwise. What great pity it is, *so saving a doctrine* (to the *Lives* at least, though not to the *Souls of Christians*) had not been known in that age, when so many poor *Christians* suffered *Martyrdom* for the want of it ! How admirably would *T. G.* upon his principles have perswaded those *Christians of Nicomedia* to resolution and constancy in suffering ! “What is “it the *Emperour* requires of you to save “your *Lives* ? [*O Sir say they, it is to burn* *T. G. p.* “*incense.*] “To burn incense ! is that ^{420.} “a thing for you to venture your *Lives* for ? “I am ashamed of your ignorance ; what “do not you know, that burning incense “at least now in the *New Law* is an in- “different ceremony, and may be used to

"God or to men? [O but we are required
 "to burn incense to Jove.] "What
 "have none of you looked over Aristotles
 "threshold, that you do not know, that
 "actions go whither they are intended?
 "well, let me give you this advice; when
 "you burn the incense, direct your inten-
 "tion aright to God, and my life for
 "yours, the act will pass to him, and not
 "to Jove, as surely as an Arrow well le-
 "vel'd hits the mark that is aimed at.
 I see plainly, *this threshold of Aristotle*
 would have done more service to have
 saved the *Christians Lives*, than all the
precepts of Christ or his *Apostles*. But I
 find none of the *primitive Christians* had
 peeped through *Aristotles Keyhole*, much
 less had they *stept over his threshold*, un-
 less they were those *Philosophical Christi-
 ans*, the *Gnosticks*; for they perfectly un-
 derstood this principle, and ordered their
actions accordingly; for they had a migh-
 ty care of their *intention*, and kept a
 good *sound faith* within, and for all the
outward acts of worship among the *Gen-
 tiles*, they could do them with the *best* of
 them, and only they did by them, as they
 do with *Pigeons* in the *East*, they bound
 their *intention* fast about them, and with
 them then they were sure they would fly to
 the

the place they intended them. But why doth S. Augustine find such fault with *Seneca* for complying with the outward acts of worship among the Heathen Idolaters? and with the rest of the Philosophers for the same things? Why doth *Aquinas* quote these passages with approbation? Did they know the intention of *Seneca*, or the Philosophers? Why doth *Cajetan* say, that a man that commits only the external act of Idolatry, is as guilty as he that commits the external act of theft? To both which, he sayes, no more is necessary than a voluntary inclination to do that act; nor any apprehension in the mind that what he worships is God, nor any intention to direct that act only to the Image. Nay, why doth *Gregory de Valentia* himself say, that outward acts of worship may be so proper to God either from their own nature, or the consent of mankind, that whosoever doth them, whatever his inward intention be, ought to be understood to give the honour proper to God to that for whose sake he doth them? And this he calls an implicit, *Tannerus* an indirect intention, but neither of them suppose it to be either an actual, or virtual intention of the mind, but only that which may be gathered from the outward acts. Nay, T. G. himself saith,

De Civit. Dei, l. 6. c. 20.

De Vera Relig. c. 5.

Aq. 2. 2. q. 94. art. 2.

Greg. de Valent. de Idolol. l. 1. c. 1.

Tanner. to. 3. disp. 5. q. 7. dub. 1.

T. G. p. 99. *faith, that on supposition the Philosophers did believe one God, and yet joyned with the people in the practice of their Idolatry, they were worthily condemned by the Apostle, though but for the external profession of praying and offering sacrifice to their Images. Say you so? and yet do outward acts certainly go whither they are intended? Suppose then these Philosophers intended to worship the true God by those Images? were this Idolatry or no? if not, why were they so much to blame, for giving worship to the true God by an Image? which T. G. commends, as a very good thing. Was it the figure of their Images displeased him? that could not be, for the Statue of Jupiter Capitolinus might as fitly represent God to them as that of an old man in their Churches, and young Jupiter in the lap of Fortune, (an Image Cicero mentions) might put him in mind of one of the most common Images in their Church; and by the help of a good intention might be carryed to a right object. And why might not intention do that, which their Church afterwards did, when it changed the Temple of Hercules to S. Alexius, because he was called Bellarm, de' Αλεξίου; and that of the two Brothers Sanct. Beat. Romulus and Remus, or as Bellarmin saith*
Castor

Cicero de
 Divin. l. 2.
 c. 41.

Bellarmin, de' Αλεξίου
 Sanct. Beat.
 l. 1. c. 20.

Castor and Pollux, to Cosmas and Damianus; and the Pantheon to Omnium Sanctorum? If there be no harm in the thing, there could be none in the intention. Or was it the scandal of their practice? but to whom was the scandal given? it would have been rather scandal among them not to have done it. So that if a secret Intention doth carry the act whither it is intended, and it be lawful to worship God by Images, I do not see, wherein the Philosophers were to blame in complying with those outward acts, whose good or evil according to T. G. depends upon the intention of the doers of them. But if they were really to blame, it was for doing those external acts of worship to creatures, which belong only to the worship of God, and so the Apostle by condemning them, doth prove that which I intended, viz. that there are such peculiar external acts of divine worship, that the doing of them for the worship of a Creature is Idolatry.

But my *Adversary*, thinks to clear the Church of Rome from the charge of Idolatry, by two general answers which serve him and his Brethren on all occasions. viz. 1. That there are two sorts of worship, one called *Latria*, or *Sovereign worship* which

which is proper to God, and another called *Dulia* or *inferiour worship* that may be given to creatures on the account of excellencies communicated to them from God.
 2. That the worship they give to any inanimate creatures, that have no proper excellencies of their own is not absolute, but a relative *Latria*, they intending thereby only to worship God.

In the examining of these two, I shall clear the last part of this Discourse, viz. 3. How the applying the acts of Religious worship to a creature doth make that worship *Idolatry*?

1. I shall consider the different sorts of
 T.G. p. 353. worship which T. G. insists upon, to clear the Church of Rome from the practice of *Idolatry*. The Question at present, saith T. G. between Dr. St. and the Church of Rome is not, whether Divine worship be to be given to Saints (for this is abhorred of all faithful Christians) but whether an *inferiour worship* of like kind with that which is given to Holy men upon earth for their Holiness and near relation to God, may not be lawfully given to them, now they are in Heaven? Again, he
 F. 355. saith, if by Religious worship, I mean that honour which is due to God alone, it is true what the Fathers say, that it is not to be given to the most excellent created
 Beings,

Beings, but nothing at all to the point in debate between us; if I mean that honour of which a creature is capable for Religions sake, and that relation which it setteth, he will, he saith, shew it to be false, that the Fathers deny any such honour to be given to the Holy Angels or Saints: and if I prove that this worship ought not to be called Religious, he tells me from S. Austin, that it is but a meer wrangling about words, because Religion may be used in other senses besides that of the worship due to God. And by the help of this distinction between the Religious worship due to God, and that of which a creature is capable for Religions sake, he saith he can clearly dispell the mist I have raised from the Testimony of the Fathers, and let the Reader see that I have perverted their meaning, and yet said nothing to the purpose. Thus he answers the testimonies of Justin Martyr, Theophilus, Origen, S. Ambrose, (or the writer under his name) Theodoret, S. Austin; and if they had been a hundred more, it had been all one; they had been all sent packing with the same answer; let them say what they would, they must be all understood of Divine worship proper to God, and not of the inferiour worship which creatures are capable

pable of, which from *S. Austin* he calls *Dulia*; as the former *Latria*. The whole strength of *T. G.*'s defence, as to the *worship* of *Saints* and *Angels*, lyes in this *single distinction*; which I shall therefore the more carefully consider, because it tends to clear the *nature* of *Divine worship*, which is my present subject.

To proceed with all possible *clearness* in this debate, which *T. G.* hath endeavoured to *perplex*, I shall 1. Give a *true account* of the *State* of the *Controversie*. 2. Enquire into the sense of the *Fathers* about this *distinction* about *Sovereign and inferiour worship*, whether those *acts of worship* which are practised in the *Roman Church*, be only such as the *Fathers* allowed.

1. For the true *state* of the *controversie*; which was never more necessary to be given, than in this place. For, any one that only reads *T. G.* and doth not understand the *practice* of the *Roman Church*, would imagine all the dispute between him and me were, *whether the Saints in Heaven be capable of receiving any honour from men*; and whether that honour being given upon the account of *Religion*, might be called *Religious Honour* or no? This were indeed to wrangle about words, which I perfectly hate. I will there-

therefore freely tell, him how far I yield in this matter, that he may better understand where the difficulty lyes.

1. I yield, that the *Saints* in Heaven do deserve *real honour* and *esteem* from us ; and I do agree with Mr. *Thorndike*, whose words he cites, therein, *that to dispute whether we are bound to honour the Saints, were to dispute whether we are to be Christians, or whether we believe them to be Saints in Heaven.* For on sup^osition that we believe, that the greatest *excellencies* of mens minds come from the *Grace of God*, communicated to men through *Jesus Christ* ; and we are assured that such *persons* now in Heaven were possessed of those *excellencies* , it is impossible we should do otherwise than *esteem* and *honour* them. For *honour* in this sense, is nothing else, but the *due apprehension* of anothers *excellency* ; and therefore it must be greater, or lesser according to the nature and degree of those *excellencies*. Since therefore we believe the *Saints* in Heaven are possessed of them in a higher degree than they were on earth, our esteem of them must increase according to the measure of their *perfections*.

2. That the *honour* we have for them may be called *Religious honour* , because it
is

is upon the account of those we may call *Religious excellencies*, as they are distinguished from meer *natural endowments* and *civil accomplishments*. On which account I will grant, that is not properly *civil honour*, because the *motive* or *reason* of the one is really different from the other. And although the whole Church of Christ in Heaven and Earth make up one *Body*, yet the nature of that *Society* is so different from a *Civil Society*, that a different *title* and *denomination* ought to be given to the *honour* which belongs to either of them; and the *honour* of those of the triumphant Church may the better be called *Religious*, because it is an *honour* which particularly descends from the object of *Religion*, viz. God himself as the fountain of it; as *civil honour* doth from the Head of a *Civil Society*.

3. That this *honour* may be expressed in such *outward acts*, as are most agreeable to the *nature* of it. And herein lyes a considerable difference, between the *honour* of men for *natural* and *acquired excellencies*, and *divine graces*, that those having more of *humane nature* in them, the *honour* doth more directly redound to the possessor of them; but in *Divine Graces* which are more immediately conveyed

veyed into the souls of men; through a *supernatural assistance*, the *Honour* doth properly belong to the *Giver* of them. Therefore the most agreeable expression of the *honour* of *Saints* is solemn *Thanksgiving* to *God* for them: for thereby we acknowledge the true *fountain* of all the good they did or received. However, for the encouragement of men to follow their examples, and to perpetuate their memories, the primitive *Christians* thought it very fitting to meet at the *places* of their *Martyrdom*, there to *praise God* for them, and to perform other *offices* of *Religious worship* to *God*, and to observe the *Anniversary* of their *sufferings*, and to have *Panegyricks* made to set forth their *virtues*, to excite others the more to their *imitation*. Thus far I freely yield to T.G. to let him see what pittiful cavils those are, *that if men deserve honour for natural or supernatural endowments, surely the Saints in Heaven much more do so*: Who denies it? We give the *Saints* in *Heaven* the *utmost honour* we dare give, without robbing *God* of that which belongs only to him.

Which is that of *Religious worship*, and consists in the *acknowledgements* we make of *Gods* *supream excellency* together with

his *Power* and *Dominion* over us: and so *Religious worship* consists in two things. 1. Such external *acts* of *Religion* which God hath appropriated to himself. 2. Such an inward *submission* of our souls, as implies his *Superiority* over them: and that lyeth, as to *worship*, 1. In *prayer* to him for what we want. 2. In *dependence* upon him for *help* and *assistance*. 3. In *Thankfulness* to him for what we receive.

Suarez de
Virtut. Re-
lig. To. 2.
l. 1. c. 3.

Prayer is a *signification* of *want*, and the *expression* of our *desire* of obtaining that which we need: and whosoever begs any thing of another, doth in so doing, not only acknowledge his own *indigency*, but the others *power* to *supply* him: therefore Suarez truly observes from *Aquinas*, that as *command* is towards *inferiours*, so is *prayer* towards *Superiours*: now in this, saith he, two things are requisite, 1. That a man apprehends it is in the *power* of the *Superiour* to give what we ask. 2. That he is willing to give it, if it be asked of him. The *expectation* of the *performance* of our *desire* is that we call *dependence* upon him for *help* and *assistance*; and our *acknowledgement* of his doing it, is *Thankfulness*.

Now if we consider *Prayer*, as a part of *Religious worship*, we are to enquire on what

what account it comes to be so ; not, as though thereby we did *discover* any thing to God which he did not know before, nor as though we hoped to *change his will* upon our *prayer* ; but that thereby we profess our *subjection* to him, and our *dependence* on him for the *supply* of our *necessities*. For although *prayer* be looked on by us as the *means* to obtain our *requests*, yet the *consideration* upon which that becomes a *means*, is, that thereby we *express* our most *humble dependence* upon *God*.

It being the *difference* observed by *Gul. Parisiensis* between *humane* and *divine prayer* ; that *prayer among men* is supposed a *means* to *change the Person* to whom we pray ; but *prayer to God* doth not *change him*, but *fits us* for *receiving the things prayed for*. This one *consideration* is of greater importance towards the resolution of our present question than hath been hitherto imagined : for the *Question of invocation*, doth not depend so much upon the *manner* of obtaining the thing we desire, *i. e.* whether we pray to the *Saints* to obtain things by their *merits* and *intercessions*, which is allowed and contended for by all in the *Roman Church* ; or whether it be, that they do bestow the things themselves upon us, which they deny : but the

*Gul. Paris.
Rhet. Div.
c. 2.*

true State of the Question is this, *whether*
by the manner of Invocation of Saints
which is allowed and practised in the
Roman Church, they do not give that wor-
ship to Saints, which is only peculiar to
God? Now we are farther to consider,
 wherein that *act* of worship towards God
 doth lye; which is not in an *act* of the
mind whereby we apprehend God to be the
first and independent cause of all good;
 but in an *act* of *dependence* upon him for
 the *obtaining* that good we stand in need
 of. For a man may apprehend God to be
 the *first Author of all good,* and yet make
 no prayer to him, nor use the *acts* of
Religious worship; because he may suppose
 that God may have committed the care of
 humane affairs to *inferiour Deities,* and
 therefore all our *addresses* and *acts* of
worship are to be performed to them: on
 this account the *worship* proper to God
 must lye in *dependence* upon him as the
Sole Author of all Good to us; and this to
 be expressed by our *Solemn Invocation* of
 him. For although the *internal desire*
 be sufficiently known to God; yet the *ne-*
cessity of external Religious worship, and
 owning this *dependence* upon God to the
 world, doth require the expression of it,
 by *outward duties and offices of Religion,*
 in

in such a manner, that our sole dependence upon God be understood thereby.

Now the Question between T. G. and Q. 17. me is this, whether the doctrine and practice of the Roman Church in the Invocation of Saints and Angels be consistent with the acknowledgement of our sole dependence upon God for all our Blessings? The doctrine of their Church is thus delivered by himself, in the words of the Council of Trent, *It is good and profitable for Christians humbly to invoke the Saints, and to have recourse to their prayers, aid, and assistance, whereby to obtain benefits of God, by his Son our Lord Jesus Christ who is our only Redeemer and Saviour.* Where we take notice of the phrase *suppliciter invocare*, to invoke them after the manner of suppliants, and that not only *voce*, but *mente*, with words, but *mental prayers* as the Council adds, which words seem to be put on purpose to distinguish it from that office of *Kindness* in one man to another, when he desires him to pray for him; for this is as much as they would use concerning the Saints in Heaven praying to God, that they do *suppliciter invocare*; this phrase then doth not limit the signification of this invocation

T.G. p. 334

tion to be no more than *praying to the Saints to pray for us*. For a man doth, I suppose, answer the *signification* of that phrase by *praying to them to give*, rather than by *praying to them to pray*; for the one imports more the *humility* of a suppliant, than the other doth. And if there had been apprehended any danger of *praying to them as the givers of blessings*, is is not to be imagined, but so wary a Council would have expressed it, as it was most easie to have done; and most necessary to avoid that danger, if they had any regard to the good of mens souls. And that man must have an understanding indeed of a very common size, that can apprehend that the Council of Trent disallowed the *praying to Saints as the Givers of Blessings*, which was known to be practised in their Church, when they commend the *humble invocation of Saints* without the least censure of that manner of *praying to them*. Nay farther, which puts the matter out of dispute, with all who do not wilfully blind themselves, the Council of Trent commends the making recourse, not only to the *prayers of the Saints*, but to their *aid and assistance*: what doth this *aid and assistance* signifie, as distinct from *prayers*, and expressing some-

somewhat beyond them? (or else those words were very weakly inserted in such a place, where they are so lyable to misconstruction) unless it be that which they pray for to them, *viz. that they would help, comfort, strengthen, and protect them.* Of which sort of prayers I produced several instances in their most *Authentick Offices.* And what saith T. G. to this? why truly, *these Forms of prayer to Saints cannot be denied to be in use among them, but yet the sense of them is no more than praying to them to pray for them, and this is only varying the Phrase, to say to the Blessed Virgin Pray for me, or Help me, and comfort me and strengthen me O Blessed Virgin.* But I asked him, whence must people take the sense of these prayers, if not from the signification of the words? He answers, *not meerly from Lilly's Grammar p. 407. Rules, but from the doctrine of the Church delivered in her Councils and Catechisms, and from the common use of such words and expressions among Christians.* I am content with this way of interpreting the sense of these prayers, provided, that a generally received practice, never condemned by their Councils, but rather justified by them, and a doctrine agreeable to that practice, allowed and countenanced in

that *Church*, be thought a sufficient *means* to interpret the *sense* of these *prayers*. And to make the matter more plain, besides the *prayers* already mentioned, I shall give only a *Tast* of some few of those, which are recommended to the *Use* of the *devout Persons* of their *Church*, in the *Manuals* and *Offices* which are now allowed them in our own language: in which we may be sure, they would be careful to have nothing they thought *scandalous*, or *repugnant* to the *doctrine* and *practise* of their *Church*. In the *Manual* of *Godly Prayers*, which hath been often printed, (and once very lately) I find these words under the title of *A Most Devout Commendation to our most Blessed Lady*,

O most singular, most excellent, most beautiful, most glorious, and most worthy Mother of God, most Noble Queen of Heaven, and most entirely beloved, and most sweet Lady, and Virgin Mary; so often from the bottom of my heart I do salute thee, as there be in number Angels in Heaven, drops of water in the Sea, Stars in the Firmament, leaves on the Trees, and grass on the earth. I do salute thee in the union of love, and by the blessed and most sweet heart of thy most dear Son,
and

and of all that love thee, I do commend and assign my self unto thee, as to my dear Patroness, to be thy proper and loving Child. And farther, I humbly beseech thee O blessed Lady, that thou wilt vouchsafe to entertain and receive me, and obtain of thy dear Son, that I may be wholly thine, and thou next unto God may be wholly mine, that is, my Lady, my Joy, my Crown, and my most sweet and faithful Mother. Amen.

Lilly's Grammar I confess, will not help us out here; nor the Construing Book neither: I do not think any Rules will do it. It must be a special gift of interpreting, that can make any one think, that no more is meant by all this, but to pray to the Blessed Virgin to pray for them. In the same Manual I find another Recommendation to the Virgin Mary, in these words,

O my Lady, Holy Mary, I recommend my self into thy blessed trust, and singular custody, and into the bosome of thy mercy, this night and evermore, and in the hour of my death, as also my Soul and my Body; and I yield unto thee all my hope and consolation, all my distress and miseries, my life and the end thereof; that by thy most holy
in-

intercession, and by thy merits, all my works may be directed and disposed, according to thine, and thy Sons Will. Amen.

I confess, *intercession* is here mentioned ; but withal it is plain that is not the only thing relyed upon, for *her merits* are immediately added ; and whatever ground it be upon, it seems, it is not only *lawful*, but a *devout thing* to commit Soul and Body to her trust and custody, both in Life and death. What could have been said more to the *Eternal Son of God*, than is contained in this *Commendation* to the *Blessed Virgin* in all the expressions of it ? In another prayer to her, which is not only in the *Manual*, but in the *Primer*, or *Office of the Blessed Virgin*, and is too long to repeat, we have this beginning.

I beseech thee, O holy Lady Mary, Mother of God, most full of pity, the daughter of the Highest King, Mother most glorious, Mother of Orphans, the Consolation of the Desolate, the way of them that go astray, the safety of all that trust in thee, a Virgin before Child-bearing, a Virgin in Child-bearing, and a Virgin after Child-bearing, the fountain of mercy,
the

the fountain of health and Grace, the fountain of consolation and pardon, the fountain of piety and gladness, the fountain of life and forgiveness.

I am now got from *Lilly's Grammar* to *Aristotles Threshhold*: and I desire to know of T. G. whether these expressions are true or false? Is the *Blessed Virgin* all these things, or not? If they be not true, they are horrible blasphemies: if they be true, to what purpose is it to talk of *praying to her to pray for us*? for why may not I go directly to the *Fountain of Mercy, Grace, and Pardon*? what needless trouble were it to pray her, to pray for that which is in her on hands to bestow? In another prayer following that, are these expressions to the *Blessed Virgin*,

Bow down thine ears O Mother of pity and mercy, unto my poor prayers, and be to me wretched sinner, a pious helper in all things.

And presently after to our *Lady and S. John* together.

O ye two Heavenly Gemms, Mary and John! O two divine Lamps ever shining before God! drive away with your blessed beams, the dark clouds of my sins.——To you, I most,

most wretched sinner; commend this day, my Body and Soul, that in every hour and moment inwardly and outwardly, ye would vouchsafe to be my sure keepers and pitiful Intercessors to God for me.

Here we have *intercession* again, but that is not all, nor the main thing; for *Custody* is more than *intercession*; and that is first *begged*, and then *intercession*. So that if ever any *prayers* were made to *creatures* for those *things*, which God alone can give, these were; and so as to imply our *dependence* on them for the *obtaining* of them. These may suffice for a *taste* of their present and allowed *devotions* among them here at home, in *Books* of *daily use*.

And now I beseech T. G. to tell me, what there is in the *Doctrine* of the *Church* of *Rome*, which makes it necessary for me to put so forced a *sense* upon all these expressions, that they do mean no more than *praying to the Blessed Virgin to pray for them*? As *Lilly's Grammar* will not explain the *sense*, so no *Rhetorick* I ever saw, will make me understand the *Figure*. How often have we been railed at, for understanding words in a *figurative sense*, which cannot be *literally* understood, without

without overthrowing the plainest evidence of *sense* and *reason*; and which by the customary *modes* of *speaking* among all Nations, attributing the thing signified to the sign, and by other places of *Scripture* and *Fathers*, we prove ought to be no otherwise understood? But here is a *strange figure* invented against the plain and natural *sense* of the *words*, for by *praying to bestow* must be understood only *praying to pray*: and that when those *titles* are at the same time given, which suppose it *in their power to give*; and when there is no imaginable *necessity* from any *doctrine* of their *Church* to put this *sense* upon those words. For what *article* of their *Creed*, what *decree* of their *Church*, what *doctrine* of their *Divines* doth it *contradict*, for any man to *pray directly to the Virgin Mary, for the destruction of heresies, support under troubles, Grace to withstand temptations, and reception to Glory*? And what can we beg for, more from *God* himself? Yet I challenge T. G. to shew, which of all these, such *prayers* are *repugnant* to? and if to none of them, why should not the *words* be understood as they properly signify? nay, it were easie to shew, that such prayers are very agreeable not only to the *doctrine* of the Council

Council of Trent, but of their most *eminent Divines* both before, and after it. But this were to go beyond the bounds of this *general Discourse*; which is designed only to *state the Nature of Divine worship* between us and them. Yet I cannot but

T.G. p. 407. take notice of the way T. G. saith, *the people are instructed by, to make this to be the sense of praying to give, i. e. praying to pray.* 1. He saith, the *common doctrine of Christianity*, by which they are taught that *God alone is the giver of all good things*: and doth not the same common doctrine of *Christianity*, teach men to pray to him alone, for what he only can give? and not to use such bold and absurd figures in prayer, whose plain sense is contrary to this *common doctrine of Christianity*. But I wonder that T. G. should think this an *effectual way* to make them understand the *prayers* in this sense, when himself hath shewed them the way to reconcile this *common doctrine* to their practice; and the form of the words. For may not giving be distinguished as well as worship? It is true, *God alone is the Original Giver of all good things*; and this is a *Sovereign way of giving peculiar to God*; but there is an *inferiour and subordinate way of giving by a power derived from*

God,

God, and this is all, say they, we attribute to the Saints; and how now doth the common doctrine of Christianity teach people more effectually, that God alone is the Giver of all things, than that God alone is to be worshipped? I am sure the Scripture saith one as often, and in as plain terms, as it can do the other. But, 2. He saith, *their Sermons, Catechisms and Explanations both by word and writing do it*; suppose some persons do it, I ask, *by what Authority?* their Church having never declared against an *inferiour way of giving in the Saints*, and having expressly owned the *making recourse to them for their help and assistance*, as well as *their prayers*. I desire T. G. in good earnest to tell me, what makes him so concerned, to have all the *prayers understood in that sense, of praying to the Saints to pray for them*, against the *express sense of the words*? Is there any *harm* in the other *sense* or not? if there be no *harm*, why may they not be so *understood*, without so much force and violence offered to them? if there be any *harm*, what is it? *Idolatry* or not? if only *scandal*, why were they not put in other words? if *Idolatry*, then T. G. himself charges them with *Idolatry* that understand their *prayers by Lilly's Grammar*,
unless

unless he thinks it much better for them, not to *understand them* at all. But I shall beg the *Favour* of one of their *Church-Dictionaries* to interpret this late *Ode* of *Rapin* to the *Lady of Loretto*, so as to make me construe it to be only *praying to her to pray for them*.

Renat. Rapini Odyum liber
p. 46. Paris.
1670.

Ad Divam Virginem Lauretanam.

Divæ, quam rebus trepidis benignam
Rure Piceno veneratur Orbis,
Cui suos sternit facilis moveri

Adria fluctus:

Si qua Pastoris tibi Vaticani
Cura, vel Sacri superest Ovilis,
Italæ Thracem procul inquietum

Finibus arce.

Si faves totis trepidabit undis
Bosphorus, rupes Scytica pavebunt,
Turca pallebit, timidumque cornu

Luna recondet.

Namque te dudum pelagi potentem
Non semel verso tremuere ponto
Mersa Threissi, rate dissipata

Arma Tyranni.

Ne tibi fidam pavor ille gentem
Angat, aut sævis male turbet armis
Quos tuis læti meditamur aris,

Ponere honores.

If

If this be not making a *Goddeſs* of her, ſurely the *Heathen Poets* never made one of *Minerva*; and yet I hope *Rapin*, a *Jeſuit* and a *Scholar*, did well enough underſtand what was agreeable to the doctrine and practice of the *Church of Rome*.

Yet ſuppoſing *T. G's ſenſe* were all p. 18.
that were underſtood by the *Church of Rome* in this matter, it doth not acquit them from giving that *Religious worſhip*, which *Invocation* imports, to ſomething elſe beſides *God*. For let us ſuppoſe that the *Arrians* only looked on *Chriſt* as a powerful interceſſor with *God*, and on that account did in their publick offices of *Religion* make their ſolemn Addreſſes to him to intercede and pray for them to *God*; were this giving him any part of *Divine worſhip* or no? Eſpecially, when performed with all the external acts of adoration which are proper to *God*. If this were not any part of *Divine worſhip*, the *Fathers* were extreamly out in their proofs that *Chriſt* could be no creature, becauſe the external act of adoration was given to him; if it were a part of *divine worſhip*, then thoſe in the *Church of Rome* do give it to a creature, when with all the ſolemn Acts of Devotion they pray to *Saints*, which
X they

they use to God himself, although it be only to be *intercessors* with God for them, especially when they do not only *pray thus to them*, but *rely upon them* for their *help and assistance*, and *return thanks* to them when they receive the *Blessings* they prayed for. Would not the *Fathers* have called this *bringing in Polytheism*, and *reviving the antient Idolatry of the Heathens*? Since the great principle of *Christianity* they said was, the *reserving all parts of Religious worship to God alone*. Nay, some of the *Writers* of the *Roman Church* have been so ingenuous in this matter to confess, that if the *modern practice of Invocation of Saints* had been introduced in the *Apostolical times*, it would have looked too like the introducing of *Gentilism* again. *Franciscus Horantius* in his *Answer to Calvins Institutions*, confesses, that *Invocation of Saints* was not expressly commanded under the *Gospel*, nè *gentiles conversi crederent se iterum ad cultum terrigenarum trahi*, lest the *Gentile Converts* should believe that they were again drawn to the worship of *Creatures*: which words he had borrowed from *Ecclus*, and the same are repeated by *Harpsfield*. *Martinus Peresius Ayala* a learned *Spanish Bishop* assigns this for the reason, why

Franc. Horant. Loc. Catholic. l. 3. p. 127. Ed. Ven.

Cop. Dialog. 3. Martin. Peres. Ayala. de Tradit. part. 3. p. 105.

why he could meet with no footsteps either of the invocation or intercession of Saints, before the time of Cornelius Bishop of Rome; viz. that the Apostles would have been thought to have made themselves Gods, if they had delivered the doctrine of invocation and intercession of Saints. By which we see, these persons did truly apprehend a great affinity between their practice of *Invocation of Saints*, and the *Heathen Idolatry*; or else there was no danger, one should be mistaken for the other. And although T. G. tells us, he never met with any Catholick so ignorant, as not to understand the sense of their prayers to be to desire the Saints to help them with their prayers; yet I meet with some men, who understood Catholicks as well as T. G. and yet do give a quite different account of them. For the same Spanish Bishop, thinks the people had great need to be better instructed in this matter of worship, lest, saith he, they make Gods of the Saints, nam multos inveni in hac parte, non satis Christianè institutos; I have found many not well instructed in this matter: it seems not only the people committed *Idolatry*, but their Teachers did not instruct them well enough to avoid it. And Ludov. Vives was not so

T.G. p. 399.

Lud. Viv.
in Aug. de
Civ. Del
l. 8. c. 27.

T.G. p. 436.

lucky a man as T. G. for he saith, *that many Christians do most times offend in a good thing (i.e. giving honour to Saints) for, he saith, they worship them no otherwise than they do God; neither do I find in many things any difference between their opinion of the Saints, and the Heathens of their Gods.* T.G. takes notice of this passage of *Vives*, and blames me for leaving out *in re bona, in a thing good in it self*; let him make as much of this, as he please, for it only shews that he was a *through Papist*, although he charged the people with the *downright practice of Idolatry*: and if it only implyes an *error and abuse in practice*, yet he shews both these were too common among them, and that the *Catholicks* in his time were not *so wise* as those T. G. hath met with. But it may be he means no more, than that *if they be asked the Question in their Catechism, they answer it as he saith*; which is as good a way to free them from the practice of *Idolatry*, as if a man should be suspected of *Adultery*, and T. G. should answer for him, that cannot be, for he understands better than so, for when I asked him the *Commandments*, he said *he ought not to commit Adultery.* *Polydore Virgil*, was not *so happy* as T. G. for speaking of the so-
lemn

lemn Rite of Supplication when the Images of Saints are carried in procession, he saith, I fear, I fear we rather please the Hea-^{Polyd. Virg. de Invent. Rer. l. 6. c. 11.}
then Gods than Christ by such practices; which without all question, he saith, was taken from the Heathen customs. And what he saith of the worship of Images, is^{c. 13.}
as true of that of Saints, that the people were arrived to that degree of madness, that their worship differed very little from Idolatry. Cassander saith, that the people^{Cassand. conjuit. art. 21.}
trusted so much to the Patronage and Intercession of the Saints, whom they worshipped with dull, not to say profane Ceremonies, that they hoped for the pardon of their sins, although they did not amend their lives, on the account of their intercession for them; and that they trusted more to them, especially to the Blessed Virgin, than to Christ himself. And that what interpretations soever some men put upon those titles of the Queen of Heaven, Mother of Mercy, &c. the common people did not understand them according to their sense of them. Nay, Erasmus goes farther, saying, that their very Preachers worshipped the Blessed Virgin with more Religion, or devotion, than they did Christ himself, or his Holy Spirit, calling her the Mother of Grace. By all which we see, that the^{Erasm. Eccl. l. 2.}

doctrine of Divine worship is not so clearly stated by them, but that the more ingenuous men, who have lived and dyed in the communion of that *Church*, have thought not only the *people*, but the *Teachers* very much to blame in it.

- ϕ. 19. 2. My business now is, to give an account of the *sense* of the *Fathers* in this dispute about the *notion* of *divine worship*; not to handle particularly the *Testimonies* of the *Fathers* in dispute between us, which belongs to the *Question* of *Invocation* of *Saints*, but to shew, that they went upon the same *principles* I have here laid down, in the *distinction* between the *Honour* and the *worship* of them; and while they speak most for the *Honour* of the *Saints*, they deny any *Religious worship* to be performed to them.

Orig. c.
Cels. l. 1.
p. 10.

Origen in the beginning of his Book against *Celsus*, makes that to be the property of the *doctrine* of *Christ*, that *God* only was to be worshipped, but that other might be *τιμὴς ἀξία*, ἡ μὲν δὲ προσκυνήσις ἡ σεβασμὸς, worthy of honour, but not of worship. And in another place he speaks as plainly as words can express his meaning; although, saith he, we should believe that *Angels* were set over these things below,

L. 8. p. 416.

low, yet we only praise and magnifie them; but all our prayers are only to be made to God, and not to any Angel; and only Jesus Christ is to offer up our prayers L. 5. p. 233: to God; and lest any should imagine he meant only some kind of prayers, he saith expressly *πᾶσαν μὲν ὃ δὲ δύνανται, καὶ προσευχὴν καὶ ἰσχυρίαν* all prayer, and supplication, and intercession; and saith that we ought not to P. 238: pray to them who pray for us. But now what saith T. G. to these places, which (excepting the first) I had objected against the practice of invocation of Saints and Angels in my former discourse? Why truly he saith, that Origen's meaning is part- T. G. p. 361: ly, that we are not to pray to them in the same manner that we do to God: but we may pray to them after another manner. But is that inferiour sort of prayer, prayer or not? when we desire them to pray for us, is not that desiring their intercession for us? but Origen denies, that any prayer is to be made to them, or any one to be prayed to, although it be only to intercede with God for us, but only the Son of God. I remember an answer of a devout servant of the Blessed Virgin much like this of T. G. For when it was objected, that she could not be the Mother of Redemption for mankind, because it is

said, Isa. 63. 3. *I have trodden the wine-press alone, and of the people there was no man with me.* True, saith he, there is

Ricard. de
Laud. Ma-
rie l. 2,
p. 2.

no man with thee, but there might be a Woman for all that. So doth T. G. deal with the testimonies of the *Fathers*, let them be never so express against all sorts of prayers and *Invocations*, they hold only of such a sort of prayer, but there may be another and inferiour sort notwithstanding. But is there any sort that is not comprehended under all? And that *Origen* cannot be understood in these passages of such prayer only as supposeth the *supream excellency in God*, most evidently appears by the dispute between *Celsus* and him, which was not about the worship of the *Supream God*, but of *Inferiour Spirits* and *Ministers* to him, as hath been fully proved already.

Euseb. hist.
Eccles. l. 4.
c. 15.

The Church of *Philomelium* in that noble Testimony concerning the *Martyrdom* of *Polycarp*, makes the same distinction between honour and worship; for they utterly deny giving any worship to a creature, as inconsistent with *Christianity*; but at the same time, they confess the honour and esteem they had for the *Martyrs*, which they expressed by meeting at the places of their *Martyrdom*, keeping their *Anniversary*

sary dayes, and recommending their examples to the imitation of others.

In the former Discourse I produced the Testimonies of *Justin Martyr*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, and mentioned many others to the same purpose, viz. that all Religious worship was due only to God; and with this double caution to prevent cavils,

1. That it was without making any distinctions of absolute and relative worship, which they must have been driven to, in case they had given Religious worship to any besides.
2. That when the Christians refused to give adoration to the Emperour, it could not be understood of the adoration proper to the Supreme God, for none can be so senseless to imagine they required that, but such kind of Religious worship as they gave to the Images of their Gods.

To all this T. G. replies, (1.) That these T. G. p. 340. Testimonies are impertinent, because they are to be understood only of that divine worship which is due to God alone; and not of the Inferiour worship which belongs to Saints or Angels. Might he not as well have said, that they prove that no man might be worshipped, but a woman might? For the force of the Testimonies did not lye meerly in this, that they attributed divine worship only to God, but that they made

made use of the most *general terms* which signified *worship* without any *distinction* of the *nature* and *kind* of that *worship*, supposing it to be on a *Religious account*. For no men of common sense would have written as they did, if they had believed that some sort of *Religious worship* were lawful to be given, and another not. Doth T. G. think that he should ever escape censure in his *Church*, if he should say peremptorily *that it is unlawful to give any kind of Religious worship to a creature*, when the very *Indices* of the *Fathers* cannot escape the *Index Expurgatorius* for *blabbing* so great a Truth? No; we should have T. G. presently out with his *distinctions*; *worship* is of *two sorts*, *Supream* called *Latria*, *inferiour* called *Dulia*: *Religious* may be taken in *two senses*.

1. *That which proceeds from the vertue of Religion, and that is proper to God.*
2. *That which tends to the honour of Religion, and that may be given to creatures.*

And thus would the *Fathers* have written, if they had ever looked over *Aristotles threshold*, and been of T. G.'s mind; and therefore my argument which proceeded upon the *general terms* of the *Fathers*, without intimating any such *distinction*, doth hold good, that either they did not
write

write like *understanding men* ; or they knew no such *distinctions* as these. 2. That although Justin Martyr and Theophilus deny divine worship to be given to Emperours, yet they both imply, that lawful worship and honour is to be given to them; and therefore he cannot but wonder, what I meant by alledging those Testimonies, unless I intend not any worship at all to be due to any besides God; or that I think it not possible to worship a good man. And afterwards he saith, he would willingly understand yet farther, whether I allow any honour at all to be due to Princes as Gods Vicegerents; for he doth not remember hitherto any passage in my Book, from whence he could gather that I hold it lawful to give any worship either to Princes Statues or to themselves. Which words have such a venomous insinuation in them, that I could hardly believe they could come from a man of the least common ingenuity. Because I deny Religious worship to be given to any besides God himself; must I therefore be represented as a man that denies Civil worship to be given to Princes? I cannot tell, whether the folly or malice of such an insinuation be the greater. I pray God help his understanding, and forgive his ill will. I hope all
acts

acts do not go whither they are intended; but that which he designs for my dishonour, may notwithstanding his intention, terminate in his own. I do assure him, I am so much for the utmost civil worship to be given to Princes as Gods Vicegerents, as not to think it in the power of any Bishop in the world to depose them, or absolve their subjects from obedience to them; and I hope T. G. thinks so too, although he may not think it so fit to declare his mind. But what is all this to our present business? The force of my argument lay in this, *the Christians denyed giving Religious worship to Princes, although it were an inferiour kind of Religious worship, therefore they did not think an inferiour kind of Religious worship lawful.* Was this argument too hot for his fingers, so that assoon as he touched it, he runs away, and frets and fumes, and vents his spight against me for it? However, I will urge it again and again, till I receive a better answer. T. G. saith, *the Fathers speak only of the Sovereign worship that is due only to God; and that is the worship they think unlawful to give to any creature.* I say it is impossible that should be their sense, for they deny it to be lawful to give Religious worship to Princes, when

when they were required to do it, but no men ever took *Princes* for the *Supream* God. *T. G.* tells me, that *Tertullian* explains *Theophilus* and *Justin*, saying, that the King is then to be honoured when he keeps himself within his own Sphere, and abstains from divine honours. Very well! this is that I aim at: and he need not wonder what I brought these testimonies for; for it was for this very thing which *Tertullian* saith, that the Christians did refuse to give divine honours to *Princes*: and therefore they thought divine worship comprehended under it all sorts of Religious worship. But saith *T. G.* it is a thing notoriously known, that many of the *Heathen Emperours* exacted to be worshipped as Gods, that is with divine worship. I grant all this, and say that it still proves what I intend. For did they mean by worshipping them as Gods, that they would have the people believe them to be the *Supream God*? that is madness and folly to suppose, for the utmost they required, was to be worshipped with the same worship that *Deified men* were; or to have the same worship living, which the *Senate* was wont to decree to them when they were dead. And can *T. G.* possibly believe, that this was to suppose them to be
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the sole Authors of all good to mankind?
 which is that kind of *divine worship*, he
 saith, the *Fathers* only condemned. I de-
 sire T. G. to think again of this matter,
 and I dare say he will see more cause to
wonder at his own answer, than at my ar-
 gument, which so evidently overthrows
 all that he brings to evade the *Testimonies*
 of the *Fathers*. But saith T. G. if *Kings*
 may be honoured as *Gods Vicegerents*, why
 may not *Saints* as the adopted *Children of*
God? Who denyes this, for *Gods* sake?
 but I deny, that either *Kings* or *Saints* are
 to have *divine worship* given to them.
 And since T. G. is in the humour of ask-
 ing me *Questions*, let me propose one to
 him; if *Kings* may be honoured as *Gods*
Vicegerents, why not with *divine honour*
 upon his principles; i. e. with a *relative*
Latria, though not *absolute*? And if that
 be *lawful*, what he thinks of the
primitive Christians, who chose to dye,
 rather than to give *divine worship* to them
 upon any account? By this time I hope
 T. G. is ashamed of what he adds, *that on*
the same principles that I deny any wor-
ship to be due to Saints, a Quaker would
prove, that it must be denied to Princes.
 The *worship* I deny to *Saints*, is that which
 God hath denied to them, viz. *Divine wor-*
ship;

ship; the *worship* I say is *due* to *Princes*, is that which *God* hath required to be given them, *viz.* *civil worship*. And they that cannot find out a difference between these two, are a fit match for the *Quakers*. I know not what a *Quaker* might do in this matter; I am sure *T. G.* doth nothing but *trifle* in it. Was there ever a meaner argument came out of the mouth of a *Quaker*, than what he urges against me, *viz.* that in such a Book printed in such a *T.G.p. 341.* place, and just in such a page, I call a *Divine* of our Nation *Reverend* and *Learned*: and what then? therefore *Saints* are to be worshipped: very extraordinary I confess; and one of *T. G.*'s *nostrum's*! if he please, let it be writ upon his *Monument*, *Hic jacet auctor hujus Argumenti*, for I dare say, no body ever used it before him. If we give men *titles* of respect according to their *Age* and *Calling*, or *real worth*, therefore we are to give *Religious worship* to *Saints*: and why not as well to *Princes*, because we call the *Judges* appointed by them, *the Reverend Judges*? but surely this will prove not only a *dulia*, but an *hyperdulia*: because we not only call the *Clergy* *Reverend*, but the *Bishops* *Right Reverend*, and *Archbishops* *Most Reverend*. I am sorry *T. G.* did not so well consider

consider the force of his argument, to have pressed it home upon me, for he now sees how much more advantage might have been made by it: but it is an easie thing to add to *rare inventions*. But certainly T. G. (to use his own words) *must believe his Readers to be all stark blind*, who cannot distinguish *titles of respect* from *Religious worship*. But is there not a *Reverence due to Persons for their Piety*, as well as for their *Age and Dignity*? who doubts it? but that *Reverence* lyes in the *due expressions of honour and esteem* towards them, which I hope may be done without encroaching upon the *Acts of Religious worship*, and I think I have told him plainly enough, what I mean by them, in the foregoing Discourse. But T. G. seems to understand no difference between *titles of respect*, and *acts of worship*; between *expressions of esteem and devotion*; between *Religious and Civil worship*; for he blunders and confounds all these together, and whatever proves one, he thinks proves all the rest: these are not the best wayes of *reasoning*, but they are the best the cause would bear. *well, but yet the matter seems not altogether so clear, for the worship we are to give to Princes is as they are Gods Vicegerents, and this is*
given

given on a Religious account, because God commands us to give honour to whom honour is due ; the place urged by T. G., Rom. 13. 7. To this a very easie answer T.G.p.342. will serve. *worship* may be said to be Religious two wayes. 1. As it is required by the Rule of Religion: and so the worship given to *Magistrates* is Religious. 2. In its nature and circumstances; as it consists of those acts which God hath appropriated to his worship; or is attended with those circumstances which make it a Religious performance, and then it is not to be given to *Princes*, or any *Creatures*, but only to God himself. This will be made plain by a remarkable instance among the antient Christians; While Divine honours were challenged by the Emperours to themselves, i.e. the honours belonging to consecrated men (for they meant no other) the Christians refused giving to them those external acts of Reverence which might be supposed to have any Religious worship in them; although they expressed the greatest readiness at the same time to obey their Laws, that did not require any thing against Christianity; and to pray for their safety and prosperity. This being known to be the general practice of Christians, Pliny in his Epistle to

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Trajan

Trajan mentions this as one of the wayes of trying *Christians*, viz. whether they would *Imagini Caesaris thure & vino supplicare*, gave Religious worship to *Cæſars Image*, by burning incense, and pouring out wine before it; which were the Divine honours required. This, *Pliny* saith, all that were true *Christians* refused to do; and those who did it presently renounced *Christ*. Thus, this matter stood as long as the *Emperours* continued *Gentiles*, who were presumed to affect Divine honours; but when *Constantine* had owned *Christianity*, and thereby declared, that no Religious worship was to be given to him, the *Christians* not only erected publick Statues to *Emperours*, but were ready to expresse before them the highest degrees of Civil worship and respect. This *Julian* thought to make his advantage of, and therefore placed the *Images* of the Gods among those of the *Emperours*, that either they might worship the Gods, or by denying Civil worship to the *Emperours Statues*, which the custom then was to give, they might be proceeded against as disaffected to the *Emperour*. And when he sat on the Throne distributing *New-years-gifts*, he had his *Altar of Incense* by him, that before they received gifts, they might cast

Plin. l. 10.
ep. 97.

Greg. Naz.
orat. 1. in
Jula

cast a little *incense* into the fire; which all good *Christians* refused to do, because as *Gothofred* observes, the burning of *incense* was the same *trial* of *Christians*, that eating of *Swines* flesh was of *Jews*. But after the suspicion of *Religious* worship was removed in the succeeding *Emperors*, the former customs of *Civil* worship obtained again; till *Theodosius* observing how these customs of *Civil* adoration began to extend too far, and border too much upon *Divine* honours, did wholly forbid it in a *Constitution* extant to that purpose, and that for this reason, that all worship which did exceed the dignity of men, should be entirely reserved to God. By this true account of the behaviour of *Christians* in this matter, T. G. may a little better understand what that worship was, which the *primitive* *Christians* refused to give to *Emperours*, and what difference they made between the same *external* acts, when they were to be done on a *Civil* and on a *Religious* account; which are easily discerned either by the nature of the acts themselves, as the burning *incense*, or the circumstances that attend them, as in *adoration*.

Jac. Gothofred. Julian orat. p. 66.

Cod. Theod. lib. 15. tit. 4. l. 1.

¶ 20. It were needless to produce any more *Testimonies of Antiquity* to prove that *Divine worship* is proper only to God, since *T. G.* confesses it; but gives quite another sense of *Divine worship* than they did, for under this, they comprehended all acts of *Religious worship*, as appears by the *worship* they denied to *Emperours*. It remains therefore to shew, that those who spake most for the *honour* of the *Saints*, did not by that mean any *Religious acts* of *worship*, but *expressions* barely of *honour* and *esteem*.

Julian objected this against the *Christians* (as it was common with the *Heathens* to object many false and unreasonable things) that instead of the *Heathen Gods*, they worshipped not one but many miserable men.

S. Cyrrill.

c. Julian.

l. 6. p. 203.

To this *S. Cyrrill* answers, that as to *Christ*, he confesses they worshipped him, but they did not make a God of a man in him, but he was essentially God, and therefore fit to be worshipped; but for the *Martyrs*, they neither believed them to be Gods, nor gave them the worship which belongs to Gods. Which is unquestionably *S. Cyrrill's* meaning, or he doth not answer to the purpose: For *Julian* never charged the *Christians* with giving that worship to
Martyrs,

Martyrs, which is proper to the *Supream God* considered as such, but that they gave to them that *Religious worship* which *Julian* pleaded to be due to the *inferiour Gods*, as appears by the *State* of the *Question* between them. This therefore *S. Cyrill* denies that they gave to *Saints* and *Martyrs*, which he calls *προσκύτειν λατρίῳς*, i. e. to give them the worship which the *Heathens* gave to their *inferiour Deities*; what they gave to the *Martyrs* was upon another account, it was only *ἁλίσκωσιν καὶ τιμῶσιν*, respectively and by way of honour. And lest any should suspect he meant any kind of *Religious worship* by this, he presently explains himself, that what he said was only to be understood of those honours they gave to them for their generous suffering for the faith, despising all dangers, and thereby making themselves great examples to other *Christians*; and after he let us understand what these honours were, when he brings the instance of the *Athenians* meeting together at the sepulchres of those who were slain at the *Battel of Marathon* for the liberty of *Greece*, and there making *Panegyricks* upon them, and therefore he wonders why *Julian* should exclaim so much against these honours done to the *Martyrs*, since

this was all the reward they could give
e. Jul. l. 10. them. And elsewhere he saith, these ho-
p. 336. nours consisted in preserving their Memo-
ries, and praising their vertues; and
brings the very same instance of the Athe-
nians again: but for any matter of wor-
ship towards them he utterly denyes it;
p. 338. because they were bound to give it to none
but God. And that we might fully un-
derstand what he means when he saith,
that Christians do not give to Saints the
worship the Heathens gave to their inferi-
our Gods, in another place, he tells us,
I. 4. p. 124. what that worship did consist in, which
he there calls λατρείας (by which we are
certain what he meant by λατρευτικῶς be-
fore) and so he reckons up τὰς ὡδὰς πάντων
λατρῶν in the first place, their prayers, or
supplications, and then voirs, hymns, obla-
tions and sacrifices: the giving of any
of these to Saints were to worship them
λατρευτικῶς; and not as the ignorant or
willfully blind Writers of the Roman
Church when they meet with this word,
they cry out presently, mark that, not
with Latría, and presently imagine that
what sense a word hath obtained among
them, if they meet with it in the Fathers,
it must needs signifie the same thing;
when the sense of words hath been so
strangely

strangely perverted by them; as will more particularly appear by this very distinction of *Latria* and *Dulia*, which they make *S. Augustine* the Author of, but have carried it far beyond his meaning.

I come therefore to consider *S. Austins* p. 21.
 mind in this matter, which I am the more obliged to do, since *T. G.* so unreasonably triumphs in *S. Austins* opinion in this matter; and is not only content to drag me at his Chariot wheels, but he makes a shew of me, and calls people to see by my example, to what miserable shifts and disingenuous arts they are put, who will shut their eyes, and fight against the light of a noon-day truth: when I first read these words, I began to rub my eyes, and to look about me, and to wonder what the matter was; and I find my self as willing to see light as another, and my conscience never yet accused me of using disingenuous arts in dealing with them; if *T. G.* can clear himself as well, it is the better for him; I am sure by standers have not thought so, as appears at large by *Dr. whitby*, especially in his last Chapter against him. But it is not my business to recriminate; hoping sufficiently to clear my self in this matter. It seems, I had said that *S. Au-*

T.G. p. 431.

Aug. de
ver. Rel.
c. 55.

gustine denyes, that any *Religious worship* was performed to the *Martyrs*; this *T. G.* again saith, *I could not affirm without shutting my eyes*: and yet I thank God, by the help of *my eyes*, I find *S. Augustin* saying the same thing still. For is it not *S. Augustin* that saith, *non sit nobis Religio cultus hominum mortuorum*, let not the worship of dead men, be any part of our Religion: for if they have lived piously, they do not desire such honours from us; but they would have us to worship him, by whom we may become partakers of their happiness: *honorandi ergo sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter Religionem*. Is it possible for any man to speak plainer than *S. Austin* doth, that they are not to have Religious worship given to them, but such honour as may excite us to an imitation of them? And this not by chance, or in some incoherent passage, but in a set discourse on purpose, where he argues with strong reason against the Religious worship of Angels, as well as Saints, to the end of that Book. And saith, the utmost they expect from us, is the honour of our love, and not of our service; (and therefore *S. Augustin* did not by *delecta* understand the service of Saints and Angels) which he there disputes against, from our hap-

happineſs coming only from God, our being the Temples of God, the Angels prohibiting S. John to worſhip him, and bidding him to worſhip God ; and that the very name of Religion, is from tying our Souls to God alone. Whoſoever of the Angels loves God, ſaith he, loves me for worſhipping him, and he that hath Gods favour, hath the favour of all that are good. Therefore let our Religion bind us faſter to one omnipotent God, between whom and us there is no creature interpoſed : with much more to the ſame purpoſe. Is it not the ſame S. Auſtin that ſaith, *Hæc eſt Religio Chriſtiana ut colatur unus Deus ;* this is the Tract. 23.
in Evang.
Job. Chriſtian Religion, to worſhip one God ; and that for this reaſon, becauſe God only can make the Soul happy : for, ſaith he, it is made happy only by the participation of God, and not of a bleſſed Soul, or Angel. Not, as though this were intended only againſt the expectation of our bleſſedneſs wholly from Saints or Angels ; but he makes uſe of this as an argument to prove, that we ought to worſhip God alone, who only is able to make us happy. Is it not the ſame S. Auſtin, that ſaith, *this is the character of the true Religion, that it unites us only to one God, without giving worſhip to any other Being how excellent ſoever ?* De quan-
tit. an.
34.

forever? and he looks on this as a divine
 and singular part of the Christian do-
 ctrine, *nullam creaturam colendam esse*
anima, that no creature have the worship
 of our Soul; what did he then think of
 praying to creatures not only with our
 voyce, but our mind too, as the Council of
 Trent saith, it is profitable for us to do,
 and not only for their prayers, but for
 their help and assistance; but saith good
 S. Austin, the most wise and perfect man,
 the most accomplished and happy soul is on-
 ly to be loved and imitated, and honour
 given to it according to its desert and or-
 der: for thou shalt worship the Lord thy
 God, and him only shalt thou serve. Could
 any man speak more plainly and fully
 against giving any Religious worship to
 creatures, than he doth? Is it not the same
 Aug. ep. 45. S. Austin that tells *Maximus Madauren-*
sis, that in the Christian Church, none that
 were dead were worshipped, and nothing
 adored as God, that is made by God; but
 only one God, who created all things?
 Here T. G. smiles, and thinks to avoid this
 presently; for S. Austin speaks of any
 thing being adored as God; which they
 abhor to do: but his smiling will be soon
 over, if he considers, what being adored
 as God there means: for no one ever su-
 spected,

spected, that the Christians believed the Martyrs to be the Supreme God; but only that they worshipped them as Gods of a lower rank by participation from the Supreme. And is not the very same thing said and defended in the Roman Church, that the Saints are Gods by participation, and they have the care and government of the Church committed to them; and on that account are worshipped? and if this be not being adored as Gods in S. Austins sense, I know not what is. Is it not the same S. Austin, that undertakes to prove against the Platonists, that good Spirits are not to be worshipped *per tale Religionis obsequium*, by such Religious worship? very right, saith T. G., not by the worship of sacrifices; but S. Austin saith, neither *Sacris*, nor *Sacrificiis*, which two comprehend all the Rites of Religious worship which were then used. For he makes use of several phrases to express the acts of Religious worship, sometimes by joyning those two together, *sacris & sacrificiis*; sometimes *Religione & Sacris*; sometimes *Religionis ritibus*; sometimes *Religionis obsequio*; by all which he understands the same thing, viz. the acts of Religious worship, which for distinction sake he calls *Latria*; as that service or worship that men

De Civ. Dei
l. 9. 23.

L. 10. c. 1.

c. 4.

De vir. Rel.
c. 55.

Mart. Pe-
res. de trad.
p. 3. conj. 7.

Q. in Exod.
61.

T. G. p. 386.

men owe to one another, he saith is called by another name: and I confess I cannot find S. *Austin* applying the term of *Dulia* to any service we owe to *Saints* or *Angels* in Heaven; but he avoids the term of *Service* and denies it be due to them, and only calls it by the name of *Love* and *Fellowship* with them; and therefore *Martinus Peresius* had good reason to quarrel with the use of the word *dulia*, because we are only fellow servants with them; and *Bellarmin* gives him no sufficient answer, by bringing that place, Gal. 5. serving one another in love, for that only relates to persons in equal conditions, where the mutual offices may be alike, which cannot be supposed in this case. And therefore I had reason to say, that *Dulia* is used by S. *Austin*, as a term expressing the service we owe to God as our Lord; but T. G. thinks he hath run me down, by producing the foregoing place, which, he saith, I purposely concealed from the Reader, for fear he might infer, that if some degree of the service called *Dulia* might be given by servants to their Masters, surely a high degree of it may be given to Holy Angels. Very finely argued! and as much against S. *Austins* sense as is possible. For, he saith, in plain terms,

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those Angels that require service from us are Devils : for this he makes the character of them, that they do invite us, *ut sibi serviamus* ; but, saith he, we honour good Angels by love, and not by service. But T. G. is not more mistaken in S. Austins sense of *Dulia*, than he is about *Latria* ; for, he saith, that he understands it of sacrifices, and that when he saith blessed Spirits are not willing we should *sacra facere*, it ought not be rendered equivocally, as it is by me, to perform any sacred offices, but to dedicate and sacrifice to them, or consecrate our selves or any thing of ours to them by the Rites of Religion ; by which, he saith, it is evident, that he speaks of the worship which is due to God alone, that is, of such dedications and consecrations, as were performed by the Heathens to their Demons as Gods. To this I answer, that I grant that S. Austin speaks of the worship due to God alone ; and of those rites of Religious worship which were performed by the Heathens to their Gods : but the Question is, what he understands by those Religious rites, whether only dedications, and sacrifices, and consecrations ; or other acts of Religious worship ? For T. G. cannot be so ignorant, as not to know, that adorations and prayers were as constant,

as

as solemn, as proper acts of Religious worship both by the Law of God, and the Heathen customs, as those he mentions: thence *orandi causa fanum adire*, in *Cicero. Verr. 2. 3. Deos immortales precari, venerari, atque implorare debetis, ut urbem defendant*; and scarce any Greek or Latin writer that mentions their Religious rites, but under them they take notice of adoration, and prayers; and not only so, but some of them give an account of the *Formus* of them, and the manner and order of Invocation in their *Litanies* (for the word is as old as *Homer*) wherein they invocated their Gods in order, that they would be favourable and propitious to them; and *Pliny* saith in general, that no sacrifice was offered without prayers; and *Macrobius*, *Servius*, and *Arnobius* say, they began their invocations with *Janus*, not because they looked on him as chief, but as a Mediator who was to carry up their prayers to the superior powers; and they ended in *Vesta* for the same reason: and that these were comprehended under the *Sacra*, is not only manifest from their conjunction with sacrifices; but from the old form of obsecration, in which they used *ob vos sacro* for *obsecro*. I would now understand from *T. G.* why he thinks that

S. Austin

Plin. hist. nat. l. 28. c. 2.

Macrobius Saturn. l. 1. c. 9.

Serv. in Aeneid. 7. Arnob. c. gent. l. 3.

S. Austin should purposely leave out in these words *Adoration* and *Invocation*, which were by all Nations looked on as some of the proper acts of Religious worship, especially when he mentions both these before and after? For the occasion of the dispute, was about the *intercession* of created spirits, and *mens* addresses to them; and afterwards he joyns *adoration* together with *sacrifice* as a thing peculiar to God: *putaverunt quidam deferendum Angelis honorem vel adorando vel sacrificando, &c.* in a place already cited. If this be not shutting ones eyes against noon-day light; it is a drawing a curtain before it, lest it grow too hot.

De civ.
Dii, l. 19.

But for all this T. G. is very confident, T. G. p. 431. that S. Austin was for the performing Religious worship to Martyrs, because he saith expressly, that it was the custome of the Christian people in his time, to celebrate with Religious solemnity the Memories of the Martyrs; and very kindly after his mode, he charges me with corrupting the words of S. Austin, by translating them thus, that it was the custome of the Christians in his time to have their Religious Assemblies at the Sepulchres or Memories of the Martyrs: I did not pretend to translate, as T. G. knew well enough by the

C. Faust.
Manich.
l. 20. c. 21.

the character ; but ill will never speaks well ; but I still say, and stand to it, that this is his sense ; as will appear by considering the design of his words. *Faustus* the *Manichean* had charged the *African Christians* with *Idolatry* in the honour they gave to the *Memories* of the *Martyrs*. *S. Austin* answers, that they did so celebrate the *Memories* of the *Martyrs* ; that they erected no *Altars* to any *Martyr*, but to the *God* of *Martyrs*, although it was for their memories. For who of the *Bishops* or *Priests* that officiates at the *Altar*, in the places of their *Sepulchres*, ever said, we offer to thee *Peter*, or *Paul*, or *Cyprian* ; but that which is offered, is offered to *God* who crowned the *Martyrs*, but it is done at their *Sepulchres*, whom he hath crowned, that by the very places our affections may be raised, and our love quickened, both to those whom we may imitate, and to him by whom we are enabled to do it. Now I desire to know, what part of *Religious* worship was here performed to the *Martyrs* ? If the *Christian Sacrifice*, that were *Idolatry* according to *T. G.* and would have justified *Faustus* to purpose ; but *S. Austin* utterly denies this to be performed to them. All that the *Martyrs* are concerned in as to the *Religious*

gious Solemnity, was no more than that the offices of Religion were performed at their Sepulchres: this was an Honour to them I grant, but no part of Religious worship. And although the design of the worship was only to honour God, yet the place of doing it was out of honour to the Martyrs. But S. Austin saith afterwards, we worship therefore the Saints with that worship of love and society, &c. What means this &c. here? let us have all or nothing: with which holy men in this life are worshipped, whose heart is prepared to suffer as much for the truth of the Gospel: he that hath but an eye open, saith T. G. must see that S. Austin speaks here of the worship which the Christians of his time gave to the Martyrs themselves. And he that hath but one corner open cannot but see, that he doth not speak of Religious worship, which Faustus objected; but having denied that to be given to Martyrs, he now shews what they did give them, viz. such a kind of worship as we give to holy men alive: and is that the Religious worship either Faustus or S. Austin meant? S. Austin calls it worship, but he means no more by it, than when he said before, that they are to be loved for their goodness, and honoured for their ex-

De Civit.
Dei, l. 22.
c. 10.

Forbs con-
derat. Mod.
p. 317.

amples; but what is all this to *Religious worship* or *Invocation* of them, when *S. Austin* in another place expressly denies, that the *Saints* are *invoked* by him that offers the sacrifices at the *Altar*; nay, although that *Altar* were in the place of their *sufferings*? And here, saith *T. G.* I think I have done their work for them; and he is not mistaken; whatever he cites from *Bishop Forbs*, that *S. Austin* was only to be understood of *Invocation* at the *Altar*; I shall make it appear that the argument holds good, and that those who speak against it, it is because they do not understand the strength of it. *Bishop Forbs* in this place, and several others, takes occasion without reason to find fault with *Bishop Andrews*, a man of far greater Learning than himself, and of better judgement in these matters; and it is he, and not *Bishop Montague* (as *T. G.* mistakes) whom *Bishop Forbs* introduces *John Barclay* charging with leading *King James* aside. But I still say the argument clearly proves, that *S. Austin* denied *Invocation* of *Saints*; and I am sorry to see *Bishop Forbs* so weakly led aside by *Bellarmin* and others upon this ground, because in the *Canon* of the *Mass* the *Saints* are not directly prayed to in the *Roman Church*; but they are in the *Missal*

Cate-

Catechumenorum, and in the *Litanies*; therefore thus it was in the *African Church* in *S. Austins* time. Who knows not what great alterations have been in the *Liturgies* of the *Church* since that time? Yet thus wisely doth *T. G.* speak upon this subject: *if I speak of that part of the Mass, which was antiently called the Mass of the Catechumeni, the Priest indeed before he ascends to the Altar desires the Blessed Virgin, and the rest of the Saints, &c. to pray for him: but in the Missa Fidelium there is no Invocation of them.* If there had been none any where else, there had been a far greater conformity between the *Church* of *Rome*, and the *Church* in *S. Austins* time: we plainly prove, there was no *Invocation* at the *Altar*, let *T. G.* shew any other part of *publick worship* at that time, wherein they were invoked. But all these mistakes arise from not considering the mighty difference of the *Liturgy* in *S. Austins* time, in the *African Church*, from what hath since obtained in the *Roman Church*. But to give *T. G.* some better *light* in this matter, and withal to shew the *invincible strength* of this argument, I shall prove these two things. 1. That the *Prayers* of the *Church* did not begin in *S. Austins*

T.G. p. 442.

time till the *Catechumens* were dismissed:
 2. That the *prayers* after their dismissal
 were performed at the *Altar*.

Aug. serm.
 de Temp.
 237.

1. That the *prayers* of the *Church* in
S. Austins time did not begin till the
Catechumens were dismissed. For which
 we have a plain Testimony from *S. Austin*,
Ecce post sermonem fit Missa Catechume-
nis, manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum
orationis ; whereby he shews not only,
 that *prayers* did not begin, till the dis-
 mission of the *Catechumens* ; but that the
Altar was then accounted the proper place
 of prayer : and elsewhere he saith, that *In-*
vocation did begin after the *Creed*, *ideo non*
accepistis prius orationem, postea symbolum;
sed prius symbolum, ubi sciretis quid crede-
retis ; & postea orationem, ubi nosssetis quem
invocaretis : which words could have no
 sense, if any solemn invocation were then
 made before the *Creed*. So *S. Ambrose*

De divers.
 serm. 48.

Ambr. l. 3.
 epist. 33.

describes the service of the *Church* of
Millan in his time, *Post lectiones atque*
tractatum dimissis Catechumenis, Symbo-
lum aliquibus Competentibus in baptiste-
riis tradebam Basilica : by which it seems,
 the Service began with the *Lessons*, then
 followed the *Sermon*, after that the *Creed*,
 and then when the *Catechumens* were dis-
 missed, the *prayers* of the *Church* begun:

so S. Ambrose presently after faith, when he had instructed the *Competentes*, *Missam facere cœpi*, i. e. the *Missæ Fidelium*, or the Prayers of the Church, when the *Missæ Catechumenorum* was dispatched, or they sent out of the Congregation. So Justin *Just. Apol.* Martyr describes the Service of the first 2. p. 98. Christians, that it began with the Lessons of the Prophets and Apostles, then followed the Sermon; and after that the Prayers began: and then followed the Eucharist: which was then constantly received in the publick Service. The Council of Laodicea *Concil. Laodice. c. 19.* mentions prayers beginning after the Sermon: (i. e. the publick prayers of the Church) of which that Council mentions, the prayers for the Catechumens before their dismissal (which in the Greek Church were performed by the Deacon in the *Ambo* making the *προσκύνησις* to the people, to which they joyned their *κύρια ἑλάνου*) after these, followed the prayers for the Penitents, and then the Prayers of the Faithful, or the proper Liturgy of the Church began. The Author of the Constitutions called Apostolical, appoints the *Constit. Apost. l. 2. c. 57.* Service to begin with the Lessons of the Old Testament, the Psalms, the Epistles and Gospel, after which the Sermon was to follow, then the Catechumens and Penitents

being dismissed, they must *all* rise and go to their *prayers* for the *Catholick Church*; as it is there described: in the *eighth Book* he mentions the *occasional prayers* that were made for the *Catechumens* and *Penitents*, before their *dismission*, and then follow the *forms of Solemn Invocation*, which were not to be used till the other were *dismissed the Assembly*. To the same purpose the counterfeit *Dionysius* describes the practice of the *Church*, that the *Catechumens* and *Penitents* were admitted to the *Lessons* and *Psalms*, and then were excluded the *Congregation*. And none were allowed to be present at the *Prayers* of the *Faithful*, but such as were allowed to be present at the *Eucharist*, as the *fourth degree of Penitents*, which is called *communicating in Prayers*, by the *Council of Nice*; by which we may see *T. G.'s* skill in *Antiquity*, when he puts the *forms of invocation* used by those who were to partake of the *Eucharist*, into the *Missa Catechumenorum*; whereas they were allowed to be present at no *prayers* of the *Church*, but only that which was made for *them*; and *Cardinal Bona* could inform him, that the *Catechumens* were not allowed to joyn so much as in the *Lords Prayer*, nor in any *solemn invocation* of
God

L. 8. c. 6, 7,
8, 9, 10,
11, 12.

Dionys. Hi-
erarch. c. 3.
Sect. 6.

Concil. Ni-
cen. c. 11,
12, 13.

T. G. p. 442.

Bona de ri-
bus Liturg.
l. 1. c. 16.

God in behalf of others, as he proves from S. Chrysostom, and others.

Chrys. hom.
79. ad pop.
Antioch.

2. That the prayers that were made after the *dismissal* of the *Catechumens* were said at the *Altar*. For which we are to consider that in S. Austins time, the custom of *communicating every day* was still observed in the *African Church*, as is evident from his own express Testimony, where he saith, that some understand our *daily Bread* of the *Sacrament of Christs body*, *quod quotidie sumimus*, which we receive every day; and finds fault with those in the *Greek Church* who had begun to *discontinue* that custom; *accipe quotidie*, saith he, *quod quotidie tibi prosit*. So that assoon as the *Catechumens* were dismissed, they immediately began the *Communion Service*, which was all the *Service* I can find in the *Use* of that *Church* in those times. Nay, the very prayer for the *Catechumens* was said at the *Altar* in the *African Church*, which in the *Greek Church* was indicted by the *Deacon* in the *Ambo*, or *Piew* for that purpose in the *Body* of the *Church*: *Et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad Fidem, & pro Catechu-*

Aug. de
ser. Domini
in Monte
l. 2. c. 12.

De verb.
Dom. in
Evang. se-
cundum
Luc. ser. 28.

Aug. ep.
107.

*menis ut eis desiderium regenerationis in-
spiret, & pro fidelibus ut in eo quod esse
cæperunt ejus munere perseverent.* Where
we see the *prayers* for the *Catechumens*,
as well as the other *prayers* of the
Church were performed at the *Altar*.
And it appears by a passage in his *re-
tractations*, that the very *Hymns* out of
the *Psalms* which were sung either before
the *oblation*, or in *time* of *distribution*
were sung at the *Altar*; which *custom*
being found fault with at *Carthage* by
one *Hilarius*, it gave him an *occasion* to
write in *vindication* of it. And in ano-
ther place he reduces all the *prayers* of
the *Church* to the *Communion Service*; and
interprets the *Apostles words* of *prayers*,
supplications, *intercessions* and *giving* of
thanks, of what was done at the *celebra-
tion* of the *Eucharist*. And that which
very much confirms this, is, that when the
African Fathers made a *Decree*, that no
prayers should be used in the *publick ser-
vice*, but such as were first seen and ap-
proved; the *Title* of it is, *Of Prayers to
be made at the Altar*. And the *African
Writers* make *praying* and *going* to the
Altar to have the same sense; so *Tertul-
lian* calls it *ascendere ad altare*; and ad

Aug. Re-
tract. l. 2.
c. 11.

Ep. 59.

Codex Ec-
cles. Afric.
c. 106.

Tertull. de
orat. c. 1c.
c. 14. de
exhort. cast.
c. 11.

nam Dei stare ; and orationem deducere ad altare. All which put together, make it very clear, that if there was no *invocation of Saints at the Altar* in *S. Austins* time, there was none at all in the *Service* of the *Church* ; which I have the more insisted upon, because it is so *pregnant* a *Testimony* against *Invocation of Saints*, and the *force* of it hath not been fully *understood* by any I have seen, from the not considering the *Liturgy* of the *Church* in *S. Austins* time. Which men have fancied to have been according to the *practice* of *following Ages*, when the laying aside the *Discipline* of the *Primitive Church*, made a great alteration in the *publick Offices*, (as might be easily discovered, were this a proper place for it,) both in the *Greek* and *Latin Churches*. But that is not my present business. But this ought farther to be considered, the most proper season for *invocation of Saints* was at the *Altar*, for then the *commemoration* of *Saints* was made out of the *Diptychs* of the *Church*, as appears by *multitudes* of *places* in *S. Austin* ; and the *Martyrs* were then put in a rank by themselves ; and whereas they prayed for all others, they did not for them ;
but

In Evang.
Joh. tract.
84.

but they rather believed they received benefit by their prayers for them. For, saith S. Austin, *we do not commemorate the Martyrs at the holy Table as we do others, who rest in peace, so as to pray for them, but rather that they may pray for us* : and this was all the Office of the Church then towards Martyrs, viz. commemoration of them at the Altar, although S. Austin believed that the Martyrs at such times, especially when the commemorations were made at their own Sepulchres, did joyn their prayers together with the Churches, in behalf of those who there put up their supplications to God, and not to them. And this is the meaning of that place, which T. G. objects to prove Invocation, viz. *that when Christians are met at the Religious Solemnity at their Sepulchres, they become partakers of their merits, and obtain help by their prayers* : yet he wonders I could not find Invocation here, and imagines I shut my eyes again ; but surely T. G. fancies I play at Blindmansbuff with him, for he thinks I never have my eyes open.

I should now come to examine the
di-

distinction of an *absolute* and *relative* *Latria*, but of that I shall have occasion to speak so largely in the following *Dispute* about the *worship of Images*, that I here put an end to this *General Discourse*.

PART

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PART

THE
SECOND PART
OF THE
ANSWER
To T. G.

BEING
A DEFENCE of the
Charge of IDOLATRY practised
in the ROMAN CHURCH, in
the Worship of IMAGES.

By ED. STILLINGFLEET, D. D.
Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty.

L O N D O N,
Printed by *Robert white*, for *Henry Mortlock* at
the Sign of the Phoenix in *St. Paul's Church-*
yard, and at the *White-Hart* in
Westminster-Hall, 1676.

THE
SECOND PART
OF THE
ANSWER
TO T. G.
BEING
A Defence of the
Gospel of the Kingdom
in the Kingdom of Heaven
the Worthy of the Kingdom

By E. D. STEPHENS, D.D.
The Author of the
"Gospel of the Kingdom"
and
"The Kingdom of Heaven"
New York
1852



PART II.

*Being a particular Defence of the
Charge of Idolatry against the
Church of Rome in the Worship
of Images.*

CHAP. I.

*The State of the Controversie about the
worship of Images, between Christians
and Heathens.*

HAVING in the precedent *Discourse* §. 1.
given a *general* account of the
Nature of Idolatry, I now come
to the *particulars* in dispute
between us. The *first* whereof is, con-
cerning the *worship of Images*; in which
nothing is more necessary, than to give
a true account of the *State of the Contro-*
versie;

versie; which that I may do with the greatest clearness,

1. I shall consider wherein the *State* of this *Controversie* lay, as it was managed between the *Christians* and *Heathens*.

2. I shall give a just account of the *Rise*, and *progress* of this *Controversie* in the *Christian Church*. And when by this means, the *State* of the *Controversie* is well understood, the difficulty will not be great in giving answers to all the *Sophistical Cavills* of T.G.

1. For the *State* of the *Controversie* about the *worship* of *Images* between the *Christians* and *Heathens*. To this purpose I had used these expressions in my former

Disc. of Idol. ch. 1. sect. 7. Discourse, "That S. Paul dealing with the *Athenians*, did prove the unreasonable-

"ness of their worshipping God by *Images*,
"because he was the God that made the

Acts 17. 24, 25, 29. "world, and is Lord of heaven and earth,

"and that we are his offspring, therefore we

"ought not to think that the Godhead is like

"unto gold or silver, or stone graven by art

"or mans device; where I observed, that

"the *Apostle* doth not speak meerly against

"their other objects of worship besides

"the true God, nor their supposing their

"Gods to be present in their *Images*, nor

"taking their *Images* for Gods, but against

"their

" their supposition, that there was any re-
 " semblance between God and their Images,
 " or that he was capable of receiving any
 " honour by them. The same argument, I
 " added, S. Paul useth to the Romans, speak- Rom. I. 19
 " ing of those in whom that which may be
 " known of God is manifest, even his Eter-
 " nal Power and Godhead, yet these per-
 " sons who knew God, did not glorifie him as v. 21.
 " God, but changed the glory of the incor-
 " ruptible God into an Image made like to
 " corruptible man, &c. where changing his
 " glory into Images, is, I said, immediately v. 23.
 " opposed to the glorifying him as God, in re-
 " spect of his Eternal Power and Godhead,
 " so that these two are inconsistent with
 " each other, to glorifie God by an Image,
 " and to glorifie him as God. For here the
 " Apostle doth not discourse against the
 " most gross and sottish Idolaters of the
 " Heathens, but as S. Chrysostom well ob-
 " serves, against the Philosophers, and the
 " wisest among them, who, although they
 " differed in their opinions of Religion ex-
 " tremely from the Vulgar, yet they concur-
 " red with them in all the external practices
 " of Idolatry. And therefore the Apostle
 " doth not charge them with false notions
 " of a Deity, for he saith, that they held the v. 18, 21.
 " Truth in unrighteousness, and that they
 " did

" *did know God*; but they shewed their vani-
 " *ty* and folly in thinking they had found
 " out subtiler wayes of defending the com-
 " mon *Idolatries* among them; and instead
 " of opposing them, made use of their Wits
 " to excuse them. To which I added this ma-
 " terial observation, " That the most intelli-
 " gent *Heathens* did never look on their
 " *Images* as any other, than *Symbols* or re-
 " presentations of that *Being* to which they
 " gave divine worship; for which purpose I
 " produced several Testimonies of *Celsus*,
 " *Porphyrie*, *Athanasius*, *Arnobius*, *S. Augu-*
 " *stin*, *Max. Tyrius*, *Julian* and *Eusebius*,
 " from whence I desired to know whether
 " these men, who worshipped *Images* on
 " those grounds, did amiss or no in it? I do
 " not ask, as my words are expressly, whether
 " they were mistaken as to the objects of their
 " worship; but on supposition they were not,
 " whether they were to blame in the man-
 " ner of serving God by *Images*, in such a
 " way as they describe? if not, wherefore
 " doth *S. Paul* pitch upon that, to condemn
 " them for, which they were at not all to
 " blame in? He ought, I said, to have done,
 " as the *Jesuits* in *China* did, who ne-
 " ver condemned the people for worship-
 " ping *Images*, but for worshipping false
 " *Gods* by them, and perswaded them not
 " to

Trigant. de
 Christ. Ex-
 ped. apud
 Sinas l. 5.
 c. 16. p. 388

"to lay them aside, but to convert them to
 "the honour of the true God ; and so melt-
 "ed down their former Images, and made
 "new ones of them. Can we imagine
 "S. Paul meant the same thing, when he
 "blames men, not for believing them to be
 "Gods, but that God could be worshipped
 "by the work of mens hands, and for chang-
 "ing thereby the glory due to God in regard
 "of his infinite and incorruptible Being, in-
 "to mean and unworthy Images, thinking
 "thereby to give honour to him? And up-
 "on these grounds, I there shew, that the
 "Primitive Fathers disputed against the Ch. i. Sect. 8.
 "Heathen Idolatry : for the making use of
 "corporeal representations makes the Deity
 "contemprible, saith Clemens of Alexandria. Clem. Strom. 3. p. 559.
 "Origen saith, that Christians have nothing Orig. c. Cels. l. 7. p. 375.
 "to do with Images, because of the second
 "Commandment ; and on that account will
 "rather dye, than defile themselves with
 "them ; and that it is impossible anyone
 "that knows God, should pray to them : That
 "it is no sufficient excuse to say, they do
 "not take them for Gods, but only for Sym-
 "bols or representations of them, for they
 "must be ignorant, mean, and unlearned
 "persons, who can imagine the work of an
 "Artificer can be any representation of a
 "Deity. I shewed further, that many of the Ch. i. Sect. 6.

“ wiser *Heathens* themselves condemned
 “ the worship of *God* by *Images*, as incon-
 “ gruous to a *divine nature*, and a disparage-
 “ ment to the *Deity*, as *Zeno*, *Xenophanes*,
 “ *Antisthenes*, *Xenophon*, *Numa*, *Varro*,
 “ and many others.

§. 2. Having thus laid down so much of my
 former Discourse together, as was neces-
 sary to understand the *State* of the *Con-*
troversie, I come now to consider what
 T. G. doth answer to it.

I. To the places of *S. Paul*, *Acts* 17. 24.
 T.G. p. 96. and *Rom.* 1. 19. he saith, that no one ever
 denied the unsuitableness of the worship of
 such *Images* to the *Divine Nature*, as are
 conceived to be proper likenesses, or re-
 presentations of the *Divinity*, of which
S. Paul speaks in the first place; or of the
Images of the false *Gods* of the *Heathens*, of
 which he speaks in the latter.

In reply to this, I begin with the first
 place, *Acts* 17. 24. where, he saith, it is
 plain from *S. Pauls* words, that they thought
 the *Divinity* to be like to the *Images* they
 made of gold and silver: and this was a
 mighty argument from the mouth of
S. Paul to drive that erroneous conceit
 out of the minds of the *Athenians*, who
 believed the *Divinity* to be like the
 Images

Images they made; but none at all from my pen against Catholicks, who detest the thoughts of having or making any such Image. This then is the question between us; whether *S. Paul's* discourse against the *Athenians* did proceed only on that supposition of the *Divinity being like to their Images*, or whether the *dissimilitude* between them be not made use of by the *Apostle* as an argument to shew that *Images* are not a proper suitable means whereby to worship God? For which we are to consider the *Apostles* scope and design; which certainly was to convince them of their *Idolatry*. For it is said, ver. 16. that his Spirit was stirred within him, when he saw the City wholly given to *Idolatry*; and in the beginning of his speech he takes notice of their *Bigoterie* in the *Heathen* worship, ver. 22. & 23. that among their *εἰδωλά, i. e. Idols*, saith *Theophylact*, he had espied an Altar with this Inscription, *To the unknown God*: and upon this he takes an occasion more fully to discover him whom they ignorantly worshipped, and withal to shew the *unreasonableness* of their worshipping God at all by *Images*. If the *Apostles* design had been, as *T. G.* imagines, to drive that erroneous conceit out of the minds of the *Athenians*,

that the Divinity was like to their Images; his Spirit should not have been moved, at the sight of their Images, but at their discourses about them when he heard them own the Divinity to be like them. For, in case they only looked on their Images as helps to their devotion; or as Analogical representations of some divine perfections, although they did worship God by them, T. G. must think then S. Paul a little too hasty to be so soon angry at the sight of them; for upon this ground his Spirit might be stirred within him, at the sight of the Altars and devotions in Rome, as well as Athens. But S. Paul did not wait for any decree of the Areopagus in this matter; he saw enough to inflame his zeal, in their practices, and publick worship, without looking after any distinctions of their Sophisters and School-Divines; although there were many upon the place ready to justify every rite of their worship; and that would not let go one tittle of their grossest superstitions for all the truth and Reason in the world. They could find out as many Analogies and Metaphorical significations as other men; and thought it as little disparagement to the Deity to worship him under the several representations of Minerva, Ceres or Bacchus,

chus, when by these they understood the several effects of *Gods Wisdom and Goodness* in giving the *fruits* of the *earth*, as others can in representing him as an *Old man* with a *Popes Crown* on his head; or with one *Head* and *three Faces*, as some that are no *Athenians* have done. For Gods sake, which of the two are more apt to beget in mens minds such apprehensions of *God*, that *he is like to men*; those who make and expose such *Images* of the *God* they worship, or such who made an *Inscription* upon an *Altar* to the *Unknown God*? And if he were *Unknown*, how came they to *know* him to be so *like themselves*? What need *S. Paul* take such pains to drive a *conceit* out of their heads, which for all that we see, never entered into them? If indeed *S. Paul* had seen over that *Altar* a grave *Image* of a man in *Pontifical Robes*, with an *hoary head*, a *long beard*, and a *Triple Crown*; he would probably have asked them, how the *Athenians*, that were witty men, could be guilty of such an absurdity, to call that an *Altar* to the *Unknown God*, when they were so familiarly acquainted with him as to know the very *cut* of his *beard*, and *fashion* of his *Crown*? But, as *Superstitious* as the *Athenians* were, they were not

Thucydid.
l. 6.

so ridiculous ; but yet because they supposed this God might be pleased with the worship of the Idols, that were not only in the Temples, but in the Streets and Forum of Athens (where Thucydides saith, there were twelve Altars) therefore S. Paul discourseth of this God after such a manner, as to shew how unsuitable such a way of worship was to his Nature, and Perfections,

I. From his Infinite Power, v. 24, 25. God that made the world and all things in it, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with mens hands. Can any thing be plainer, than that here S. Paul disputes against their worship, and not their opinion ? He finds no fault with their opinion about the true God, but only that it was not clear and distinct enough, in that he was too much the Unknown God among them ; he takes it for granted, that one Supream God, Creator of the world was acknowledged by them ; and from the consideration of that Infinite Power of his, he shews how unreasonable it was for them to circumscribe him within their Temples, or to worship him by their Images : “ For what are
“ all these Images of yours, which you are
“ so

"so fond of, and so unwilling to part
 "with? although they were the *Statues*
 "of *Phidias* or *Polycletus*, or the *Pictures*
 "of *Xeuxes*, or *Apelles*, yet still they are
 "but the *work of mens Hands*: and what
 "are these to the Heavens and the Earth,
 "which he hath made? If any *Image* de-
 "serve *worship*, it is one of *Gods* making,
 "and not of your own; but since no *Image*
 "can represent the infinite *Perfections* of
 "the great *Creator*, never think to honour
 "him by your foolish *Puppets*, and *Babies*
 "of *Dirt* and *Clay*. This is the design of
 the *Apostles* argument; but what doth this
 signify to their thinking the *Divinity* to
 be *like themselves*? For whether *God*
 were *like* or *unlike* to their *Images*, yet
 still they were the *work of mens hands*:
 as a *picture* is still the *work* of the *Paint-*
er, although never so *unlike* the person
 for whom it is intended; but *S. Paul*
 condemns them for worshipping *God* with
 the *work of mens hands*, *i. e.* with *Images*
 and *Statues*; as being infinitely below the
 greatness of that *Divine Power*, for the
 sake of which we give *divine worship* to
 him.

2. From his *infinite perfection*; mani-
 fested by his *Self-sufficiency*, *Needing no-*
thing, v. 25. and from his communicating

to his creatures what is needful for them; *Seeing he giveth to all life and breath and all things.* Now what can there be more unsuitable to the *honour* of such a *Being*, than to be *worshipped* by such *dull, senseless, contemptible pieces of earth*, which have not in them the *perfection* of the meanest *animal*, to whom God hath given *life and breath*; that are so far from representing the *perfection* and *self-sufficiency* of the *Divine Nature*, that they are not in the least able to *help* themselves? But when by the help of *Wedges* and *Beetles* an *Image* is cleft out of the *Trunk* of some well grown *Tree*, (that little dreamt of the honour which was like to come to the dullest part about it, after it should pass through the several refinings of the *Carpenters Ax*, whose blows it endured with admirable patience, and of the *Painters Pencil*, whose *Miniature* adds much beauty and glory to it) yet after all the skill of *Artificers* to set forth such a *Divine Block*, it cannot one moment secure it self from being eaten by *Worms*, or defiled by *Birds*, or cut in pieces by *Axes*; or, if any of these fail, from decaying through meer standing. Or suppose, this *worshipful Idol* be made of a harder substance, and after its being digged out of the
the

the earth, and sawed, and carved, and polished, and with much ado brought into the resemblance of a man, and a rude *symbol* of the *Deity*, and set up for the *adoration* of mankind ; yet still it wants the things which are above the utmost power of man, but are given to the least mite, *viz. life*, and *sense*, and *motion*, and an admirable contrivance of the *instruments* of these ; yet such mean and pittiful things as these, will the folly of mankind find out to represent the greatest and the most perfect *Being* in the world. Judge now whether things that want *life*, and *breath*, and *all things*, are fit means whereby to worship him *who giveth all these things to his creatures ?* or whether those things, which need the art of man to make them, and his continual care to preserve them, are fit to represent that *Being*, which *stands in need of nothing ?*

3. From his *Infinite Presence*, v. 27, 28. *That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us : For in him we live and move and have our Being.* One of the most plausible arguments of *Idolaters* in all *Ages* was, that by the help of *Images* they did represent the *object* of their worship as *present* to them,
so

so as thereby to be put more in mind of him, and to excite their *reverence* and *Devotion* ; but *S. Paul* tells the *Athenians* , there was no need of any such *representations* of *Gods* presence , for he is not far from every one of us , for in him we live and move and have our beings : and that man who will not find *God* in those admirable effects of his *Power*, *Wisdom*, and *Goodness* we carry continually about us, will hardly find him in the senseless representations of *Wood* and *Stone* : and he that will not stand in awe of him, as he governs the *World*, will hardly fear him, when he is set forth in shape of a man, although he have a *Thunderbolt* in his hand.

4. From the disparity between *God* and *Images*, v. 29. For as much then, as we are the offspring of *God*, we ought not to think that the *Godhead* is like to gold, or silver , or stone graven by art or mans device. Upon which words, *Lorinus* a *Jesuit* makes this paraphrase, forasmuch as the *Athenians* following their own *Poets*, do confess, that we are the living Image of *God*, they ought to think that material Idols made by the art of men, which fall far short of the perfection of *Nature*, are infinitely distant from the *Divine Power*, by which we obtain a dignity far above these

Joh. Lorin.
in *Ast. Ap.*
c. 17. v. 29.

these material things ; and since we cannot express this Image of God in us by any lines, much less can we the Divine Original, so that it is the grossest ignorance to affirm, that God can dwell, or be included or worshipped in or by their Altars, or Images, (for so *delubra* must be understood by him if he speaks pertinently, for although sometime it signifies a Temple with more Images than one, yet *Servius* withal saith, it signifies a wooden Image, and so *Festus* understands it ; which things I am forced to explain, to prevent cavilling ; for otherwise T. G. would have complained of my perverting the sense of Authors, as he hath done very unjustly, as will appear in this Chapter.) But *Lorinus*, after having brought the several places of Scripture against making any Image of God, thinks to salve all by saying, they are to be understood of such Images, as represent him to the life, (as though it were possible for any to do it) or such which they worshipped for Gods, which the Heathens utterly denied, that they did. *Cornelius à Lapide*, after several vain attempts, to make out the force of the Apostles argument, at last concludes this to be it ; that since our Soul according to which we are the offspring of God, cannot

Serv. in
4. *Æn.*

Corn. à Lap.
in loc.

not

Est. in dis-
scil. loc.
ad loc.

not be painted, or represented in gold, silver, or stone, being incorporeal and spiritual; much less can the Divinity be painted or represented by them, being a pure Spirit, and the fountain of Spirits. Estius agrees, that this is the force of the Apostles argument, from whence, he saith, he doth not infer, that we ought not to think gold, silver, or stone, to be Gods; although he might have done it (but to little purpose) because, saith he, he spake to the Athenians, among whom were many Philosophers, learned and wise men, who did not with the Vulgar, think their Images to be Gods, although they worshipped them together with them; but they believed their Gods to be represented by them, as by their Images. If he speaks of the Epicureans, there is some ground for it; for what Deity they acknowledged, they supposed to be *as-if-corporeal*, and of humane shape; but he is much mistaken, that doth not account them rather *Atheists* than *Idolaters*; and as to the other *Athenian Philosophers*, I shall make it appear to be a gross mistake, to suppose that they thought their Gods to be of humane shape; but of that hereafter.

Cicero. de
Nat. Deor.
l. i.
Lactant. de
Ira Dei,
c. 4.

The thing I now insist upon is, that the Apostle's shewing the disparity between
God

God and Images, is not meerly to drive out the opinion of *Anthropomorphitism*, but from hence to shew farther the folly of *Idolatry*; for if *Images* fall so much short of the infinite perfections of God, there can be but this plea left, that they are like to him, and therefore we may worship God by them, for the sake of their resemblance of him; now this the *Apostle* shews to be as vain and idle a pretence as any of the rest, there being no manner of resemblance between the workmanship of gold, silver, and stone, and an Infinite and Spiritual Being.

5. From the necessity of repentance, and the consideration of a future judgement, v. 30, 31. If all the *Apostle* had aimed at, was only to rectifie an erroneous conceit of the *Athenians* about the Divinity being like to their Images, he had taken away the force of his exhortation to repentance, from the consideration of a judgement to come: because such an erroneous conceit may possess men of innocent minds and free from *Idolatry*, as it was the case of the *Monks* in *Egypt*, of whom *Epiphanius*, and *S. Austin* speak; and whom *Epiphanius* supposeth to have been very harmless men, saving only their separation from the Church: nay, he doth not seem

Epiph. hær.
70.
Aug. de
hær. c. 50.

Niceph. bift.
l. 13. c. 12.

Pamel. de
Paradox.
Tertull.
c. 15.
Petav.
dogm. The-
ol. To. 1.
l. 2. c. 1.
fict. 7.

to apprehend any dangerous consequence of their opinion: which we need not wonder at, if that which *Nicephorus* saith be true, viz. that *Epiphanius* was an *Anthropomorphite* himself. And yet *Epiphanius* is well known to have been as great an enemy to *Image-worship*, and all kind of *Idolatry*, as any Person that lived in his Age. The same is observable of *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*, whereof the one attributed corporeity to God, and the other shape and figure, as our *Adversaries* confess; and yet both these were vehement disputers against the *Heathen Idolatry*. From whence we see, that there is no necessary connexion between this opinion, and the practice of *Idolatry*, or the *Worship of Images*: and yet there is altogether as good reason why God should be worshipped by an *Image*, on that supposition, as why *Christ* should be by a *Crucifix* since his *Incarnation*; which is *T. G's* great argument on all occasions. But those who supposed God to be like to men, might yet think it unreasonable to worship God by the work of mens hands; and if arbitrary representation be a sufficient ground of worship, then natural would be much more so, and consequently it would be more reasonable for men to worship one another,

another, than to worship *Images*: and all the same distinctions and pleasant evasions would serve for one, as well as they do for the other.

I desire now to know of T. G. whether §. 3.
the *Athenians* were to blame only for *this erroneous conceit of theirs, in thinking the Divinity to be like their Images*? If this were all their fault, (1.) I dare undertake to prove, that many among them were wholly innocent, *viz.* those who followed the *Schools of Plato and Zeno*, besides those of the people who took their *Images* for *Symbols* of the *Divinity*. (2.) *S. Paul* takes very needless pains to make use of such arguments against *Image-worship*, which do not suppose any opinion of similitude between *God* and the *Image*; as the *incongruity* of *Images* to the *Divine Power, Perfection, and Presence*. (3.) Why doth he call upon them so earnestly to *repent*? was it only of an *erroneous conceit*? and that of such a nature, that the argument made use of by him, to move them to *repentance*, was rather apt to confirm them in that opinion, *viz.* that *God would judge the world by that Man whom he hath appointed*. If a *Man* be appointed to judge the world, the management

ment of which must imply *infinite wisdom and Power*, what *absurdity*, might they say, is it in us to suppose the *Images of men to represent God*, as he is the *object of worship*? For if the *humane nature* be capable of *union to the Divinity*, why might it not be so united alwayes, as well as at the *end of the world*? and if it be *united*, then that humane nature might be represented in an *Image*; and the *Divine Nature* honoured by worshipping that representation. Which being supposed to be lawful, the *Apostles* argument loses its force; for the *subtile Athenians* might easily have answered *S. Paul*, that there was no more repugnancy in supposing God to have assumed a *humane body* from *eternity*, than that he should do it so lately in *Judea*; which being supposed, their defence naturally follows, for they could not be so foolish to imagine their *Images* to be like the *Divine Nature* in it self, but to that *humane body* which was assumed by the *Divine Nature*. And that this is no extravagant supposition, will appear by this, that several of the *antient Christian Writers* had an opinion very like this, *viz.* that when *God is said to have made man after his own Image*; it is to be understood of that *humane figure* and

and shape, which God had then assumed, which was the *exemplar* according to which man was created: thus *Prudentius* and the *Audiani* are understood by *Peta-*
vius; and some passages of *Tertullian*
 look much this way: and *Augustinus Steu-*
chus Eugubinus a learned but zealous Pa-
 pist, contends for the necessity of this opini-
 on, because man saw God walking, and
 heard him speaking in Paradise, and be-
 cause of the frequent appearances of God
 in humane shape, mentioned in the old
 Testament. And to confirm this, he
 brings that Verse of *Ovid*,

*Petav. id.
 scilicet. 9.
 Tertull. de
 resur. carn.
 c. 6.
 Aug. Steuca
 Eugub. Conf.
 mor. p. 46.*

*Et Deus humana lūstro sub imagine
 terras.*

and those of *Catullus*,

*Præsentes namque ante, domos invisere
 castas*

*Sapius & sese mortali ostendere cætu,
 Cælicola, nondum sprete pietate solebant.*

and he shews that the *Fictions* of *Homer*
 and the rest of the *Poets*, as to the Ap-
 pearances of the *Gods* in humane shape,
 had their true *Original* from hence, that
 God did at first assume the *Nature* of

Bb

Man,

Man, according to which *man* was said to be framed after the *Image and Similitude of God*. But *S. Paul*, although he asserts the *Incarnation of Christ*, yet deriving the argument against the *worship of God by Images*, from the consideration proper to the *Divinity*, we ought not to think, that the *Godhead is like to gold, &c.* doth thereby teach us, that that which is disagreeing to the *divine nature* which is the proper object of *worship*, cannot be a proper means for us to worship *God* by : so that although the *Images* made by men only represent the humane nature assumed by the *Divine*, yet because the *Godhead is not like unto them*, we ought not to worship *God* by them. For otherwise the *Athenians* were meer *Blockheads* (if it were lawful to worship the *divine nature of Christ* before an *Image* of his *humane*, and to give the same worship to one which belongs to the other) that they did not deny *S. Pauls* consequence ; “ For what “ if the *Godhead* be not like to our *Images*, “ it doth not follow, that we may not give “ them *divine worship* as long as *God* hath “ often appeared in humane shape among “ us, and we may give worship to the representation of that Nature wherein he “ appeared, and the same that belongs to the

"the Divine Nature, which did assume
 "it. And I confess, I cannot see how
 T. G. could have defended S. Paul upon
 his supposition; for according to T. G's
 principles, *although before the Incarnation*
of Christ, the worship which people gave to T. G. p. 75.
the Images of Gold, was incongruous to the
Divine Nature, and a Disparagement to
the Deity; yet to those to whom the My-
sterie of God made man is revealed, it is
no disparagement to him to be represent-
ed in the likeness of man, and to be wor-
shipped by such an Image. Very well;
 say the Athenians, and so say we too.
 To worship God by any Image, as repre-
 senting his infinite and invisible Nature
 is folly and madness; but to make Images
 of him according to his several appear-
 ances for the good of mankind in the
 likeness of men, is no disparagement to
 the Deity; nor to be worshipped by such
 an Image. Let T. G. therefore either say,
 that S. Paul argues inconsequently, or ac-
 knowledge that the force of his argu-
 ment doth hold against the worship of any
 representations of God. For it is plain to
 any man that hath any use of his senses,
 that S. Paul doth not argue against any
 meer erroneous conceit of the Athenians,
 but against their Idolatrous worship, which

he first shews to be *unreasonable* by many arguments, and then tells them, *God* now commanded them to *repent*, and adds the most forcible motive to perswade them to it, from the proceedings of the future judgement.

But I have not yet done with *T.G.* about
T.G.p.348. this place. Is it not *T. G.* that, when he
p. 390. fixed his foot, as he saith, and deliberately enquired what the *Supream God* of the *Heathens* was, tells us in plain terms it was the *Devil*, and an *Arch-Devil*; and this he doth, he saith, for *Gods* sake? saith he so indeed? And was this *unknown God* at *Athens* whom they ignorantly worshipped, and *S. Paul* declared, the *Devil* and an *Arch-Devil*? No: for here he grants, that the *Athenians* thought the *Divinity* to be like their *Images*; what *Divinity* doth he mean? Surely, not the *Divinity* of an *Arch-Devil*. But I see, those that believe *Transubstantiation*, are capable of speaking as well as believing contradictions. Yet, it is possible *T. G.* may imagine that the *Athenians* meant one *Divinity*, and *S. Paul* another. So some say *S. Paul* plaid the *Sophister* with the *Athenians*, and when the true inscription was to the *Unknown Gods*; he, because it served better to his purpose, reads it in the singular number, to
the

the Unknown God. But as *Cajetan* wisely answers, *the Authority of S. Paul affirming* cajet. in loc. there was such an *Inscription*, ought to be valued above those who deny it; and saith he, if there had not been any such, the *Athenians* who were by, might presently have charged *S. Paul* with *falsehood*, in saying he met with an *Inscription* to the *Unknown God*, when there was none such among them. *Lorinus* shews from several Lorin. in loc. *Testimonies* of *S. Austin* that the *Athenians* did worship the *true God*: and that Aug. 1. c. Cresc. c. 29. in ep. ad Rom. c. 1. Isid. Pelus. l. 3. ep. 346. in case the *inscription* had run only in the plural number *S. Paul* had drawn a conclusion out of *false premises*, whereas *Isidore Pelusiota* admires the irresistible force of *S. Pauls* reasoning, being built upon *premises*, which are confessed by the *Adversaries*; as he disputed with the *Jews* out of the *Scriptures*, so he did with the men of *Athens* from the *inscription* on one of their own *Altars*. This being then taken for granted by *S. Paul*, that the *Athenians* did acknowledge and worship the *true God*, how come they to be charged with *Idolatry* in *worshipping Images*, if it be lawful to worship the *true God*, by an *Image*? especially since their intention was, as *Ferus* saith expressly, Joh. Ferus in Act. 17. p. 203. by their *Idols* to worship the *true God*.

beseech T. G. to reconcile this, if he can, with making *Idolatry* to consist in taking *Images for Gods*, or for the representations of false Gods; for here was neither, and yet the *Athenians* were condemned for *Idolatry*; and *Ferus* confesses, that those were *Idols*, whereby they designed to worship the true God; how can that be, if actions pass whither they are intended; for how can that worship be terminated on an *Image*, according to T. G's Divinity, which is designed to pass through it to God? And that the true God was meant by the *Athenians*, *Corn. à Lapide* saith, is manifest from hence, that *S. Paul* was otherwise bound to shew; that it was not the true God which they worshipped, and to tell them who was the true; whereas here *S. Paul* saith, he declared to them the same God whom they ignorantly worshipped; which had been very unbecoming the sincerity and faithfulness of so great an *Apostle*, in case he knew, they did not worship the true God when he told them they did: for this was at once to deceive, to flatter, to betray them; and that in a matter, upon which the salvation of their souls did depend: which of all persons was most unworthy of the *Apostle of the Gentiles*, whose business

Corn. à Lap.
in *Act. 17.*
23.

it was to turn men from *Idols to God*, 1 Thess.
to serve the true and living God. 1. 9.

But T. G. asks, to what purpose this place was brought by me? (if he did not understand it before, I hope, he will do it now:) Except I intended, he saith, the Reader to believe the Papists to be no wiser than the Athenians. I wish in this matter they were as wise; for it were better for them to erect *Altars* to an *Unknown God*, than to make those absurd, scandalous, and horrible representations of the *Mysterie* of the *Trinity*: from whence some of the *Antitrinitarians* have taken occasion to expose that sacred *Mysterie* to scorn and contempt, and have published a *Book* on purpose, to set forth the *Images* of the *Trinity*, which are publickly seen and allowed in the *Roman Church*. But the *Athenians*, he tells us from S. Chrysostom, were so possessed with a wrong apprehension of the Nature of God, that when they heard S. Paul speak of *Anastasis*, they thought her to be some new Goddess. If they had gone much farther, and worshipped this *Anastasis*, I think the *Athenians* had done no worse, than those who worship with solemn devotion *Saints* that never were in the world; and after so long a time of worship of

*Hora secundum
usum
Roman. in
Litanis.*

S. Christopher, and *S. George*, the wisest among them cannot to this day tell, whether they were *Saints*, or *Allegories*: and if *T. G.* please, he shall take *Baronius* his *Saint Synoris*, to joyn with the *Athenian* *Goddes Anastasis*; or if this will not content him, let him take other three *Saints* which he may find in some old *Litanies*, of their Church, as I have done, viz. *S. Faith*, *S. Hope*, and *S. Charity*; all three daughters of a grave *Matron*, called *S. Sapientia*; but which far outgoes the *Athenian* devotion, every one of these hath an *Ora pro nobis* added to it; but what work would *T. G.* have made with the poor *Athenians*, if they had cryed *Sancta Anastasis ora pro nobis*? yet he may find as gross absurdities nearer home.

¶ 4.

I now come to the second place, *Rom. 1. 21, 23.* in which *T. G.* saith, *nothing can be more clear, than that the Apostle speaketh there of the Idols or Images of the Heathens*; for after he had laid down the matter of fact which he condemned, viz. that although they knew God, yet they did not glorifie him as God, but changed the Glory of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible man; he adds also, *And to Birds, and fourfooted Beasts,*

Beasts, and creeping things, (which words, he saith, were clapt under deck by me with an &c. because they plainly declare what kind of Images the Apostle meant) and then v. 25. tells us, that by so doing, they changed the Truth of God into a lye, and worshipped and served the Creature rather than the Creator: which words, he saith, are so plain, that I had no way to evade them, but by saying that the Apostle discoursed against the Philosophers, and the wiser Heathens: whom he proves from S. Chrysostom, to have been guilty of the same Idolatry with the people; and instances in the Egyptians, and Plato, and Socrates, who commanded a Cock to be offered to Æsculapius. For the clearing the sense of this place, we are to consider,
 1. Who the persons were that S. Paul speaks off. 2. What he affirms concerning them.

1. T. G. saith, *the words are so plain, that I could find no evasion, but to say. that the Apostle doth not discourse against the most gross and sottish Idolaters, but the Philosophers and the wisest among them; but doth T. G. in good earnest call this an evasion? Was it an evasion in Cajetan, when he saith, S. Paul here reproveth* ^{*Cajet. in*} *the sin of the Philosophers; and that the* ^{*loc.*} *Philo-*

Philosophers were they who detained the truth in unrighteousness: that the Philosophers did either make, or worship Images, therefore they changed the glory due to God? Was it nothing but meer evasion in

Vasquez in Vasquez, when he saith, the Apostle designs to prove, that the Philosophers, both had the true knowledge of God, and held

Esti. in loc. it in unrighteousness? or in Estius, when he saith in plain terms, the Apostle speaks of the Philosophers? and instanceth in Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Trismegist, and Seneca, who although they did know the true God, yet none of them worshipped him as they ought to do. I need

not mention S. Austin, who in many places applyes this to the Philosophers, as appears Bed. in loc. by Beda's Commentary, when even the

words of S. Chrysostom shew this to be far enough from an evasion; what is that to the Philosophers? Marry, I answer, as T.G. translates him, that what hath been said most of all concerns them; but this doth not fully expresse his meaning, for his words are, πρὸς αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐν μέλει πάντων τὰ εἰρη-

μὲνα, or as some Copies read it πάντων, all that hath been said doth most of all concern them, or altogether; and the Greek Scholiast, saith, that it is plain S. Paul strikes at the wise men among the Greeks,

and

and those who were like them. Origen saith, he speaks of some of the wise men of Greece. By these and many more Testimonies, if it were needful to heap them in so clear a case, it appears sufficiently, that this was no evasion of mine, but the natural sense, which their own Commentators, and the Fathers agree in.

2. As to what the Apostle affirms of them, viz. that they held the truth in unrighteousness, v. 18. i. e. saith the Greek Scholiast, that they gave the worship of God to Idols; for the knowledge of God is truth, and the deceitfulness of Idols is unrighteousness. Hear, saith Theophylact, what it is to detain the truth in unrighteousness, The Truth or the Knowledge of God is naturally put into all mens minds from the beginning; this knowledge or truth the Greeks held in unrighteousness, i. e. they did all the injury to it they could, by giving the glory of God to Idols; and both herein follow S. Chrysostom, who saith, they did it, by giving the glory of God to wood and Stone. This the Apostle afterwards enlarges upon, when he saith, that knowing God they did not glorifie him as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imagination, and their foolish heart was darkned. Professing themselves

*selves to be wise, they became Fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible man, and to Birds and fourfooted Beasts, and creeping things. And for the sense of this charge I am content to appeal to the judgments of the most allowed Interpreters on both sides, that hat have not been parties in the quarrel. They thought themselves wise, saith S. Hierom or the Author of the Commentaries under his name, as those that had found out, quomodo invisibilis Deus, per simulachrum visibile coleretur; how an invisible God might be worshipped by a visible representation: which is the sense of simulachrum there; for he supposes this worship to be directed to the invisible God through the Image, and therefore the Image could not be taken either for God, or a representation of a false God; so that nothing can be more clear (to use T. G's words) according to S. Hierom, than that T. G. professing to be wise, doth thereby discover his folly, when he saith, that S. Paul speaks of those who took the Images themselves for Gods; or worshipped the Images of false Gods. And the Philosophers professing to be wise, did become Fools, becauie saith S. Hierom, they did not understand that what is mortal
and*

and corruptible, could have no resemblance to what is immortal and eternal. The Greek Scholiast saith, they became vain in their imaginations, when they would represent him in a Figure that had none, and comprehend him in corporeal Images, that was wholly spiritual; not as though they were such Fools to think to shut up Infinity within the bounds of an Image, but to comprehend, there is taken with relation to that representation which conveys a thing to the mind, and so he useth it a little after, they thought themselves wise, because they thought they could comprehend every thing: and so the Image was supposed to be such a species as did convey an intellectual Being to the mind. The same words are used by Theophylact; which they both borrowed from S. Chrysostom, who condemns the Greeks for their folly, not for comprehending, but for seeking a spiritual and incorporeal Being, in corporeal Images. And what can be more foolish, saith the Scholiast and Theophylact, than to fall down before Stocks and Stones? And Origen doth express the meaning of the Apostle in this place as fully as I can desire, when he applies all these expressions to those that had a right notion and conception of God in their minds, but gave
divine

Orig. c.
 cels. l. 6.
 p. 277.

divine worship to all sorts of Images, as well of beasts, as of men, is $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ for the honour of the Deity. And in truth, the *Apostles* supposition being allowed, that these *Philosophers* did know the true God, and his *Eternal Power* and *Godhead*, we must suppose them to be turned stark staring *Fools*, that should take the *Images* either of *men* or *beasts* to be *Gods*: but it is very agreeable to the *Philosophers* practice and *opinions* to give *external worship* to these *Images*; when they in the mean time did direct that external worship to the honour of the *invisible Deity*.

Q. 5. But the sense of this and the former place will be made more evident by a diligent enquiry into the *State* of the *Controversie* about the worship of *Images* between the *Christians* and *Heathens*. (1.) Whether it was that the *Heathens* took their *Images* for proper likenesses of the *Deity*? Or, (2.) That they worshipped only the *Images* of *false Gods*, or that they took their *Images* themselves for *Gods*? And if the *Controversie* did not wholly relate to these things, then it will follow, that it was of the same nature with that between us and the *Church* of

of Rome. I shall therefore shew;

1. That the *Wiser Heathens* concerning whom the dispute is, did not suppose their *Images* to be proper likenesses of their *Gods*. Which I prove, 1. From the nature and kinds of their *Images*. 2. From the notions they had of their *Gods*.

1. From the nature and kinds of their *Images*. There are three sorts of *Images* which were worshipped among the *Heathens*, 1. Such as had no artificial shape or figure. 2. Such as had an artificial shape, but it was of no real being. 3. Such as had the shape either of men or beasts. Of the two first, and those of *Beasts*, I suppose, no man professing himself to be wise, will shew himself such a Fool to say, that the *Heathens* thought their *Gods* to be like them. My business therefore as to them, is to shew that there were such among them to which they did give divine worship.

1. For *Images* without any artificial shape, or figure. By *Images* here I mean some external visible things which are designed to represent some other thing to our minds. So Tully calls characters, *verborum Imagines*, and the countenance, *Imaginem animi*; in which no exact resemblance can be understood, but some thing which

which is intended to represent another thing to us, which doth not depend on the nature of things, but the arbitrary institution of men; as may be seen by the *notes and characters* of *Tyro* and *Seneca*; of which no account can be given, why they represent one thing rather than another, but only the *will* of the *Maker* of them. Thus if men agreed that a *Spear*, a *Cymiter*, a *Trunk*, a *Mountain*, a *rude Stone*, or a *Pyramid* should be set up to represent the *Deity* to them which they worshipped, every one of these did thereby become the *Image* of that *Deity*. *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, all agree that the ancient *Scythians* had no other *Image* of a *Deity* among them, but only a *Scythian Sword*, which *Herodotus* calls the *Image* of *Mars*, and he saith, they sprinkled the blood of the Sacrifice upon it. *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Arnobius* tell us from *Varro*, that the ancient *Romans* worshipped a *Spear* for *Mars*, which is also affirmed by *Justin*; and the *Thespians* a *Bough* for *Cinxia* or *Juno*; the *Icarians* an *unhewn piece of wood* for *Diana*; the *Samii* a *frame of Wood* for *Juno*; the *Pessinuntii* a *Flint* for the *Mother of the Gods*; which was carried by the *Roman* Am-

Herod.
Melp. p. 276
Solin. Po-
lyhist.
Clem. Alex.
in Prot.
p. 29, 43.
Arnob. l. 6.
Am. Mar-
cell. l. 31.

Just. l. 43.

Ambassadors from *Phrygia* to *Rome*, saith
Livy; called *Religiosa silex* by *Claudian*. Liv. l. 29.
Claud. de
 The *Arabians*, an *unpolished stone*; which Raptu Pro-
 was square, saith *Maximus Tyrius*, of a serp.
 black colour, saith *Suidas*, without any shape Max Tyr.
diff. 38.
 or figure upon it, four foot high and two Suid. in
 broad, to which they sacrifice, and sprinkle ver.
 the blood upon it: *Euthymius* charges the Θαδς
Mahumetans with *Idolatry* for kissing the Apns.
 stone *Bracthan*; concerning which, they Euthym. in
Savacen.
 have several fabulous traditions, of its being Sylburgii,
p. 15.
 one of the stones of *Paradise*, and coming
 down from thence with *Adam*, &c. which
 is placed in one of the corners of the
Caaba, or *Temple* at *Mecca*, above two
 cubits above ground, and was stolen from
 thence by the *Karmatiani*, hoping to draw
 away the Pilgrims; but finding it would
 not do, they restored it to the inhabitants
 of *Mecca* twenty years after, who knew it
 to be the genuine stone, as they said, by its
 swimming above water; which our learn-
 ed *Dr. Pocock* conjectures to have been one Pocock not.
ad spec.
 of the *Idols* of the old *Arabs*, as the *Temple* Histor. A-
rab. p. 119.
 at *Mecca* was one of their *Idol-Temples*; rab. p. 119.
 but the *Mahumetans* say they worship it
 out of a respect to *Abraham*; as they do
 another stone, wherein they say are
 the footsteps of *Abraham* to be seen,
 at which they say their prayers; as others

do at *Loretto*, before a *Madonna* of the same complexion with the *stone Bracthan*; of which colour I suppose the same reason may be given which the *Mahumetans* do of the *stone Bracthan*, viz. that it came purely white out of heaven, but was turned black by the sins of the people. Such another Idol was *Manah* or *Meneth*, which was of old worshipped between *Mecca* and *Medina*; which the *Arabick Writers* call

p. 91, 92. a rock or a stone; and was probably as the same Author conjectures, the *Memi* mentioned *Isa. 65. 11.* and *Saad*, which

p. 99. he describes to be an oblong stone lying on

Max. Tyr. the shore. The *Paphians*, *Max. Tyrinus* saith, worshipped *Venus* under the representation of a white Pyramid: and the *Lacedamonians* saith *Pausanias*, erected after the ancient custome, seven pillars to the seven planets; and the same Author affirms it to have been the ancient custome of all the Greeks to set up unpolished stones instead of Images, to the honour of the Gods; which Testimony is very considerable, not only because it makes it the most ancient, but an Universal Custome among the Greeks; and near the Statue of *Mercury*, he saith, there were thirty square stones, which the *Pharii* worshipped, and gave to every one the name of a God. *Pausanias* mentions

Paus. La-
conic. p.
102. ed.
Sylburg.
Achaic.
p. 228.

mentions many other such Images remain-
 ing in Greece after the ancient Mode, as of
Hercules in *Beotia*, of *Cupid* among the
*Thespian*es, of the *Graces* among the *Or-*
chomenii, where he saith, the people wor-
 ship the stones which they believed to have
 dropt down from heaven. They were
 wont, saith *Hesychius*, to have Altars be-
 fore the Doors in the fashion of a pillar,
 which was called *Ἀγυδοί*; some, saith *Har-*
pocration, make these proper to *Apollo*,
 others to *Bacchus*, others to both; these
 were common at *Athens*, as appears by the
Testimonies of *Cratinus*, *Alexander* and
Sophocles quoted by *Harpocration*; and *Sophocles*,
 he saith, applyed that *Athenian*
 custome to *Troy*, in his *Laocoon*, *ἀγυδοί*
Ἀγυδοί βασιλεῖς &c. whom *Suidas* follows.
Stephanus Byzant. saith, the *Ἀγυδοί* were
 Obelisks erected to the honour of the Gods;
 for which he quotes *Enpolis*. It seems
 both *Pyramids* and *Altars* were called by
 this name among them, being both design-
 ed for the worship of their Gods: and it is
 not improbable those rude *Pyramids* in
Yorkshire, mentioned by *Cambden*, called
 the *Devils bolts*, and many such in *Den-*
mark, by *Olaus Wormius*, might be first
 erected for the same purpose, this custome
 having been so general. *Peter della Valle*,

Paus. Beot.

p. 300.

p. 302.

p. 311.

Hesych. v.

Ἀγυδοί

Harpocr.

p. 5.

Suid. in v.

Steph. v.

Ἀγυδοί

Cambden

in Brit.

p. 570.

Ola. Worm.

Monum.

Danic.

in his late *Travels* in the *Indies*, saith, that at *Ahmedabad*, there was a famous Temple of *Mahadeu*, wherein there was no other Image but a little column of Stone, after a *Pyramidal* form, but ending at the top in a round figure; which *Mahadeu*, he saith, in their language signifies the great God, and after this fashion, he saith, it is the custom of the *Brachmans* to represent *Mahadeu*; the like he observes at *Manel*. Although that Author takes the liberty to call this an *Idol*, I do not see with what conscience *T. G.* could do it; for an *Idol* according to him doth signifie either a representation of some imaginary being, or in the utmost sense, something which is falsely esteemed and worshipped as God; but this *Pyramid* to represent *Mahadeu* or the great God, was neither a representation of an imaginary Being, nor was it self taken for God, and therefore was no *Idol*, nor the worship given to God by it *Idolatry*: and upon his principles, the worship of the *Gioghi* is very justifiable by the Law of God, for this is not a representation by which men are in danger of being *Anthropomorphites*; but only hath some analogical and metaphorical signification; and therefore it is no disparagement to the *Deity* to be thus represented. Thus it falls out,

out, as I foresaw, that T. G. could not justify the practice of their own *Church*, but he must unavoidably justify that which is condemned by it, viz. the *Heathen Idolatry*. But to proceed, *Herodian* describing the Worship of *Alagabalus* at *Emesa* in *Phœnicia*, saith, that he had no kind of *Image* after the Greek, or Roman fashion^{p. 563.} made by mens hands; but a great stone round at the bottom, lessening by degrees, after the fashion of a Cone; and of a black Colour, (like the stone *Bracthan*,) which they say, was not made by mens hands, but fell down from heaven. It is great pity *Gretser* had not put it into his Book, *de Imaginibus non manufactis*; together with that of the *Pessinuntii* in *Herodian*; and of *Diana* of *Ephesus*; and of the *Graces* among the *Orchomenii*; which were all believed to have come from heaven, as well as those mentioned by *Gretser*; and the evidence is much alike for them all, and for the miracles wrought by them, *Peter della Valle* saith, that the *Image* of *Mahadèu* was in great reputation among the *Indians* for working miracles; and in another place he saith, there were persons who believed themselves cured of sore eyes by the Idols, and made their presents of silver and golden eyes, and some Jewels (as

Herod. l. 1. sect. 35.

Viaggi p. 108. p. 46.

they do in other places on occasion of the like miracles) And notwithstanding what *Della Valle* intimates of the honesty of Roman Priests in comparison of the *Gioghi*, in this matter of miracles, a man might venture a great deal on their heads, that they come behind none of them in any thing that tends to deceive the people. And I do not at all wonder, that this Gentleman seeing their solemn processions in mighty numbers, in pilgrimage to certain places of devotion, should so naturally think of the

Id. p. 242. carrying of the Images of Saints by a Fraternity in procession to Loretto or Rome in the Holy year ; any more than that seeing the tricks of Hamant or the holy Apes in the Indies, should bring to his mind those he had seen plaid by some creatures much of the same kind in Europe. But leaving the consideration of *Gretfers* divine Images to another place, I return to the stone of *Alagabalus*, whereof there were more than one according to *Lampridius*, who saith, *Lapides qui Divi dicuntur ex proprio Templo, &c.* he took out of the Temple of *Alagabalus* the stones which were called Gods: where the great Criticks are strangely confounded by joyning this clause with that which follows of the Image of *Diann* from *Laodicea*, and are very

*Lamprid.
vit. Anton.
Heliogab.*

very hard put to it, to tell what *Image*, and what *Laodicea* this was ; a late Author supposes them to be the same with those stones mentioned in *Pausanias*, and that it was *Laodicea* of *Achaia* which he meant ; but *Tristan* hath shewn the true sense by dividing the clauses ; for the stones mentioned before, had no relation to *Laodicea*, but to the proper *Temple* of the *Deity* from whom *Heliogabalus* took his name. *Salmasius* instead of the *lapides qui Divi dicuntur*, would have it read *lapides qui vivi dicuntur*, alluding to the *Bætulia*, which *Philo Byblius* calls λίθους ἰμψύχους, the animated stones, of which he speaks in his translation of *Sanchoniathons* account of the *Phœnician Idolatry* : and the place agrees well enough with it ; and they did suppose a more than ordinary presence of *God* in those stones, for which reason they attributed *Life* to them ; and the *Arabs* called them the *Daughters of God*, being as it were inspired with *life* by him, and believed that they could intercede with *God* for them ; and therefore they gave them *Divine Honour* ; of which sort, *Allar*, *Alozza*, and *Manah*, are mentioned in the *Alcoran* ; although some think *Alozza* to have been the *Trunk* of a *Tree*, which was worshipped among the

Cavali Patini Numismata p. 331.

Tristan Comment. histor. p. 324.

Salmas. in Histor. Aug. Script. p. 181. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 10.

Pocock. not. ad Specim. p. 89.

Hotting.
hifl. Orient.
l. 1. c. 7.
p. 231,
232, 233.

Vinc. Bello-
vac. Spec.
Hiflor. l.
23. c. 60.

Scal. de
Emend.
Temp. l. 5.
p. 519.

Arabians. Bern. de Breitenbach faith, that they had two stones, one black which they called Camos, and the other white which they called Mercury; which two they went twice a year to worship; and the proper rites of their worship, were for the first, the casting of stones behind them, and for the other, burning incense, naked and shaven; and not only the Arabs, but the Ammonites and Moabites joyned in this worship. Afterwards Mahomet finding this worship among them, which was before designed to the Honour of Saturn and Mars, continues the customs but turns the worship another way, and placed one of the stones in the Corner of the Temple, and the other he pitched in the ground in the middle, and required of all persons that came to Mecca to kiss these stones, with their heads shaven and their backs naked, casting stones backward. Petrus Alphonsus translated out of Arabick a Conference between a Christian and a Saracen; which is extant in *Vincentius Bellovacensis*, wherein we have the same account of the worship of the two stones; but, he faith, the custome came first from the Nations of the Indies which were called Xechiam, and Albarachuma, i. e. faith Scaliger, Brachmani, who were wont to worship their Gods

Gods after that manner, by kissing the corners of stones, and casting them behind them. *Maimonides* saith, that *Markolis* Maim. de Idol. c. 3. sect. 7. was worshipped by the casting of stones, Pocock. Not. p. 316. Elias in Thisb. p. 106. and *Cemolh* by shaving the head, &c. By *Markolis* many understand *Mercury*, but *Elias Levita* saith, he could find no such worship of him among the Romans, but, he saith, it was the name of an Idol whose peculiar worship that was, and was believed to be an intercessour between them, and the Planet *Mercury* from whom the name was derived. *Buxtorf* gives this account of the figure of *Markolis*, that it was after this fashion; viz. two huge stones standing one against another; and a third lying cross over them, covering the other two with one half of his bigness; which, he saith, the Rabbins called בית קוליס *domum Kolis*; thence, he saith, that the Rabbins in *Avoda Zara* say, that three stones being placed after that manner are forbidden, because that was the figure of the Idol *Markolis*. (What if our *Stonehenge* were some such thing? for the stones lye transversely upon each other after this figure, which neither belonged to a Roman Temple, nor the Danish Monuments?) Towards these stones, they were wont to cast stones, which was the proper rite

rite of worship belonging to *Markolus*; and is still performed by the *Pilgrims* to *Mecca*, but directing their intention another way.

Scalig. de
Emend.
Templ. l. 2.
& 3.

Pocock. not.
in spec. p.
315.

This is done, saith *Scaliger* on the Mount *Arraphoth* without *Mecca*; they cast them into the Valley of *Mena*, or *Akabah*, saith *Dr. Pocock* from the *Arabick* writers; but they pretend to do it upon quite other grounds than the ancient *Idolaters* did; viz. in imitation of *Abraham*, who they say, in that place sent the Devil packing with a stone in his forehead when he came to interrupt him in the sacrificing of his Son; others say, they do it out of opposition to *Idolatry*, and in contempt of the *Idols* formerly worshipped there. But the *Jews* say, that he that useth a rite proper to *Idolatrous* worship, though by way of contempt, is guilty; and they instance particularly in this very thing; however the *Mahometans*, having looked over *Aristotle's* threshold, do know that acts go whether they are intended, and for their parts, since they intend to knock the Devil in the head with the stones they cast backward, the Devil is like to suffer most by this custome; especially, if it be true which some of the *Arabick* Writers say, that those stones do break the Devils back. And what harm can there be in kissing and

Maim. de
Idol. c. 3.
sect. 7.

W. F.

worshipping the *stone Bracthan*, as long as they pretend to honour *Abraham* by doing it: For this is their pretence for it in *Damascen*; if *relative worship* be lawful, I do not see, why the *Mahumetans* directing their intention to the God of *Abraham*, are in any greater fault, than those who worshipping an *Image*, direct their worship finally to God, but after a *relative and inferior manner*, suffer it to fall upon the *Image* for his sake. But *Damascen* saith something farther, viz. that they who look more narrowly into this stone (as some may see farther into a stone than others) do find the *Image of Venus*, which they called *Chabar* in it; to which Dr. Pocock answers from the *Arabick Writers*, that this is both a *mistake of one stone for another*; and that all the impression in that stone is as like the face of *Venus*, as a mans heels are like his head; unless, saith he, the *Mahumetans* be so blind with superstition, as not to be able to distinguish the head and feet from each other; for so *Abulfeda* saith, it hath only the impression of *Abrahams feet*; but granting they were mistaken, and that they could not tell *Abrahams footstep* from an ordinary *Pilgrims*, yet methinks they should know some difference between the foot of a man, and

*Damasc.
de heres.
p. 941.*

*Pocock. not.
in spec. p.
20.*

and the face of *Venus*. And what reason is there to search for the figure of a face upon a stone, when I have already so fully proved it was the custome to worship rude and unpolished stones ; especially in those Eastern parts, where the *Betulia* were in so much request, which many learned men do suppose to have come at first from the stone, which *Jacob* anointed in *Bethel*, and set up for a pillar there, to which the Jews say, the *Canaanites* afterwards gave divine worship ; and that from hence came the custome of worshipping such stones, and the name of them. Which makes the conjecture of *Bochartus* very probable, that *Sanchoniathon* had written $\square\omega\sigma\eta$, which the interpreter mistaking but one letter read $\square\omega\sigma\eta$, and so rendered it $\alpha\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$ $\alpha\iota\mu\psi\chi\eta\varsigma$ animated stones, which was no more than anointed stones : which custome of anointing stones for worship, among the Heathens, is mentioned by *Clemens Alex-*
Minut. Ft-
lix. p. 2.
Arnob. l. 1.
p. 22.
Apul. Flo-
vid. l. 1.
Theophrast.
char. de
Superstit.
Aug. de
civ. Dei
l. 16. c. 38.
S. Augustin hath a passage very observable to our purpose concerning *Jacob*, viz. that he did not anoint the stone at *Bethel* after the custome of Idolaters, as if he made it a God ; for, saith he, he did not worship the stone nor sacrifice to it ; where we not only find this custome of Idolaters, but

Scallg.
not. in
Fragm.
Vet. p. 39.
Id. in Eu-
seb. Chron.
n. 2050.
Grot. in
Gen. 2818.
Vossius,
Selden.
aliique.
Bochart.
Canaan.
l. 2. c. 2.

Clem. Alex.
Str. l. 7.
Minut. Ft-
lix. p. 2.
Arnob. l. 1.
p. 22.
Apul. Flo-
vid. l. 1.
Theophrast.
char. de
Superstit.
Aug. de
civ. Dei
l. 16. c. 38.

but the meaning of that phrase in the Fathers of taking *their Images for Gods*, by which they meant no more than what *S. Augustin* here explains it by, *viz. giving divine worship to them.* *Damascius* in *Photius*, mentions many of these *Bætu- lia*, that were seen by *Asclepiades* on *Mount Libanus* near *Heliopolis* in *Syria*; of which, he saith, *some were consecrated to Saturn, others to Jupiter, others to the Sun.*

Phot. Cod.
242. p.
1047.

Maximus Tyrius shews at large, that *similitude to the Deity was not regarded in the things they gave divine worship to, and looked on as symbols of the God they worshipped; thus they gave divine honour to fountains, trees, tops of Mountains, and Mountains themselves; as the inhabitants of West-Barbary worshipped Mount Atlas; and the Cappadocians the Mount Argæus, and others Mount Casius; and so Carmel is called in Suetonius the God Carmel: and that Philosopher makes it an arbitrary thing, what kind of representations of the Deity men make use of, as long as they are designed to put them in mind of God, and are worshipped with a respect to him.* *The ancient Celtæ*, he saith, *had no other Image of Jupiter but a great Oak.* *The Lacedæmonians* had some ancient *Images* of the *Dioscouri*, which they called *Δίργα*, which, saith

Max. Tyr.
diff. 38.

Tristan.
Comment.
hystor. Tom.
2. p. 316.

Sueton. in
Vespas. c. 9.

Plut. de frat. amore. saith *Plutarch*, were nothing else, but two
P. 478. pieces of timber lying at an equal distance,
 with two others laid cross over them; from
Eustath. ad Iliad. 8. whom *Eustathius* repeats it. And *Tacitus*
Tacit. de Morib. Germ. c. 9. saith, the old Germans had no Images of
 their Deities of any humane figure; and
 that they attributed the names of their
 Gods to their Groves: for they had as
Claudian expresses it *Robora, numinis In-*
T. G. p. 75. star. *T. G.* saith, it is evident from *Taci-*
tus himself, that they had other Figures
 and Symbols in their consecrated Groves;
 although they had not any in the likeness
 of men, because they thought them unsuita-
 ble to the Celestial Deities; but I desire to
 be informed by him, 1. How other figures
 come to be a less disparagement to the
 Deity, than humane figures? Did they in-
 deed think it less dishonour to God to be
 like a brut, or a plant, or a cockboat than
 to be like a man? Did they who thought
 the Images of men so much below their
 Gods, take the others to be more agreeable
 to them? 2. How doth *Tacitus* make
 it appear, that they had other Symbols and
 Figures in the consecrated Groves? It is
 true that he saith, part of the Suevi did
 sacrifice to *Isis*; but, he saith, this was a
 foreign Religion, and he knows not how it
 came there, but he is sure by the Figure it
 was

was foreign ? and doth this prove, that the Religion of the Germans did allow of Images, because a Religion was known to be foreign, by its Image ? But this is the very quintessence of ingenuity, when he hath had no more to say against this Testimony, and not a word against any of the rest, to conclude after this fashion, His other citations I took upon his word without examining them (which I hardly take upon his word, finding him so ready to cavil upon the slightest occasion) and the Reader may guess by this out of Tacitus, whether it be not likely I did him a kindness in it; which I am content to leave to the Readers Ingenuity.

We are certain it was the custome both p. 6.
of the *Germans* and *Gauls*, as well as other Nations, to worship not only *stones* and *fountains*, but *Trees*. *Pliny* saith in general, Plin. l. 12. c. 1. *that Trees were looked on as Temples of the Gods ; and that the people did not more worship the Images of Gold and Ivory, than they did the Groves ;* and the same *Quintilian* saith, especially of *Aged Oakes*. Quint. l. 10.
Curtius saith, Curt. l. 8. *the Indians accounted all things Gods which they worshipped, especially Trees.* The Council of *Carthage* mentions the remainders of *Idolatry* in
Groves

codex A. Groves and Trees as well as Images. And
fric. c. 84. there was no one custome of Idolatry

Capit. Ca-
roli l. 1.
tit. c. 4.
l. 7. tit.
 236.

Leg. Lon-
gobard.
l. 2. tit.
 38. n. 1.

canis. An-
tiq. Lest.
To. 4. p.
 421.

Serrar. Rev.
Mag. l. 3.
not. 19.

Agath. bi-
stor. l. 1.
p. 18.
S. Aug.

Dom. 21.
post Trin.
ser. 2.

which the Northern Nations especially, were more hardly drawn from, after they had received Christianity : which was therefore strictly forbidden in the Capitular of Carolus M. and the Priests were severely punished if they did not discover those who did *aut arbores, aut fontes, aut saxa venerari*, which are the words there used. In the Lombard Laws, there is a constitution of Luitprandus, against those that did worship *ad arborem atque ad fontanas*, before a certain tree, and at Springs. Othlonus in the Life of Boniface, not only mentions this custome, but that Boniface did cut down a very great tree, which was called *Arbor Jovis* in a place called *Gesmere* ; which is in the lower *Hassia* saith *Serrarius*. *Agathias* saith, that the Germans worshipped Trees and Rivers, and Hills and Groves. In *S. Augustins* time, we find this custome continued among many called Christians, to pay their vows before certain trees, and to say their prayers at Fountains ; for which he charges them with Idolatry ; which trees, he saith, if they fell, they would not take a stick of them to burn, whereby they give honour to a dead Tree, and contemn the precepts of the

the living God. The twelfth Council of Toledo produces the second Commandment, and the other severe prohibitions of Idolatry against this practice. The second Council of Arles hath a Canon against the Bishops, who suffer any such Trees or Stones to remain in their Dioceses: the same hath the Council of Braga against Presbyters. The second Council of Tours charges the Priests to excommunicate those who did these things: *Le Cointe* by the Stones understands the Boundaries, at which the Heathens did celebrate the Terminalia, but without any bloody sacrifice, as he proves from *Dionys. Halicarnassens*, and *Plutarch*. The Synod of Auxerre forbids Christians paying their vows either before holy Trees, or at Fountains. The Council of Nantes commands the cutting down all such Trees, and casting away the stones; and that all people be told what a dreadful sin Idolatry is, and that he that worships Trees and Stones, denies God and renounces his Christianity; with a great deal more to that purpose; and yet all this while these men pretended to be Christians, and to direct the intention of their worship aright; which I beseech T. G. to observe; for all the fault the Council found with them was, that they did those things be-

Concil. To
let. 12.
c. 11.

Conc. Ar-
let. 2. c. 23.

Conc. Bra-
car. 3. c. 22.

Annales
Ecclesiast.
Franc.
A. D. 566.
n. 51.

Synod. Au-
tissod.
A. D. 586.
c. 3.

Concil.
Nannet.
A. D. 636.
c. 20.

Annales
Eccles.
Franc.

A.D. 659.
n. 36.

Burchard.
l. 10. c. 9,
10, 32.
Rugino de
Eccles.
discipl. l.
1. c. 300.
l. 2. c. 5.
n. 43. c.
38.

fore Trees and Stones which ought to be done only in the Church, viz. making their oblations and saying their prayers. And in the Canons of Eligius, this is one, Nullus Christianus ad fana, vel ad Petras, vel ad Fontes, vel ad Arborea, aut ad Cellos, vel per trivia, luminaria faciat, aut vota redere praesumat. Where we see these Canons did respect Christians and not Infidels; and several of them are inserted in the Collection of Canons by Burchardus and Regino: now I desire to be resolved by T. G. why it is not as lawful to say ones prayers in a consecrated Grove, or at a Fountain, or before a Stone or Pillar, as before a consecrated Image? Hath God only forbidden Groves and Statues to be worshipped, and not Images at all? Nay, one would think, that at the same time he had forbidden the one, he had commanded the other; when we see how scrupulous these Fathers were in the former, and how much the practice of devotion in the Roman Church, where it is openly and publicly allowed, consists in the other. Surely a man is not more apt to think God to be like a Tree, or a Stone, than to the Image of a man; and if this argument of similitude signifies any thing, it tends to justify these practices, condemned by so many

ny Councils ; and to condemn the worship of *Images* in the likeness of men, which *T. G.* endeavours to justify. And to let us see, how general this kind of worship was among the *Heathen Idolaters*, I shall conclude this discourse with a double Testimony to this purpose. The one of *Dio Chrysostome*, who saith, *the generality of the barbarous Nations, called Mountains, Trees, and Stones by the name of Gods, i. e. as the Greeks and Romans did their Images, to which they gave divine worship.* The other of *Acosta* ; who saith, *the Indians worshipped Rivers, Fountains, Rocks, or great stones, Hills and the tops of Mountains, which they called Apachita's, and all things in Nature which seemed to have something extraordinary in them.*

Dio Chrysostom. orat. 12.

Acosta Natur. & Moral History of the Indies l. 3. c. 5.

2. The *Heathens* worshipped such *Images*, as had some shape and Figure, but it was not of any real being, but only Imaginary. This I have so little reason to go about to prove against *T. G.* that he desires me, to take notice, that the *Heathens* (as *Origen*, *Hom.* 8. in *Exod.* 20. and *Theodore* q. 38. in *Exod.* tells us, when they expound the second Commandment) had two sorts of *Images* ; some of which were purely figments or fictions of their

own brain, made to represent what had no existence but in their own imaginations, as *Sphinxes*, *Tritons*, *Centaures*, and the like; and others which were made to represent such things, as had a real, and substantial Being in the world, as the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars*, &c. which they esteemed and worshipped as *Gods*. I shall not now dispute, whether the *Idols* forbidden in the second Commandment, be only such representations; nor whether *Sphinxes*, and *Centaures* be such imaginary Beings, (for about the latter *S. Hierom* is uncertain; and a *Sphinx* is nothing but an *Aethiopian Ape*, such as *Philostorgius* saith himself saw;) but that which I insist upon, in this place, is, that this sort of *Images* was not certainly unlawful on the account of similitude to the *Deity*; and those who thought so were not *Idolaters*, but *Atheists*; for then they thought that to be like *God*, which was like to *Nothing*. And if the *Athenians* had any such as these, (as they were as good at *Chimera's* as other people) *S. Paul's* argument would not reach to them; and it seems *S. Paul* mistook his point: for he, good man, thought he had been talking against *Idolatry* at *Athens*; but it was no such matter; for saith *T. G.* he talked against such *Images* as were proper

S. Hieron.
vit. Pauli.
p. 238. ed.
Froben.
Philostorg.
hist. l. 3.
c. 2.

proper likenesses and representations of the Divinity; now the Divinity certainly is a Real Being; and Idolatry is the worship of Idols; but an Idol, saith T. G. is a representation of an imaginary Being; therefore those Images S. Paul spake against at Athens were no Idols; and consequently S. Paul doth not prove the Athenians guilty of Idolatry. But of these things more at large when I come to the second Commandment.

3. They had artificial Images of real §. 8.
Beings; in the Likeness of Men. And I shall now shew, that even these Images were not set up or worshipped among the Heathens, because they supposed the Gods to be like them. For which, in the first place I shall produce this remarkable Testimony of Cicero, where he answers the Epicurean argument for the Gods being of humane form, because men are wont to represent them so; *Quistam cecus*, saith he, *in contemplandis rebus unquam fuit, ut non videret species istas hominum collatas in Deos, aut consilio quodam sapientum, quo facilius animos imperitorum ad Deorum cultum à vitæ pravitate converterent; aut Superstitione, ut essent simulachra, quæ venerantes, Deos ipsos se adire crederent?*

De Nat.
Deor. l. i.
c. 27.

Who was there ever so blind in the judgement of things, as not to see that the Figures of men are attributed to the Gods, either by the advice of wise men, the easier to draw rude and wicked people to the worship of them ; or out of superstition, that when they worshipped their Images, they might believe they approached to the Gods themselves ? Where we observe, that these words are brought to disprove the Epicurean opinion of the Gods being like to men ; and he undertakes to give an account how they came to be represented in humane shape, although they were not like to it ; viz. 1. To make the notion of God more familiar and easie to rude and barbarous people, that knew not how to conceive of him, and therefore neglected his worship, which is all one with making them Books for the ignorant Laity. 2. To excite their devotion, that when they made their addresses to these Images, they might believe they made them to the Gods themselves. And according to T. G. what harm was there in all this ? provided that these were declared not to be proper likenesses of the Deity ; and so we see they were, by their best and wisest men. But the people might imagine the Gods to be like them ; and what then ? may they not do

do the same in the *Roman Church*, and with as good reason? when they see *God* painted like a *Pope*, with his *Crown* and *Pontifical Vestments*; may they not as reasonably think, that as the *Pope* is *Gods Vicar* on earth, *God* himself is the *Pope* in Heaven. If they say *they take care the people be better informed*: not too much of that neither; but did not *Cicero* and others do the like by the *Heathens*? who argued against the folly of supposing the *Gods to be like men*, and derided the *Epicureans* for asserting it; as men that neither understood the nature of *Gods*, or *Men*. And *Cicero* in the same place is so far from looking on this practice of worshipping the *Gods* in *Images of humane* ^{C. 29.} *shape as Universal*, that he confesses it to be almost peculiar to the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and saith, that the *Epicureans* who ^{De Nat. Dtor. l. 3.} *did assert the Gods, to have the members* ^{c. 1.} *of mens bodies, but made no use of them, did only droll, and in words assert a Deity, which in Truth they denied.* *Maximus Tyrus* debates the case about the several ways of representing *God*; and although he makes the manner as indifferent, as whe- ^{Max. Tyr. diff. 38.} *ther our words be expressed in Phœnician, or Ionian, or Attick, or Egyptian Characters, they being all intended only as*

helps to our understandings and Memories, and as far distant from the Deity as Heaven from Earth; yet, he saith, they are useful to the duller part of mankind, who like Children are taught to read and understand, by these broader characters; which are intended only as a *Manuduction* to them; yet, he prefers that which he calls the *Greek way*, of representing the Gods with the most exquisite art in humane Figures; but he doth it so timorously, that he only saith, it is not unreasonable; not that he imagined the Gods to be like them; but only because the Soul of man comes nearest to God; and that habitation which God had chosen for a divine Soul seemed the fittest to be a Symbol of the invisible Deity. But he does not blame the other Nations which made use of other wayes of representing the Deity; which he must have done, if he had thought the *Greek Images* the proper likenesses of God; for although he disputes against the *Persians* and *Egyptians*, yet he concludes all at last with this saying, whether men worship God by the art of *Phidias*, as the *Greeks*; or by the worship of living Creatures, as the *Egyptians*; or by the worship of *Rivers*, or of *Fire*, as other Nations, I condemn not the variety; let them only understand

understand and love, and remember him whom they worship. Οὐκ εἰς τι μόνον ἔσω πόρον, i. e. in T. G's Translation, let a man only direct his intention towards God, and then without doubt the actions go whither they are intended. And upon these grounds none of the Heathens were to blame in the worship of Images, provided they looked on them only as Symbols, or Analogical representations of the Deity, as Maximus Tyrius saith they did, and directed their worship towards the Supreme Being, as he adviseth them all to do. For, saith he, God who is the Father and Maker of all things, elder than the Sun and Heaven, better than Time, and Age, and all Fluid things, a Lawgiver without name, that cannot be expressed with words, or seen with eyes; whose essence being incomprehensible by us, we make use of all helps from sounds and words, and living Creatures, and Images of Gold, and Ivory, and Silver, and Plants, and Rivers, and Mountains, to bring us to the Conception of him; and because of our weakness, those things we account good we attribute to him, as lovers use to do, who delight in any representation of him they love; and behold with great pleasure, the harp, or the darts, or the seat he sate upon, or the place he ran in,

in, and whatever brings him to mind. What need I say any more concerning Images? Let God only be in the mind. Is not this a Vindication of Heathen Idolatry, to

T.G.p. 17. T. G's hearts desire? For, saith T. G. Is it not an honour to the King to kiss his Picture? And the very light of nature teaches that the honour or dishonour done to a picture, or Image, reflects upon the person represented by it. Now, saith Max. Tyrius, we look upon Images, and Trees, and Rivers, and Mountains but as so many imperfect pictures and representations of the Deity; but although they do not come near his beauty, yet we honour them for the sake of him whom they represent; wherein we do but as great lovers do, we kiss the footsteps where he trod, we embrace, admire, and value things as they represent him, and bring him to our minds. And is there any thing more natural than this? For is it not an honour to the King to kiss his picture? or, as the Emperour Julian more elegantly expresses it, *Ὅστις ἐν φιλοβασιλείᾳ ἡδύως ὀρεῖ τὴν τοῦ Βασιλέως εἰκόνα, &c.* He that loves the King, takes pleasure in seeing the picture of the King, he that loves his Child, loves any representation of him, and so doth he that loves his Father; even so, saith the devout

Julian.
op. p. 539.

Em-

Emperour Julian by the meer light of Nature, every one that is φιλόθεος, a Lover of God, loves the representations of the Gods, and beholding their Images doth secretly fear and reverence them, which although invisible themselves do behold him. Wherein we see how admirably Julian and T. G. have hit not only on the same principle of nature, but the very instance, and almost the very same expressions: It seems, this great man did not corrupt himself in those things he knew naturally, but pursued the light of Nature towards the Defence of Pagan Idolatry; making the worship of Images a part of Natural Religion, as T. G. doth. But what spight is this, for me to mention Julian and T. G. together? whereas it is well known that Julian was against Invocation of Saints, and called that as great Idolatry as the Heathens, as T. G. notably observes against Dr. St. But for all this Julian, though an Apostate, and great enemy to Christianity was a shrewd understanding man, and found out the very fundamental principle of the worship of Images, and resolved it into the Light of Nature, as T. G. doth. But Julian supposed these Images to be proper Likenesses of the Gods, and consequently the worship of them as such is condemned:

demned: no such matter I assure you, *Julian* was a more *Orthodox* man than so, he was no follower of that damnable heretick called *Anthropomorphus* (for so I find him in an ancient Catalogue of *Hereticks*;) *Julian* detests that opinion, and calls the Gods ἀνεῖναι καὶ ἀσώματος, without any corporeal figure, or shape; and therefore he proposes the objection of a Christian against him, how it could then be proper to make any corporeal Images of them? Why, to that, saith *Julian*, I answer, the Images of the Gods are placed by our Ancestors, as Signs and Symbols of their presence, not that we should believe them to be Gods, but that we should worship the Gods by giving Reverence to them. For, we living in the body ought to give them a worship suitable to our corporeal state, ἀσώματος δὲ εἶον ἀσώτοι; but they are incorporeal. So that *Julian* did not look on Images as the proper likenesses of the Gods, but as ancient and venerable Symbols of their presence; in which, he saith, all Nations of the world were agreed, and in all Ages. Wherein he lashes too far; but that is at least but a venial sin, to stretch a little for the sake of so good a Cause. And *Julian* was not singular in this opinion of his, of the fitness of corporeal Images, although the
 Gods

Gennad. de
 dogm. Ec-
 clcs. c. 4.

P. 537.

Gods were not like them; for Varro was of the same mind; who gives this account of the first design of making the Images of the Gods like to men, Quorum qui si Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 7. c. 3.
mulachra specie hominis fecerunt, hoc videri secutos, quod mortalium animus, qui est in corpore humano, simillimus est immortalis animi; &c. that the soul of man was most like the Deity; and men made Images like to their Bodies, just as if a wine-vessel were put in the Temple of Bacchus to represent him, intending thereby to represent first the wine, which should be in the Vessel, and by the wine him that is the God of Wine: so, saith he, by Images of mens shape they signified the Soul contained within the body; and by the Soul they represented God as of the same nature, viz. the Soul of the world. Porphyrie, such another good Catholick as Julian Euseb. Prep. Evang. l. 3. c. 7.
was, in this point of the worship of Images, doth not in the least suppose any similitude between the Shape of a Man, and the Nature of God, but he gives this account of representing the Gods in Figures like to men, καὶ ἀνθρώποειδὲς μὲν ἀνέτύπον τὸς Θεοῦ, ὅτι λογικὸν τὸ Θεῖον, They made the Gods like to men, because the Divinity is a rational Being; and withall, he saith, that many were wont to represent him by a black stone,

- to shew that he is invisible. Dio Chrysostome at large debates the case about Images, in his Olympick Oration; where-
 in he first shews, that all men have a natural apprehension of one supreme God the Father of all things; that this God was represented by the Statue made by Phidias of Jupiter Olympius, for so he said, *καὶ ὁ νῦν ἰούρις*, before whom we now are; and then describes him to be the King, Ruler and Father of all both Gods and men; this Image he calls, the most blessed, the most excellent, the most beautiful, the most beloved Image of God. He saith, there are four wayes of coming to the knowledge of God, By nature, by the instructions of the Poets, by the Laws, and by Images: but neither Poets, nor Law-givers, nor Artificers were the best Interpreters of the Deity, but only the Philosophers who both understood and explained the Divine Nature most truly and perfectly. After this, he supposes Phidias to be called to account for making such an Image of God, as unworthy of him; when Iphitus, Lycurgus, and the old Eleans, made none at all of him, as being out of the power of man to express his nature; to this Phidias replies, that no man can express mind and understanding by figures, or colours, and there-
- Dio Chrysost. Oration, 12. p. 199.
- p. 206.
- p. 207.
- p. 209.
- p. 210.
- p. 211.

therefore they are forced to fly to that in which the soul inhabits, and from thence they attribute the seat of wisdom and Reason to God, having nothing better to represent him by: and by that means joyning power and art together, they endeavour by something which may be seen and painted, to represent that which is invisible and inexpressible. But it may be said, we had better then have no Image or representation of him at all; no saith he, for mankind doth not love to worship God at a distance, but to come near and feel him, and with assurance to sacrifice to him and crown him. Like Children newly weaned from their Parents, who put out their hands towards them in their dreams as if they were still present: so do men out of the sense of Gods goodness and their relation to him, love to have him represented as present with them, and so to converse with him: thence have come all the representations of God among the barbarous Nations in Mountains, and Trees, and Stones. But if the quarrel be, that I have given a humane shape to him; for that, saith he, the Poets are much more to blame who began those things, especially Homer who compared Agamemnon to God in his head and eyes: but for my statue, no man that

is not mad would compare it to a mortal man; much less to the perfection of the Deity: and so Dio proceeds with a great deal of eloquence to shew, how the representation of God by his Image was more decent and becoming God, than that which the Poets had made of him: and how he had endeavoured by the utmost of his skill to represent the perfections of the Divine Nature in the admirable workmanship of his Statue, as to his power, Greatness, and Good Will to Mankind; and concludes all with saying, that as to his workmanship he thinks he hath gone beyond all others; but yet no workmanship can be compared to the God that made the whole world. Thus we see from the Testimony of these very considerable Authors, the Wiser Heathens had no such foolish Imagination as T. G. supposes them to be possessed with, viz. that the Images of the Deity which they worshipped were the proper likenesses of him; and if T. G's Light of Nature and Common sense do sufficiently decide this Controversie, it is very plain on which side the ballance inclines, viz. towards Paganism against Christianity. Macrobius saith, that anciently they made no Image at all of the Supreme God, as being above any representation; but they made Images of

Macrobius in
Somn. Scipion.
l. 1. c. 2.

of the inferiour Gods although they were
 formarum talium prorsus alieni, in nothing
 like to them. The former Clause in *Ma-*
crobius must be understood of the most
 ancient times before the Age of *Phidias* as
 appears by the foregoing passages; and
 yet *Porphyrie* saith, that the *Egyptians* Euseb.
 were wont to represent the Creator whom Pr. ep. E-
 they called *Cneph* in the figure of a man uag. l. 3.
 of a dark blew Colour, holding a girdle and
 a Scepter in his hand; out of whose mouth
 came an Egg, by which they represented the
 world as his production. Not much unlike
 to this, is the Image of the Creator in the
 Temple of *Meaco* in *Japan*, which is all over Montanus
 black, with a Scepter in his hand, and they p. 279.
 likewise represent the world by an Egg;
 as *Arnoldus Montanus* observes. In the
 Itinerary of *Alexander Geraldinus* to those
 parts of *Africa* under the *Aequinoctial*
 (which was written by him to the Pope,
 when he was Bishop of *S. Domingo*) in the
 account he gives of the Religion of those
 parts (which is far more particular than is
 to be met with elsewhere) he describes se-
 veral Images of the Great God which were
 in mighty veneration among them: as in
Bassiana the King with all his people do *Alex. G.*
 worship the God of Nature in an Image of Arnoldus
 Marble, set upon a high Throne, holding the Itinerar.
l. 4. p. 69.

Sun in his right hand, and the Moon in his left, and the other Stars on either side of him; and wherever the King travels, he carries such an Image along with him, and prays five times a day prostrate before it.

l.11.p.171. *In Domnasea upon the top of a wall is placed the Image of God holding all things, before which the people are bound to pray*

l.10.p.168. *every morning. In Ammosenna, they represent the God of Heaven by four Heads coming out of the body of a Lynx looking towards the four quarters of the world to represent his omniscieny and omnipresence,*

l.8.p.131. *whom they call Orissa. In Logonsennea, the God of Nature is painted in the Image of a man and all other Images of him condemned. Now if T.G. were sent on a*

Mission into any of those parts where God was worshipped after such a manner, I have a great desire to understand, what his opinion would be concerning this kind of worship; whether it were Idolatry or no?

If not, they might still continue in it and be saved; as far as men can be saved by the meer light of Nature, which herein T.G. thinks they follow exactly; for they honour God by worshipping his Image.

If it be Idolatry, how comes it to be so? for this is neither the representation of some

Figment, but of a real Being; nor is it

of

of some real thing falsely taken to be God, which is his larger notion of an *Idol*; but T. G. p. 49. it is looked on only as the *Image* of the *True God*; and that not as a proper *Likeness*, but by *Analogical representation*, and consequently according to T. G. is no *disparagement to the Deity*.

But whatever T. G's opinion in this case is, the *Fathers* when they discoursed against the *Heathen Idolatry*, made use of such arguments which held against such *Images* and *representations* as these; and that upon these two weighty considerations. ρ. 9.

1. Because such a *representation* of *God*, was *unsuitable* to his *Nature*.

2. Because it was *repugnant* to his *will*.

1. Because such a *representation* of *God* was *unsuitable* to his *Nature*.

Ἐξέπλizei γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ σιμύτητα ἢ ἐν ἐποίμῳ Clem.
τῆς ὁψείας συνήθεια, καὶ τὴν νοτιὰν ὕψος δι' ὕλης Strom. 9.
σιβάζειν, ἀπμαίνειν ὅτιν αὐτῷ δι' αἰσθησις, faith p. 559.

σιβάζειν, ἀπμαίνειν ὅτιν αὐτῷ δι' αἰσθησις, faith
Clemens Alexandrinus. A *visible representation* of the *Deity* lessens his *Majesty*; and it is a *disparagement* to an *intellectual Being* to worship him by *sensible matter*: therefore, saith he, *Moses* forbade any *Image* p. 384.
to be made of *God*, that we might ascend
above *sensible things*; and thereby de-

claring God to be invisible, and incomprehensible. And from hence Zeno the Stoick said, no workmanship of man could be worthy of God. And in another place, he saith, the reason why Numa forbade any Image of God like to man, or any living creature, was, because the most excellent Being could be represented only to our Minds; and that Antisthenes learnt that from Socrates, that God was like to no representation we could make of him; and therefore no man could learn any thing of him from an Image; and Xenophon, that it is apparent that God is great and powerful, but we know not how to make any thing like him. Is it possible then, that such Athenians as these, should look on any Images as the proper likenesses of God?

Str. 1.
p. 304.

Protrept.
p. 46.

T. G. p. 74. These wiser Heathens, T. G. confesses, did mean, that the nature of God being spiritual and invisible, it could not be represented by any thing like unto it; and yet these were Athenian Philosophers, as well as those whom, he saith, S. Paul condemned for supposing their Images to be proper Likenesses and representations of the Divinity. But T. G. supposes, that the reason why the worship of Images is a disparagement to the Deity, and incongruous to the Divine Nature, is, because the people
gave

p. 55.

gave worship to them as Gods, or like unto the Gods they worshipped ; whereas I have now plainly shewed, that those who contended for the *Worship of Images* among them, did neither look upon them as Gods, nor like to their Gods, but only as *Symbolical representations of the Divine Nature*. And the *Fathers* make use of this acknowledgement of theirs of the *incongruity of Images to the Deity*, from thence to prove the *incongruity* of the worship of them. So that it is not, the supposing the *Images to be like God*, which they condemn in them, for none of their wiser men were such Fools ; but the making of such *Images* and worshipping of them, which in their own nature were so infinitely beneath the divine Being, did tend to the begetting in mens minds mean and unworthy thoughts of God. And therefore they frequently insist upon this, *that mens imaginations are easily tainted and corrupted by the daily representations of things, especially when they are proposed as objects of worship* : and however, the very manner of worshipping an infinite, and immaterial Being by a gross and material representation is that which the *Fathers* condemn as most unsuitable to the Divine Nature. For this, Justin Martyr

- Justin.
Martyr.
Apol. 2.
p. 57. saith, is not only unreasonable, but it is done in ὁμοίᾳ τῷ Θεῷ with the reproach of God, whose glory and form is inexpressible. Athenagoras saith, if God and matter be all one, it is then reasonable to worship God by giving worship to sensible matter; but if there be an infinite distance between them, why are we accused for not doing it? And if we refuse to worship the workmanship of God, viz. the Heaven and Elements; why should we do it to the workmanship of men? Origen looks on this, as one of the most peculiar characters of the Christian doctrine, that it raises mens minds above Images and all worship of Creatures to the Creator of all things, and that it is one of the first things the Catechumens are instructed in, to despise Idols, and all Images; He saith, it is not only a foolish thing to pray to Images, as Heraclitus said; but to seem to do it as the Philosophers did. If they are worshipped, it must be either as Gods, which Celsus denied, or as representations of God, which cannot be, because God is invisible and incorporeal: and therefore, he saith, that the Christians would not endure the worship of God by Images; and although other Nations did refuse the worship of Images, (with whom Celsus parallels
- Athenag.
p. 14.
- p. 16.
- Orig. c.
Cels.
l. 2. p. 91.
l. 5. p. 255.
l. 3. p. 120.
- l. 5. p. 375.
- p. 376.
- p. 374.

parallels the Christians) yet it was not upon the same ground that the Christians did, viz. because they would not debase and draw down the worship of God towards matter so fashioned and formed. Lactantius shews, how unreasonable it is ^{Lañ. l. 2.} to worship God by an Image; since Images ^{c. 2.} are intended to represent the absent; but God is every where present. But if there ought to be any Image of God (which he calls *simulachrum Dei*, and surely doth not signify an Idol in T. G's sense; and I hope here he will not charge me with want of fidelity in translating it Image) it ought to be living and sensible, because God lives for ever: therefore that cannot be the Image of God that is made by the work of mens hands, but Man himself, who gives all the art and beauty to them which they have; but poor silly men as they are, they do not consider, that if their Images had sense and motion, they would worship the Men that made them; and brought them into such a curious figure out of rude and unpolished matter. who can be so foolish to imagine, there can be any thing of God in that Image, in which there is nothing of man, but the meer shadow? But their minds have the deepest tincture of folly; for those who have sense, worship things

that have none; they who think themselves wise, things that are incapable of Reason; they that live, things that cannot stir, and they that came from heaven, things that are made of earth. What is this, saith he, but to invert the order of Nature, to adore that which we tread upon? Worship him that lives, if ye would live; for he must dye, that gives up his Soul to things that are dead. And after he hath fully shewn his Rhetorick in exposing the folly of worshipping Images, he concludes very severely; *quare non est dubium quin Religio nulla sit, ubicunq; simulachrum est.* Wherefore there can be no true Religion, where there is the worship of Images; no, although it be *simulachrum Dei*, the worship of God by an Image; for his reason holds against all; Religion, saith he, is a divine thing, and whatever is divine is heavenly, but whatever is in Images is earthy, and therefore there can be no Religion in the worship of Images. What sport do Tertullian, Minucius, and Arnobius make with the Images which were consecrated to divine worship? from the meanness of the matter they are made of, the pains, and art that is used to bring them into their shape, the casualties of fire and rottenness, and defilements they are subject

c. 18.

Tertul.
Apol.
Minuc.
Ottav.
Arnob. l. 6.

subject to, and many other Topicks on purpose to represent the ridiculousness of worshipping such things; or God by them. O, saith *Arnobius*, that I could but enter into the bowels of an Image, and lay before you all the worthy materials they are made up of; that I could but dissect before you a *Jupiter Olympius*, and *Capitolinus*. Yet these were dedicated to the worship of the *Supreme God*. Would men ever have been such *Fools* to have exposed themselves rather than such *Images* to laughter and scorn, if they had used any such themselves, or thought them capable of *relative divine worship*? How easily would a Heathen of common understanding have stopt the mouths of these powerful *Orators*, with saying but a few such words to any one of them. “Fair
 “and soft, good Sir; while you declaim
 “so much against our *Images*, think of
 “your own; what if our *Jupiter Olympi-*
 “*us*, or *Capitolinus* be made of *Ivory*, or
 “*Brass*, or *Marble*; what if the *Artificer*
 “hath taken so much pains about them;
 “what if they are exposed to *Weather*,
 “and *Birds*, and *Fire*, and a thousand ca-
 “sualties: are not the *Images* of *S. Peter*,
 “and *S. Paul*, or the several *Madonna*’s of
 “such and such *Oratories* liable to the very
 “same

"same accusations? If ours are unfit for
 "worship, are not yours so too? if we be
 "ridiculous, are not you so? and so much
 "the more, because you laugh at others,
 "for what you do your selves. So that
 we must either think the first Christians
 prodigious Fools, or they must utterly
 condemn all *Images* for *Religious worship*;
 and not meerly the *Heathens* on considera-
 tions peculiar to them. And that we may
 not think this a meer heat of Eloquence
 in these men, we find the same thing as-
 serted by the most grave and sober Writers
 of the Christian Church, when they had
 to deal not with the rabble, but their most
 understanding Adversaries. *We have no*
material Images at all, saith *Clemens*
Alexandrinus, *we have only one intellectu-*
al Image, who is the only true God; we
worship but one Image which is of the In-
visible and Omnipotent God, saith *S. Hie-*
rome. *No Image of God ought to be wor-*
shipped, but that which is what he is, nei-
ther is that to be worshiped in his stead, but
together with him, saith *S. Augustin*.
 Where it is observable that the reason of
 worship given to this *Eternal Image of God*,
 is not communicable to any *Image* made of
 him, as to his *humane Nature*; for it can-
 not be said of the humane nature it self,
 that

Clem. Pro-
trept. p. 34.
Hierom. in
c. 16.
Ezek. c. 4.
prop. fin.
Aug. ep.
119. c. 11.

that it is God, much less of any *Image* or *representation* of it. Therefore let T. G. judge whether the *worshipping Christ by an Image*, be not equally condemned by the Fathers with the worship of God by an Image; but of that hereafter. *Eusebius* Enlib. Prap. Evang. l. 3. c. 10. answering *Porphyrie* about the *Image of God*, saith, *What agreement is there between the Image of a man and the Divine understanding? I think it hath very little to a mans mind, since that is incorporeal, simple, indivisible; the other quite contrary, and only a dull representation of a mans shape; The only resemblance of God lies in the soul, which cannot be expressed in Colours or Figures; and if that cannot which is infinitely short of the Divine Nature, what madness is it to make the Image of a man to represent the Figure and form of God? For the Divine Nature must be conceived with a clear and pure understanding free from all corruptible matter; but that Image of God in the likeness of man, contains only the Image of a mortal man, and that not of all of him, but of the worst part only, without the least shadow of Life or Soul. How then can the God over all, and the Mind which framed the world be the same that is represented in Brass or Ivory?*

S. Au-

S. Aug. de
Civ. Dei
l. 7. c. 5.

S. Augustin, relating the saying of Varro, about representing God by the Image of a mans body, which contains his Soul which resembles God, saith, * that herein he lost that prudence and sobriety he discovered in saying, that those who first brought in Images among the Romans, abated their Reverence (to the Deity) and added to their error ; and that the Gods were more purely worshipped without Images : wherein, saith S. Augustin, he came very near to the Truth. And if he durst speak openly against so ancient an error, he would say, that one God ought to be worshipped, and that without an Image : the folly of Images being apt to bring the Deity into contempt. Is it possible to condemn the worship of God by an Image in more expresse words than S. Austin here does ?

2. Because the worship of God by Images is repugnant to his Will. Clemens Alexandrinus mentions the Law given by Moses, against the making any Image of God in the place before mentioned, and which he there asserts to be still obligatory to Christians. But although he there repeats the Command at large against all sorts of Images, yet it is observable that when he goes

2. 10.
Clem. Alex.
Ser. 5.
p. 559.

goes about to set down all the *Commandments*, this by some artificial hand is conveyed out of the way; and the *second Commandment* is, *Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord, &c.* which made me not a little wonder, finding *Clemens* so often in other places expressing his zeal against *Images*. But it is not hard to guess what hands his *Greek Copies* have passed through, since the *second Nicene Council*; yet we are beholding to them for leaving so much evidence of their foul dealing behind them; for within few Pages, he saith, *the tenth Commandment takes in all sorts of Concupiscence*, and therefore the precept against *Images* must be a *distinct Command* to make up the number: so that *Sylburgius* justly complains that the place is mutilated. If *Clemens* did not think this precept concerned Christians, he would never have objected it as an absurdity against a sort of *Gnosticks*, that thought themselves bound to oppose the Law, *why then*, saith he, *when God said, Thou shalt not make any Graven Image, you were best go and worship Images.* By all which we see, that he thought the precept to be still in force, and that it was intended against the *worship of Images*, and those *Images*, such as respect God, and not meerly

merely the *Heathen Idols*. *Origen* saith;
Orig. c. cel. that for the sake of that Law, Thou shalt
L. 7. p. 375 not make to thy self any Graven Image;
 the Christians would rather die than de-
 file their Faith with such impieties as the
 worship of Images: and therefore their
 case was very different from that of the
Scythians, Numidians, Seres and Persians,
 with whom *Celsus* joyned them in the con-
 tempt of Images. When *Symmachus*
Symmach. Ep. l. II. pleaded with *Valentinian* for the tolerati-
Ep. 54. on of the Pagan Religion, on this pretence,
 that the same God was worshipped by all,
 and that by several waies men aimed at
 the same end; *S. Ambrose* answers, That
Ambros. c. relat. God himself was fittest to teach what way
Symmac. 2. he would be served in: You worship the
 work of mens hands, we account it an in-
 jury to God to call anything by His Name
 that can be made by man; Non vult se
 Deus in Lapidibus coli, God hath declared,
 He will not be worshipped after such a man-
 ner. Whereby we see the Primitive *Chri-*
istians fixed themselves on the Command of
 God, as upon an immoveable rock, against
 the worship of Images.

Thus much may suffice to have shewn
 in this place, that the Controversie be-
 tween the *Christians* and *Heathens* about
 the worship of Images, was not whether
 they

they were *proper Likenesses of God*, from the apprehensions they had of their *Images*.
I proceed now to shew it

2. From the *Notions* they had of their *Gods*. And here, I must in the first place, exclude those who in Truth were *Atheists* and not *Idolaters*, I mean the *Epicurean Philosophers*, who although they seemed to assert some *pleasant Beings*, that lived in perfect ease, far from the noise and smoke of the World; yet they utterly overthrew all foundations of worship in Prayers, or Sacrifices, by denying the *Gods* to have any regard to the actions of men, for fear of disturbing their sweet repose. These indeed made *their Gods like men*, but so thin and airy, that they could not bear the least jostle of *Atoms*, and so quiet and still that the least thought of business would destroy their happiness. These were only made for fine *Idea's* to amuse the people with, but any one might see that they were never intended for the *objects of worship*; and therefore *Plutarch* Plut. ad. vers. Color. Athen. l. 4. c. 27. and *Athenaus* say, That *Epicurus* took away all the *worship* of the *Gods*; however he complied with the common practices of the people; and when he lift up his *Hands* to his *Mouth*, in token of *adoration*,

ration, he could not but laugh through his Fingers at the Gods they worshipped.

But we may see by the discourse of the Academick and Stoick, with the Epicurean in Cicero, how much they abhorred this Epicurean doctrine of the Gods being like to men; and Velleius the Epicurean doth in effect confess, there were no Philosophers of that mind besides themselves. For he reckons up all the opinions of the other Philosophers concerning the Nature of the Gods after such a manner, as to discover that this opinion was peculiar to their own Sect. He acknowledges, that *Thales* asserted God to be an Eternal Mind, which framed all things out of water; even *Anaximander* and *Anaximenes*, who held only Material Gods, or first principles (for even the Atheists were willing to have matter believed to be a God by them, to avoid the odium of Atheism among the people) yet these rejected a humane form; at which the Epicurean is displeased, as though they might have flattered the people, (as they did) in the fashion, as well as in the name of a Deity. Some have undertaken to clear *Anaximenes*; and to make him of the same opinion with *Thales*, concerning an incorporeal Deity; saying that by *Air*, he meant only a Divine

cicr. de
Nat. Dior.
l. 1. c. 25.

Leſtaloſper.
ad Cicr.
de Nat.
Dior. p. 40.

der
be
the

vine Spirit; and therefore in *Plutarch* he compares it to the Soul of Man, which being Air doth animate the body; and *Dionigenes Apolloniatas* his disciple held Air only for matter; and Reason for the efficient cause: as *St. Augustin* tells us. However, *Anaxagoras* another disciple of *Anaximenes* is confessed by *Velleius* to hold God to be an infinite and active mind; free from all mixture of matter; as the words of *Anaxagoras* in *Simplicius* do express his meaning: and *S. Augustin* undertakes his vindication against the *Epicurean* objections, which suppose it impossible for us to understand any such thing as Mind without the conjunction of sense and Matter. *Pythagoras* said, That God was a quickening Spirit diffused through the world; which is best expressed by *Virgil*, in those words after the sense of *Pythagoras*,

Spiritus intus alit, totosq; insusa per artus *Anid. 6.*
Mens agit at molem, & magno se corpore *v. 724, &c.*
misceat.

Xenophanes falls under the same condemnation with the rest for asserting God to be a Mind; but he went somewhat farther, for in the Verses cited out of him

Euseb. de
 Prep.
 Evang. l. 13
 c. 13.
 Theodoret.
 de cur.
 Græc.
 serm. 3.
 Clem. Alex.
 Str. 5.

by the Fathers, he said, *That God was like to man neither in body, nor in mind: and for men to make an Image of God like to themselves, was all one as if a Horse should paint him with a long tail and four feet, if he had understanding enough to make a representation of the Deity; or an Ox or a Lion should draw him by their own Figures.* Parmenides made God to be of a circular figure in the fashion of a Crown or Orb of Light compassing about the Heavens. Whatever the opinions of Alcmaon, Empedocles, Protagoras, Diogenes Apolloniates were, it is certain the Epicurean despises them all; because they either appeared too doubtful and obscure in their opinion about a Deity, or at least seemed to make him of an inconvenient form to deceive the people. Even Democritus himself doth not please him, for although he makes his Images to be Gods, yet he did not by them understand such as T. G. doth, but he means no other than his Atoms (which Laertius calls *αἰδωλα*) and that first matter whence they arise; but, saith Velleius, while he destroys an Eternal Being, Democritus must needs overthrow the very opinion of a Deity; however he would give the title of it to his Images or matter, or the minds of men.

He

He grants, that according to *Plato*, God is an incorporeal mind; but then, he saith, he must want sense, and prudence, and pleasure (i. e. *Epicurean* pleasure), but withall he adds, that *Plato* contradicts himself, making the world, and the Heavens and Stars, and Men to be Gods, which are both false in themselves, and inconsistent with each other. This charge against *Plato* seems to be the most material, and therefore deserves to be more fully cleared, which shall be afterwards done, when I come to the *Platonick* doctrine about Divine Worship, where it will be made appear, that *Plato* did assert one *supreme and incorporeal Deity*, and that the worship allowed by him to *inferiour Gods* was of the same nature with that which is practised in the *Roman Church*, and that he no more believed *Images* to be like the true God than they do. I now proceed to the rest of the Philosophers opinions in this matter: *Xenophon* is charged by the *Epicurean*, to be guilty of the same fault with *Plato*, and that in the *Memoires* of *Socrates* written by him, he saith, that men ought not to enquire after the Form of God; and that it is impossible for us to know it: for we only know, saith he, that he is great and powerful; who makes all things to

*Xenoph.
Mem. 4.*

quake und tremble. *Antisthenes* acknowledged but one God in Nature, although there were many of the Peoples making; by which, saith *Velleius*, he destroyed the force and nature of the Gods: and upon the Epicurean supposition that they were like to men, he thought it necessary for their pleasure, that there should be more than one to keep up good fellowship among them. And because *Spensippus* said, That the Divine Nature did imply a Governing Spirit, he thought this as bad as the denying his Being; it being to his apprehension impossible to be happy and to Govern. He grants, that *Aristotle* affirmed God to be an incorporeal Being; however, he saith, that he was not constant to himself, sometimes making nothing to be God but only Mind; at other times attributing Divinity to the Heavens and parts of the World; but as the late Commentator on that part of *Tully* observes, the former was only the First, Eternal, Infinite God, the other a secondary, limited, and participative Divinity, and rather an Image of the Divinity than it self: as he proves from comparing several places in *Aristotle* together, and concludes with that excellent description of God drawn out of *Aristotle* by *Du Vall*, God is an Eternal substance,
and

Iscaloper.
ad Cic. de
N.D. p.55.

De Aristot.
Theologia,
p.184, &c.

and *Act*, without potentiality and Matter, Du-Vall. Synops. Analyst. Doctr. Peripat. ad Metaphyl. l. 14. c. 7.
 without magnitude, parts, division, pas-
 sion, change, intelligible by himself, the
 principle of Motion, but immovable, the
 Cause of Heaven, and, nature, and infi-
 nitely happy. *Mirare Lector, faith Du*
Val, hominis Ethnici Theologiam. See
 how far *Aristotle* was from thinking the
Athenian Images to be proper *Likenesses* of
 the Deity. If to these now we add the
Stoicks, who asserted God to be a Divine
 Reason and Spirit actuating the world,
 we have a full Discovery, that by the
 confession of those who were of another
 opinion, all the famous *sects* of *Philoso-*
phers agreed in rejecting that principle
 that the Gods were of humane shape, and
 consequently the *Idolatry* they were guilty
 of in the worship of *Images* could not lie
 in this, that they thought their *Images* to
 be proper *Likenesses* of God. Of the same
 mind with these were the *freer Philosophers*
 of following *Ages*: among whom *Cicero* Cicer. Tuscul. c. 1. Laet. l. 1. c. 5.
 deserves a name, were it only for that ex-
 cellent description of God, which *Lactan-*
tius and *S. Augustin* quote out of him, Aug. de Civ. Dei l. 22. c. 20.
 with great approbation, Neither can God
 himself be otherwise understood by us, than
 as a Mind free, and disentangled from
 all corporeal mixtures, perceiving and
 moving

moving all thing. The same thing might be proved of *Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, Alcinous, Plotinus, Proclus, Sallustius*, and others; but I purposely forbear, both because these are sufficient for my purpose, and because it may be said by those who have nothing else to say, in this matter that they came to have truer apprehensions of God only by the means of the *Christian Religion*. Nay, I might prove that many of the very *Poets* themselves had much nobler conceptions of the Deity, than to imagine him to have any thing *corporeal*; but I shall only mention these Verses out of the ancient *Tragædian*,

Χάρις δὲ θνητῶν ἢ θεῶν καὶ μὴ δόξα

Ὅμοιον αὐτῷ σέβειν καὶ δεῖναι.

Think not that God is like to mortal flesh.

From whence we see, that if there were any so foolish among the *Athenians* to imagine their *Gods* to be just like their *Images*, they did it not for want of instruction to the contrary; and if the nature of their *Idolatry* did lie in this, scarce any understanding man among the *Heathens* that did really believe a *Deity*, was guilty of it.

2. But if they did not suppose their *Images* to be the proper Likenesses of God, yet, they worshipped the *Images* of false Gods, or they worshipped their *Images* themselves for Gods, and therefore, saith T. G. the Apostle condemns them, Rom. 1. To make my Discourse come home to them I must shew, saith he, that the *Images* by which they honour Christ and his Saints, are worshipped by them as Gods, or as the *Images* of false Gods, as those were of which the Apostle speaks in that place. That is it I aim at, to bring my discourse as home to them as may be; and therefore to give him full satisfaction, I shall enquire whether the *Heathen Idolatry* condemned by S. Paul, did consist in one of these two things, either, 1. That they worshipped only the *Images* of false Gods. Or, 2. That they took the *Images* themselves for Gods.

1. Whether their *Idolatry* lay in worshipping the *Images* of false Gods? If I can prove, 1. That they did intend to worship the true God, either by an Image purposely for him, or to direct the worship through the Gods and *Images* they worshipped to him; And 2. That there is no greater repugnancy in the manner of their worship, than is used in the Roman

Church, I hope I shall bring my Discourse *home enough* to T. G.

To do this more convincingly I shall give an account of the *principles of Divine worship* among the *Heathens* from their own Writers (which I suppose will be another way of bringing it *home to them*) and because T. G. particularly charges *Socrates* and *Plato*, I shall make choice of the *Platonick principles of Divine worship*, and see upon what grounds they become guilty of *Idolatry*, which will not reach *home* to themselves. *Card. Bessarion* hath written an elaborate vindication of *Plato* against *Trapezuntius*, wherein he shews that *Plato* did assert the *Unity, Power, and Goodness of God*, and the *Creation of all things* by him; and that he doth this frequently and constantly, in his *Parmenides, Phædrus, Phædo, Philebus, Timæus, Sophista, Laws, Politicks, Epistles*, every where. But *Trapezuntius* charges *Plato*, that although he did acknowledge God, he did not worship him, and that he sacrificed only to the inferior Gods; to this *Bessarion* answers, "that in his Books of *Laws*, "which were made for the People, he "doth not expressly prescribe any worship "to God under the name of *One*, or *First*, "or *Ineffable*, which were the *Titles* he "had

Bessarion
advers. ca-
luminat.
Platonis.
l. 2. c. 3.

l. 3. c. 5.

“ had given him in his *Dialogues*, and were
 “ not known to the *People*; but in his eighth
 “ book of *Laws*, he appoints twelve so-
 “ lemn *Feasts* to the twelve *Gods* of whom
 “ *Jupiter* was chief; under which name
 “ the *Supream God* was known among the
 “ *People*, than which name in the proper
 “ importance of it, none could have been
 “ more significant of the *Nature* of the
 “ *Supreme God*; and that he retained the
 “ other common names of the *Gods* wor-
 “ shipped among them (that he might not
 “ seem to innovate any thing in Religion)
 “ although the *Philosophers* understood
 “ them in another sense than the common
 “ people did; by *Jove* they meant the
 “ *First Being* or *Supreme Deity*, by *Mi-*
 “ *nerva* *Wisdom*, by *Mercury* *Reason*, by
 “ *Saturn* *Eternity*, by *Neptune* *Form*, by
 “ *Juno* *Matter*, by *Venus* *Nature*, by *A-*
 “ *pollo* the *Sun*, by *Pan* the *Universe*; but
 “ when they spake to the *People* about the
 “ worship of them, they did not mention
 “ *Wisdom*, or *Reason*, or *Eternity*, but *Mi-*
 “ *nerva*, *Mercury*, *Saturn*; and he saith,
 “ it would have been folly in them to have
 “ done otherwise, the *People* being ac-
 “ customed to worship the *Gods* under
 “ these names, and nothing more was re-
 “ quisite but to make them understand
 “ them

“ them aright. But for *Plato* himself, he
 “ saith, he worshipped the Supreme God af-
 “ ter the best manner, i. e. with inward
 “ Reverence and adoration; in *Plato's* own
 “ expressions, by thinking the best and most
 “ worthy things of him, which *Bessarion*
 “ interprets in Spirit, and in Truth; and
 “ he adds, that *Plato* looked on Sacrifi-
 “ ces, and Images as unworthy of him who
 “ was a pure mind, and could not be repre-
 “ sented by any Image to men. But *Pla-*
 “ to's Adversary charges him, with giving
 the worship of *Latria* to inferiour Gods, and
 1. 3. c. 4. Creatures: to which *Bessarion* saith, “ that
 “ *Latria* among the Heathens signified on-
 “ ly a stricter kind of service which some
 “ men paid to others that were above
 “ them; and that the worship by sacrifice
 “ by a long custome from the time of *Za-*
 “ *molxis* and *Orpheus* was looked on as
 “ common to all things worshipped by
 “ them; but, saith he, he referred all that
 “ worship which others gave to many and
 “ different Gods, to the First and Chief
 “ Principle of all things; and again men-
 “ tions that saying in his *Epinomis*, that
 “ the most suitable worship of God is to
 “ think honourably of him. Which I sup-
 pose *Plato* would have said, was the same
 thing which those of the Church of Rome
 call

call *Latria*, and that he could by no means understand how *sacrifices* come to be appropriated to it; and to this purpose *Bessarion* quotes the saying of *Porphyrius*, that *God is to be worshipped in Silence, and with a pure mind; and with the sacrifice of a good life.* And as to other *Deities* which *Plato* allowed to be worshipped, he saith, "that he supposed them to be *inferiour* l. 2. c. 4. "and *subordinate to the Supreme, and dependent upon him; and that he did not worship empty Statues, but one God the principle of all.* Which being compared with *Plato's Law*, and practice about worshipping according to the *Custom* of the *Countrey*, doth imply that he worshipped *Images* with a respect to the *True God.* Let now the Reader judge whether according to the judgement of this learned Cardinal, *Plato* was guilty of worshipping only the *Images* of false Gods. But *Trapezuntius* still urges hard upon *Plato*, that if l. 3. c. 6. he allowed the worship of a second and third Order of Gods, which were but creatures, he might on the same ground worship any creatures, because all creatures are infinitely distant from the Creator. *Bessarion* like an understanding man, tells him, "that "this argument would hold as well against "the Church of Rome, as against *Plato*, which

- "which worships *Angels* although they be
 "Creatures; but yet he doth not think
 "the argument will reach to the worship
 "of all creatures; because though all
 "creatures be equally distant as to exi-
 "stence, yet some come nearer than others
 "as to perfection. This *Trapezuntius*
 takes off, by saying that *Plato* worshipped
 c. 7. *Demons*; which *Bessarion* grants, "but
 "by *Demons* he saith, *Plato* and *Aristotle*,
 "and other *Philosophers* did not under-
 "stand such evil Spirits as we do, but cer-
 "tain aerial Beings, lower than *Gods* and
 "above men, whom they looked on as
 "Mediators and intercessours between *God*
 "and men; but for evil Spirits, he saith,
 "they were not received into their Reli-
 "gion; and that *Lucifer* was looked on
 "as accursed by them under the name of
 c. 8. *Ate*. And he shews farther from *S. Au-*
 "gustin that all the *Poetical Theology* was
 "rejected by *Plato*. So that the whole
 "dispute with *Plato* about worship must
 "come to these two points. 1. Whether
 it be lawful to worship the *Supreme God*,
 by external and visible representations,
 supposing that a man direct his intention
 aright towards the honour of *God* by them?
 2. Whether it be lawful to give an infe-
 rior worship to any *Created Beings*, whose
 ex-

excellencies are supposed to be far above
 mens in order to their intercession between
 God and Us? And now let T. G. judge
 whether I have not brought my Discourse
home to their own doors. I omit *Marsilius*
Ficinus as a man that may be supposed
 too partial to *Plato*; but I hope *Augusti-*
nus Steuchus Eugubinus may pass for a
 sound *Catholick*; being an *Italian Bishop*,
 and a *Roman Courtier*, that had so much
 zeal as to vindicate *Constantines Donation*
 against *Valla*, and therefore his Testimony
 cannot be rejected. He undertakes at
 large to prove that *Plato* acknowledged
 one True and Supreme God; and that all
 other Beings are created by him; and
 when he seems to attribute Divinity to
 other things, it is only a Divinity by way
 of gift and participation, such as *Angels*
 and *holy men* are said to have; which
 doth not hinder our believing them to be
 all at first created by one God. There were
 three sorts of inferiour Deities, he saith,
 asserted by the Philosophers, viz. *Da-*
mons, or *Gods* with *aërial bodies*, who have
 a particular care of *humane affairs*; *Intel-*
ligences or the *Spirits* which *animate* and
move the Stars, and *Cælestial Deities* who
 converse with the *Supreme God*; now all
 these he makes appear from many passages
 in

Aug.
 Steuch.
 Eugub. de
 perenni
 Philos.
 l. 5. c. 1.

c. 2.

- in *Plato*, especially the famous one in his *Timæus*, to have been made by *God*. And that when in his *Books of Laws*, and the *Epinomis* or *Appendix* to them, he so much sets forth the *Divinity* of the *Stars* and the *Heavens*, he must either contradict himself, or attribute only an *inferiour Divinity* to them : and that he did not speak so clearly of the *worship* of the *Supreme God*, because he looked on him as *incomprehensible*, and that he could not so well know in *what way it was fit to worship him*. However he *invokes* him in several places ; especially when he was to speak concerning the *Gods* ; and in his *Epistle to Hermias*, *Erastus*, and *Coriscus*, which he writ when he was grown old ; he calls to witness, *the God over all, Governour of all things and times, and Father of the Lord and Cause of things* ; but as to the *publick manner of worship*, he saith, *that no man ought to teach unless God himself direct him*. He farther shews, that notwithstanding *Plato* spake so much and so well concerning the *true God*, yet he attributed the title of *Divinity* to several ranks of *Spirits*, to the *Heavens*, the *Sea*, to the *world*, to *Zamolxis*, to *Mercurius Trismegistus*, and to *good men* in general, to whom he commands *sacrifices* and other
- acts

Plato. *Epinomis* p. 989. ed. Serran. c. 5.

acts of worship to be performed, *Quod in Religione nostra justissime fit Sanctis & Divis*: which is with great reason done among us to *Saints* and *Deified men*. I now appeal to T. G. whether *Aug. Steuchius* doth not bring this matter very home to them? when, he saith, that they either worshipped *Angels* (so he saith *Philo* renders their *Demons*) or *Saints*, as they verily believed, and supposed the honour of these was very well pleasing to the *Supreme God*, whom they constantly acknowledged; as he at large proves not only concerning *Plato*, but *Aristotle*, and all the *Philosophers* of any reputation; and he saith, that *Socrates* in *Plato* not only confessed the true God, but that he ought to be worshipped and observed by men, and that for his sake men ought never to forsake the way of righteousness, and therefore he resolved rather to follow God than the advice of his Friends, Πείσμαι δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ μάλλον ἢ ὑμῖν, which cannot be better rendred than in the Apostles words, *It is better to obey God than men*. It would be endless to repeat the places wherein he shews at large, that *Plato* and the rest of the *Philosophers*, did acknowledge the *Unity, Power, wisdom, Goodness* and *Providence* of the *Supreme God*; And after all these acknowledgements

c. 11.

c. 12.

ments is it possible to conceive that they should never intend to refer the *honour* they gave to *inferiour Deities* and their *Images* to this *Supreme God*? nay, it is not possible; say some, they should do otherwise, since they believed all the other *Deities* they worshipped to be *created* and *dependent Beings*.

But I need not make use of such a way of proving it, *Paulus Benius Eugubinus* hath made it appear, he saith, that according to *Plato* the *Supreme God* is to be worshipped after a singular and peculiar manner. And he gives this account of the *Platonick principles of divine worship* as to *inferiour Deities*. 1. That *Plato's Gods* were no other than our *Angels*, and that he sets *God* the maker of them, at a mighty distance from them. 2. That when he speaks so much of the worship of the *heavenly Bodies*, he doth not thereby intend the worship should be given so much to the *bodies*, as to those *Blessed Minds* that moved them; yea, saith he, to them properly and precisely, and so that they being removed, no *honour* or *worship* is to be given to the *bodies* themselves. Which certainly is no more *Idolatry* on this supposition, than adoration of the *Host* is, upon one far more extravagant. But, he saith,

Platon. &
Arist. The-
olog. De-
cad. 2. l. 2.
p. 213.

faith, by one place in *Plato's Epinomis*; it may be questioned whether he intended the *stars* should be worshipped otherwise than as *Images* of the *Gods*; and therefore, saith he, very ingenuously, *Plato* did p. 217: scarce at all differ, unless in words, from the doctrine of the *Roman Church* in this matter. 3. That *Plato* did put a difference in the nature and kind of the worship which he gave to *inferiour Deities*; and that which was due to the *Supreme God*, and the same kind of difference as is made among them; and that when he acknowledges them to be created by him, he could not give *Sovereign worship* to them. 4. That when *Plato* gave wor- p. 219: ship to *Demons* the difference is only about words, because by *Demons* he understood an *inferiour Order of Angels*, whom he supposed to be good and holy, and to have a care of mankind. The only difference then, that this learned man could find; worth taking notice of between *Plato's worship* and *theirs* was this, that they worshipped those for *Saints* and *Deified men*; and the *Images* of such, who were not truly *Saints* (not being *Canonized* by p. 220: the *Pope*) but if they had been such, he then confesses, that they did nothing amiss in the worship they gave to them, or their

Images. Alioquin, saith he, *ea cultus venerationisque ratio cum nostra magnopere congrueret.* So that all the dispute comes to this, whether *Mercurius Trismegistus* were not as good a Saint as *Thomas Becket*, and as much deserved to be worshipped; or *Socrates* as *Ignatius Loyola*; not, whether we account them so, but whether they upon their supposition of their excellencies and virtues might not as innocently worship them, as the *Papists* do the other. *P. Lescapier* a late Jesuit, saith, that *Plato* makes so palpable a distinction between the Supreme God maker of all things, and other Deities, that no one but an *Epicurean Backbiter* can deny, that *Plato* did openly and constantly assert one God; and that he did not give equal honour to any as he did to him; and delivers this as the substance of his opinion, *Unum Deum imprimis adorandum, cujus gratia cetera numina colenda sunt.* One God to have Sovereign worship given him, and others to have a relative and inferiour worship. And now I hope, I have brought this matter home to *T. G.* and made it appear from their own Writers, that these *Philosophers* went upon the same principles of Divine Worship that they do in the *Roman Church*.

Comment.
in Cic. de
Nat. D.
p. 51.

The

The only appearance of difference is about the worship of *Deified men*, and that not as to the *nature* and *kind* of the worship, but only as to the *persons*; and yet as to this it ought to be considered, 1. That it was only a mistake, such a one as many may be guilty of in the Roman Church, who it is possible may worship those for *Saints* in *Heaven*, who are in a worse place. 2. Many of those worshipped by the *Heathens* are confessed to have been *good men*; so *Campanella* confesses of *Janus*, whom he took to be *Noah*, and he said, *deserved to be worshipped, as well as Moses, and Peter, and Paul and the Prophets*: and he saith farther, *that many wise and Vertuous men were worshipped by the Heathens, who did not look on them as essentially Gods*. Thus many learned men have shewed that the Veneration of *Adam* and *Eve*, of *Noah*, *Shem* and *Japhet*, of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, of *Joseph*, *Moses* and *Josuah*, &c. hath been preserved among the *Gentiles* under the names of the several *Deities* of *Saturn*, *Tuisto*, *Mannus*, *Mercury*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, *Hercules*, &c. in which case, the *Heathens* were innocent as to the *Persons* they worshipped. 3. The *Papists* ought in reason to allow them all the *excuses* they make use of for themselves;

p. 137

Campan.
Triumph.
Atheism.
c. 11. n. 18.

such as *invincible Ignorance, Oral Tradition, Authority of Teachers, and conditional worship*, which alone would justify them; for by that the *intention* of the *worship*, is to somewhat supposed to be worthy of it, but if they be mistaken in the particular *application* of it, that *general intention* is thought sufficient to render the worship lawful.

But what saith T. G. all this while? Why, forsooth, S. Chrysostome saith, *that Plato gloried in the worship of Images and Creatures* (of which he speaks before) so he renders *ὑπερβαλόντων*, which signifies no more, than *setting them off with the best advantage*; of which I have given an account already; and Socrates commanded a Cock to be sacrificed to Æsculapius: who denyes it? All the Question is what Socrates understood by Æsculapius. For those who have had the greatest insight into the doctrine of Socrates, and Plato, tell us, (such as Marsilius Ficinus, and Cælius Rhodiginus) that by Æsculapius Socrates understood the Divine Beneficence that cures all diseases, to which a Cock was sacrificed as the forerunner of Day and the Sun, thereby acknowledging the Light of Life to be derived from the Divine Bounty, the Daughter of Providence: and that now especially they should do it in token of his deliverance

Ficin. in
Platon.
Phædon.
Cæl. Rhodig.
Antiq. Lest. l. 16.
c. 12.

deliverance from the diseases of doubt and fear; and the ancient Oracles say, that Souls returning to Heaven sing an Iô Pæ-an, the fittest Emblem of which was the offering up a Cock. But besides this, Tacitus hath a remarkable passage to explain this sacrificing to *Æsculapius*, viz. that many called God by the name of *Æsculapius* as he healed the diseases of Mankind; of which *Seguinus* takes notice in some ancient Coynes, wherein the Serpent the proper Symbol of *Æsculapius* is joyned with the horn of *Jupiter Ammon*, and the Rays of the Sun; to shew, saith that learned Antiquary, that the same God was meant by all those several titles. So that hereby appears no contradiction to what I have said as to the *Platonick doctrine and principles of Divine worship*.

However, T. G. is content to suppose that the Philosophers were as subtil as I would make them (or rather as honest as their own Writers make them) yet, saith he, were they not worthily condemned by the Apostle, though but for the external profession of praying and offering Sacrifice to the Statues of *Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, &c.* as also to those of birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things as the Vulgar did? I answer, that upon the principles of worship

allowed in the *Roman Church*, they were not to blame in what they did, supposing that to be their meaning, which their own Writers allow; as appears by the foregoing discourse. But T. G. saith, *however they were to blame in two things.* 1. *Because the Images being instituted by publick Authority for the worship of false Gods, they concurred as I acknowledge with the vulgar in all the external practises of their Idolatry.* 2. *Because though in the Schools they denied them to be Gods, yet as Origen charges Celsus, they worshipped them as Gods, and the people are confirmed in their opinion.* But all the question is, how this external worship comes to be Idolatry, supposing they acknowledged one Supreme God, and gave only a relative or inferiour worship to other Beings created by him, or to the Images of them. Wherein I pray did this Idolatry consist? not in worshipping the true God by Images: that T. G. utterly denies to be Idolatry. Was it then in giving Sovereign worship to inferiour Gods? that their own Writers deny that they did, but only a subordinate and relative worship. But it lay, saith T. G. in worshipping the Images of false Gods: these false Gods by the confession of their own Writers, were either good Angels, or Deified men; and

is it at last confessed to be *Idolatry* to give *divine worship* to these? But they concurred with the people in their worship; and why not upon their grounds? what scandal did this give among them? but it was the *external profession of Idolatry*; of what *Idolatry*? of the *worship of false Gods*. What! still in a round? I grant they were *false Gods*, as they had *divine worship* given to them; and so whatever creature it be, that is so worshipped, though never so *real* or *excellent a Being*, becomes a *false God*; and so doth the *Image* of that *Being* so worshipped. But the people had other notions of these *false Gods* than the *Philosophers* had, and yet they complied with the people in *external acts of worship*. This is just the case of the *Roman Church*, their *Learned men* have complained that the people worship the *Images* for *Gods* among them; but doth *T. G.* think himself guilty of *external profession of Idolatry* in using the same *external acts of worship* with the people, though with another intention? if not, why shall not the same excuse hold for *Titius*, which holds for *Sempronius*? Will they undertake to defend the follies of the ignorant people? no, they do not think themselves bound to do it, but blame them for their

Ignorance and Superstition, and say the Church is free because it hath taken care to instruct them better. Might not the Philosophers have said the very same thing?
"We are not bound to answer for the madness of the rabble; we instruct them better, and our Schools are open for them to learn: but since the nature of such actions depends upon the intention of the Doers; we declare our intentions to be to honour the Supreme God in the first place; then the Cælestial Deities, with a worship inferiour to his, but above all other Beings; next to them we worship the Heavens on the account of the Intelligences that animate and move them; then the aerial Demons or Lower Angels which have the nearest intercourse with men; and last of all the Souls of Deified men, whom some extraordinary excellency hath advanced above the condition of other souls: and according to the worship we give to the Beings represented, we give worship to the Images or representations. And if you allow the distinctions of Divine worship, into Sovereign and subordinate, into absolute and relative, what harm is there in all that we do? Indeed, if it be unlawful to worship God by any Image;

"Image ; if it be *unlawful* to give any
 "divine worship to any Creature ; we
 "are then to blame, and are *justly con-*
 "demned, otherwise we think we stand
 "upon equal terms, with those who make
 "use of the same *distinctions*, and only
 "change the names of some, and the per-
 "sons of others. Thus T. G. may see the
parallel is not so extravagant as he would
 make it to be : and while S. Paul con-
 demned the *Philosophers* for changing the
 glory of the incorruptible God, into Images
 of men or beasts, while they still retained
 God in their minds, he doth effectually
 condemn all those who worship the true
 God by any Images either of himself, or of
 any of his Creatures.

But besides this opinion of the *Platonick*
Philos. there was another currant among the
Heathens, viz. that one and the same God was
 worshipped under different names and titles;
 and Simon Majolus an Italian Bishop, and
 of great reputation as appears by the cha-
 racter given of him by Ferd. Ughellus, is
 of opinion, that they who began the *Poe-*
tick Theology among the *Heathens* were
 wiser than Pythagoras, Socrates, or any
 of the *Philosophers* ; for their design was,
 saith he, under the representation of a mul-
 titude of Gods, to shew to the people that

God

Ferd. u-
 ghelli Ita-
 lia sacra
 Tom. 8.
 p. 559.

Majoli Dies
 Canicul.
 par. 2. coll.
 1. p. 435.

God did see and know all things ; because the common-people were incapable of understanding how one God should be present in all places ; therefore they called that Divine power which Governed the Heavens Jove, the air Juno, the Sea Neptune, &c. And we may observe, saith he, that all the Gods of the Ancients were nearly related to Jove, by which it appears that their design was to signifie but one God that ruled and governed all things, whose power was diffused over the whole world.

To which that saying of Plotinus agrees, speaking of God that made the world, bringing the rest of the Gods with him, or rather,

Plotin. En-
nead. 5.
l. 8. c. 9.

saith he, ἓς ὢν καὶ πάντες, καὶ ἕκαστος πάντες, συν-
όντες εἰς ἓν καὶ ἧ μὲν δυνάμει ἄλλοι • τῇ δὲ μίᾳ
ἐκείνῃ τῇ πολλῇ πάντες ἓς, μᾶλλον ὅτι εἰς πάντες.

who is one and all ; and every one is all agreeing in one ; in powers different, yet in that various power they are all one, or rather one is all. Plutarch saith, that

Plutarch.
de Isid. &
Ofrid. p.
377. ed.
Francf.

there were not different Gods among the Greeks and Barbarians, in the Northern and Southern parts : but as the Sun, Moon, Heavens, Earth, and Sea are common to all Nations, but called by different names ; so that One Reason and Providence which orders, disposes, and manages all things hath different honours, and Titles and

Symbols,

Symbols, some more plain and easie, others more difficult and obscure. So Apuleius Apul. Metam. l. 11. *saith, the same Deity was worshipped through the whole world, under different names, and Images, and customes. Which Hypothesis makes it yet more difficult for T. G. to charge the Heathens with the worshipping the Images of false Gods; for if the same God were worshipped only under different titles and representations as they say, if the worship of God by an Image be lawful, all the Heathens which went upon this principle, must be freed from the charge of Idolatry.*

2. But T. G. is a man of tricks, and he §. 14.
hath one fetch yet behind; which is, *that the Heathens took the Images themselves for Gods, and therein were guilty of Idolatry. S. Paul, saith he, speaks of such Images, as were worshipped for Gods, or for Images of false Gods.* T.G. p. 99. 106. This is the very last reserve, and if this doth not help him, nothing can. Who would not commend the various artifices of my Antagonist, that doth with so much slight of hand convey one distinction after another, to blind the Spectators eye? If Idolatry be forbidden, and the command be too plain to be denyed; *yes, saith he, Idolatry is a very naughty thing;*

thing; but what is Idolatry? Idolatry is the worship of an Idol, is it not? Yea verily. Now pray tell me, what is an Idol? an Idol is an Idol, in the self-evident and scientific way. But to be serious,

"Methinks Sir, saith a Disciple of T. G. to him, my conscience is a little unquiet when I worship an Image of a Madonna, for fear that should be an Idol.

Now see what a Fool you are; is not the B. Virgin in Being? "Yes without doubt in Heaven.

Then her Image can be no Idol.

"Say you so? but I pray how doth that appear?

Why, saith T. G. to his Scholar, an Idol is a representation of nothing that seems to be something; as if you imagine a Centaur, or a Triton, or any Chimera. And so farewell the Commandment.

"But doth not S. Paul condemn the Athenians for Idolatry in worshipping the work of mens hands? And although Chimera's be the work of mens brains, yet surely Images are the work of mens hands.

It is true, saith T. G. but then he condemns not all Images, but such as are the proper likenesses of the Deity.

"Hold Sir a little, you are too quick for me; Were these Athenians Idolaters or no? why

why do you ask me that Question?

"I will tell you, Sir, an Idol you told
 "me was a *Chimera*, but the proper like-
 "ness of the Deity is no *Chimera*, unless
 "you suppose the Deity it self to be one;
 "so that, methinks you free them from
 "that which *S. Paul* condemns them for,
 "*viz. Idolatry*. But I pray, Sir, what
 "think you of those *S. Paul* condemns,
 "*Rom. 1.* did they believe their Images to
 "be proper likenesses of their Gods? had
 "they any four-footed and creeping Gods,
 "as they had Images like to such things?

No, saith T. G. *these were another kind
 of Images from those at Athens.*

"Of what kind were these?

These were the Images of false Gods.

"You mean they were Idols, do you not?

Yes, they were Idols.

"Very well; then I have them right;
 "they were Images of *Centaures, Tritons,*
 "*Sphinxes, Chimera's*; but he doth not
 "speak against such Images, but the repre-
 "sentations of living and real Beings, as
 "men, or beasts, &c. which are no *Chi-*
 "*mera's*. Therefore it seems, whatever
 "*S. Paul* saith, these were not guilty of
 "*Idolatry*; and so methinks we have done
 "a very good act of charity, for we have
 "freed almost all the *Heathens* from *Ido-*
 "*latry*. *Hold*

Hold a little, saith T. G. they were guilty for all this.

"Of what? of Idolatry? when S. Paul
"saith, They knew God, but did not glorify
"him as God, because they worshipped
"such Images; then it should seem to be
"Idolatry to worship God by an Image.

You run too fast; I said they were guilty; but, do you mark me, I did not say of Idolatry, but of complying with the people in the external practice of Idolatry.

"Very well; the people then were
"guilty of Idolatry, and they only of compliance; but why doth not S. Paul lay
"this only to their charge, which was
"their only fault, as he doth when he
"blames the Corinthians for eating in the
"Temple of Idols? I remember, Sir, a
"good principle of yours, that actions go
"whithersoever they are intended: now if these
"men intended to worship the true God
"by the publick Images, this action of
"worship must be free from Idolatry in
"them, whatever it were in others who
"had not such intention.

"But what do you mean by the external
"our practice of Idolatry? If all external
"actions be equivocal, and the nature of
"Idolatry depends on the intention of the
"mind, how comes the guilt of Idolatry
"to

"to be charged upon *external acts* when
 "you do not know the *inward intention*?
 "Suppose among us, a person falls to his
 "prayers before the *Image* of the *Blessed*
 "*Virgin*; here is all the *external professi-*
 "*on of Idolatry* that may be, for I can see
 "no difference in any outward *act* between
 "what he doth to the *Image*, and what
 "he would do to the *Person* of *Christ*, if
 "he appeared to him. If this be *Idolatry*,
 "*wo be to us all*; if it be not *Idolatry* in
 "us, how came it to be so in the *Philoso-*
 "*phers*, who, I have heard, owned the
 "same *true God*, and had the same distin-
 "ctions of the *degrees* of *worship* that we
 "have?

But these were false Gods that they wor-
shipped.

"I hope the *true God* is not a *false God*,
 "but I said *they worshipped the true God*.

Suppose that, yet they joyned false Gods
with him.

"Not in the *same degree* with him, for
 "they supposed him to be far above them
 "all which were created by him, and de-
 "pendent upon him: and do not we do the
 "very same in the worship of *Angels* and
 "*Saints*?

True, but theirs were false Gods, and
ours are Saints and Angels.

"Upon

" Upon the whole matter then, I find
 " the fault of the *wiser Heathens*, did not
 " lie either in the general principles or pra-
 " ctises of Divine Worship ; but only
 " that they called these *Gods* whom we call
 " *Angels* (which I have heard *S. Cyrill*
 " and *S. Augustin* thought not worth dis-
 " puting) and that they did not worship
 " such good *Saints* as we do, and of whom
 " we have so good assurance that they were
 " (as *S. Christopher*, *Longinus*, the eleven
 " thousand *Virgins*, the seven *Sleepers*)
 " whereas the poor *Heathens* were bred up
 " with *Fables* ; and we have such eminent
 " proofs of their *sanctity*, as *S. Dominick's*
 " *butchering Hereticks*, and *S. Ignatius*
 " *Loyola's* founding the Order of *Jesuites*.
 " I am now very well satisfied, how justly
 " the *Philosophers* were condemned, and
 " how *innocently* we give the same kind of
 " worship to those that far better deserve it.

Yet, saith T. G. there is another thing
 behind, which makes the difference so ap-
 parent that nothing but malice and blind-
 ness can hinder men from seeing it.

" What is that, good Sir ? for hitherto
 " I have been forced to use my Spectacles ;
 " the difference was so fine and subtle.

why, saith T. G. the *Heathens* took their
 Images themselves for Gods, which you
 know we do not.

" This

" This I confels is a very notable thing ;
 " but I pray, Sir, tell me, *how* they did it,
 " and *how* we do it not ? Did they really
 " believe that the *wood* and *Stone* of their
 " *Images* did *make* and *Govern* the *world* ?
 " Or that a man by *Houghs* and an *Axe*
 " could cut a *God* out of a *Tree* ? That
 " were as great a *Miracle*, as our *Priests*
 " turning a *wafer* into *God*, by saying *five*
 " *words* ; but I hope such *Miracles* are pe-
 " culiar to the *Roman Catholick Church*.
 " What was it then they meant, when
 " they took their *Images* for *Gods* ? I sup-
 " pose it was only, that they believed a
 " more *special* presence of their *Gods* in
 " them ; and that by their means *Miracles*
 " were wrought at them, and that they
 " sometimes *spoke*, and sometimes *bowed*,
 " and *moved themselves*. But do not all
 " good *Catholicks* believe the very same
 " things of our *Images* ? Do not we know
 " that our *Lady* is more present in *one Image*
 " than in *another* ? and that she works
 " *Miracles* at some *Images* more than at
 " others, and that she *moves* and *speaks*,
 " and *travels* too ; Witness the *Holy*
 " *House* of *Loretto*, and the *Madonna*
 " there ; where was there ever such a thing
 " done in *Old Rome* ? The bringing the
 " *Stone* from *Phrygia*, of the *Mater De-*
 " *um*,

"rum, or the *Serpent* from *Epidaurus*, or
 "the rattling of the *Image* of *Juno Moneta*
 "at *Vei* were not to be compared to this.
 "Therefore, Sir, give me leave to advise
 "you in this point; have a care of dispa-
 "raging our *wonder-working Images*, while
 "you would charge the *Heathens* with *Ido-*
 "latry, and free our *Church* from the
 "guilt of it.

p. 15. I had thought I had said enough in my
 former *Discourse*, to make it appear, That
 the *Wiser Heathens* did not look on their
Images as *Gods*, but as *Symbols* and *Re-*
presentations of that *Being* to which they
 did give *Divine worship*: For I shewed
 that *Celsus* said, none but *Fools* think other-
 wise of them: that *Porphyrie* and the *Hea-*
thens in *Athanasius* said they were only
Books for the *Ignorant*: that in *Arnobius*
 thy denied that they ever thought their
Images to be *Gods*, or to have any *Divini-*
ty in them, but what only comes from their
 consecration to such an *Use*; and in *S. Au-*
gustin, that they worshipped not the *Images*
 themselves, but through them they worship-
 ped the *Deity*; that *Maximus Tyrius* at
 large proves, that *Images* were but *signs*
 of *Divine honour*, and helps to remem-
 brance: that *Julian* saith, they do not
 think

think their Images to be Gods; but that through them they may worship the Deity; and that Eusebius in general testifies of the Heathens, that they did not look on their Images as Gods. All this put together I thought had signified something to the proving that the Heathen Idolatry did not lie in taking their Images to be Gods: and so it seems it did. For T. G. runs quite off from the business, saying, That all these quotations do only prove T.G.p.100.
(what I brought them for) that they did not look on their Images as Gods; but he saith, it appears from some of them that they looked on them nevertheless as Images or Symbols of false Gods. And did not I say, that I would prove by them, that they looked on them as Symbols or representations of that Being to which they gave Divine worship? I never said or thought, that the Heathens looked on all their Images as representations of the supreme God; For I very well considered that they worshipped inferiour Gods by Images made for them. And therefore after the producing these Testimonies I state the Question thus, I desire to know whether these men, who worshipped Images upon those grounds did amiss or no in it? I do not ask whether they were mistaken as to the ob-

jects of their worship, but on supposition they were not, whether they were to blame in the manner of serving God by Images in such a way as they describe? And to this T. G. saith not one wise word; but only talks of scandal and compliance with exterior practice of Idolatry, and what I have already answered: but he charges me, with misrepresenting the Testimonies, because, forsooth, Celsus adds, that they were Statues erected to the Gods; and Divinity and Deity are not in the Testimonies of Arnobius and S. Augustin; and then bids the Reader learn what credit he is to give hereafter to my citing of Authors; and at the same time receive a farther Testimony of his kindness to me in taking the rest upon my word. Very artificially done, I confess, to pass those by to which no answer was to be returned, and to spend some Pages in most disingenuous cavils about the two Testimonies he insists upon. I desire only the Reader to consider, what I was proving, viz. That the Heathens did not take their Images themselves for Gods, which he yet asserts several times in that Chapter, after I had produced these Testimonies expressly to the contrary. Had it not become him either to have answered these Testimonies, or not to have asserted that,

that, which these Testimonies most fully and clearly denied? *But he is content to take them upon my word*; I thank him for his kindness in it. But doth he take them as true or false? If as true, then the *Heathens* did not worship their *Images as Gods*, which he yet saith, *they did*: if he took them as false when I quoted them as true, the kindness was very extraordinary, and ought to be acknowledged. If he had produced the Testimonies of *Bellarmin*, *Vasquez*, *Suarez*, *Valentia*, and others, to shew that the *Papists* do not take their *Images for Gods*, and I should say, *I took the Testimonies upon his word*, and yet asserted the direct contrary to them, without so much as the least answering to what they said, would not any indifferent Reader account me either impudent or ridiculous?

Yet this is exactly the case of T. G. for he saith several times in this Chapter, that the *Heathens* did worship their *Images as Gods*, whereas those Testimonies say as plainly as words can express it, that they did not; and yet these Testimonies he takes upon my word, i. e. in common construction he believes them to be true, and yet the matter contained in them to be false: which is an admirable piece of T. G's art and ingenuity. But to add

yet more to his *kindness*, at the same time *he takes these Testimonies on my word*, he will let the Reader see, *what credit he is to give to my citing of Authors*. But why then will he take *any upon my word*, if I have so little *credit* with him? Herein, he shews himself either very *weak*, if he will take *my word*, when he thinks I deserve no credit; or very *malicious*, if he knows I *deserve credit*, and yet goes about to *blast it*, as much as in him lyes.

§. 16. But wherein is it, I have exposed my reputation so much in the *two Testimonies*, he hath fastned his *Talons* upon? The first is that of *Arnobius*, wherein I say, *the Heathens deny, that they ever thought their Images to be Gods, or to have any Divinity in them, but what only comes from their consecration to such an Use*. That which he charges me with is, *that by tugging in the word Divinity in the singular number, I would represent it to the Reader, as though the wiser Heathens intended to worship the true Divinity by those Images, whereas all that they say in Arnobius, is that they did not look on their Images as Gods per se of themselves, but they worshipped the Gods which by dedication were made to dwell in them; i. e. saith he, by*
Magical

Magical Incantation, by which the Souls of T. G. p.
wicked men were evocated and as it were 102, 103.

tied to dwell in those Images, as S. Austin
relateth l. 8. de Civ. Dei. c. 23. & 26.

Hereupon he charges me very severely,
 with soul dealing; inputting Divinity in
 the singular number, when the Infernal
 Spirits were meant by it; as if they in-
 tended to worship the true God by these
 Images, when they declared they worship-
 ped false Gods by them. A very heavy
 charge; to which I shall give a distinct
 answer: 1. To that of translating Divi-
 nity in the singular number, T. G. may if
 he please take it upon my word (or if not,
 let him search the place once more) that
 I translated these very words of *Arnobius*,
Nihil Numinis in esse simulachris, that
the Images have no Divinity in them, and
 if these words be not in that very place, and
 but two lines before those quoted by him.
Erras & laberis, &c. I will venture my
 credit in citing Authors upon T. G's inge-
 nuity: but if they be there, as most cer-
 tainly they are, what doth such a man de-
 serve for so notorious fair dealing?
 2. My design was not to represent by this
 means that the *Heathens* only intended to
 worship the true God by Images, but that
 the worship of Images was unlawful, al-
 though men did not take the Images them-

selves for Gods: so I said in the very beginning of those quotations, *that I would prove that the Heathens did look on their Images as Symbols or representations of that Being to which they gave divine worship.* Do I say of the True God? Are not the words so general on purpose to imply that, *whatever Being they worshipped, they looked on the Images as Symbols or representations of it?* And after, to prevent all such cavils, I purposely added, *I do not ask whether they were mistaken as to the objects of their worship?* But what can a man do to prevent the cavils of a disingenuous Sophister? 3. As to what he saith, *that what they plead in Arnobius is only that their Images were not Gods per se of themselves, but by virtue of the Spirits dwelling in them,* I answer, *that T. G. charges the Heathen Idolaters with worshipping the Images themselves;* and T. G. p. 106. *saith, that I deal very disingenuously in affirming that the wiser Heathens did not worship the Images themselves.* Now what could be more pertinent to my purpose, than to produce those very words of Arnobius, *You erre and are mistaken O T. G. in what you affirm, for we do not think the matter of Brass, Silver and Gold to be Gods or adorable Deities per se of themselves.* Whereby we see T. G.'s own words

words as he renders them out of *Arnobius* do sufficiently vindicate me and contradict him. He saith, *they did worship the Images themselves*, and they say *they did not*. What doth he mean else, when he saith in other places, that the *Heathens worshipped their Images as Gods*; what is this but to take the *Images themselves for Gods*? For he never once supposes it *unlawful* to worship *Images* on the account of a *Divine Spirit* being present in the *Images*, supposing that *spirit* of it self to deserve *adoration*: as suppose upon consecration of an *Image* of the *B. Virgin*, she should manifest *her self* in and by that *Image*, in *speaking*, or *moving*, or *working miracles*, doth *T. G.* think it the more *unlawful* to worship such an *Image*? no certainly, but that men ought to shew more *devotion* towards it. Therefore *T. G.* could not condemn the *Heathens* for the worshipping the *Images*, supposing *good Spirits* did dwell in them. Setting aside then, the dispute about the *nature* of the *Spirits*, all that he could imagine the *Fathers* had to condemn in those that worshipped *Images*, was, that they worshipped the *Images themselves for Gods*; which the *Heathens* in *Arnobius* deny, and which was the thing I produced that *Testimony* to prove. *Bellarmin*, whom
my

Bill. de
Imag. l. 2.
c. 13.

my Adversary follows, saith, *that the Heathens did take the Images themselves for Gods*, for which he gives some very substantial Reasons. 1. *Because their Priests told them so.* - 2. *Because almost all the world believed it.* This one would think were enough to justify the belief of it, having the *Authority* of their Teachers, and *Consent of Nations* for it. 3. *The motion, speech, and oracles that came from them.* 4. *The humane shape it self*, which he saith, *is a very notable argument to make men think that Images live, because men do*; especially, he saith, *if it be said so by Wise men.* But whatever the reasons be, he saith, *he would prove that the Heathens believed ipsa idola esse Deos, the very Images themselves to be Gods.* Now what could be more contradictory to this assertion, than those words of the Heathens in *Arnobius* are? So that the *Per se* which *T. G.* charges me with leaving out, adds rather more weight and *Emphasis* to the Testimony. 4. After all this, I say, that *Arnobius* doth reject the worship of *Images* on such grounds as do hold against the worship of the true God by an *Image*. For he brings that as the objection of the Heathens against the Christians, *that supposing they had never so*
right

right apprehensions of the nature of those Beings which the Heathens worshipped for Gods, yet they were to blame for not worshipping their Images, *Nec eorum effigies adoramus*, saith *Arnobius* of the Christians, which I beseech T. G. to remember are the words I translate, for fear he should take the next words, *Templa illis extruimus nulla*; and then cry out, there is no such thing as Images in the words, that I have clogged in the word to serve my turn; that this is setting up a flag in a Fireship ——— *Dolus an Virtus* ——— with such kind of laudable plain-dealing. Nay, *Arnobius* goes yet farther, For, saith he, what greater honour can we attribute to them, than that we place them there, where the Head and Lord, and King of all is to whom they owe the same acknowledgements that we do? But do we honour him, *delubris aut Templorum constructionibus*, with Images and Temples? So I render it without the fear of T. G's new charge of disingenuity; for, besides that the *delubra* were, saith *Festus*, wooden Images; it is certain that afterwards, according to *Varro*, the most learned of the Romans, when *delubrum* was applyed to a place, it signified such a one, *in quo Dei simulacrum dedicatum est*: and in the old Glossaries *Macrob.*
l. 3. c. 4.

forte it is rendred into Greek by *εἰκόνας*
ἑωραῖς, εἰκόνα, therefore to honour God
fine delubris, must be to worship him with-
 out Images; and this was the reason
 why the Christians denyed they had any
 Temples because the Heathens supposed
 there could be no proper Temples with-
 out Images; therefore in S. Hieron,
Sanctarum Basilicarum in Templis con-
vertere, is all one as turn Churches into
 Idol Temples: and both in Origen and
 Arnobius, the Heathens joyn those accu-
 sations together, that the Christians had
 no Altars, nor Images, nor Temples; and
 Vitruvius in the building of a Temple,
 takes the greatest care of placing the
 Images, that they may stand so, that the
 Images may look on those who come up
 to the Altars. And it appears by the
 discourse in Arnobius, that they valued no
 Temples, where there were no Images;
 thence came the suspicion that Hadrian in-
 tended to worship Christ, because he com-
 manded Temples to be built in all Cities
 without any Images; as Lampridius saith
 in the Life of Alexander Severus. It is
 all one to our purpose whether Hadrian
 had any such intention, or no; for its be-
 ing believed that he had from this Reason,
 because the Temples were without Images,

is

Hier. ad
 Ripar. adv.
 Vigilant.

Vitruv.
 l. 4. c. 5.

Lamprid.
 vit. Alex.
 Sever.

is a most undeniable evidence that the Christians then did not worship God or Christ, by any Images in their Churches. After this, Arnobius argues against the use of Images for this Reason; if you believe your Gods to be in Heaven, to what purpose do you make Images of them to worship? cannot you as well pray to the Gods themselves? But it may be you will say, because you cannot see the Gods themselves, you represent them as present by those Images? But, saith he, he that thinks he must have Gods to be seen, doth not believe any at all. However, say they, we worship them through these Images. And what, saith he, can be more injurious, or reproachful than to know God to be one thing, and yet to pray to another? to expect help from the Deity, and yet to fall down before a senseless Image? which is like a man that should pretend to take advice from men, and to ask it of Asses and Swine. Is not that, saith he, not meer mistake but madness, supplicare tremebundum facit atque abs te rei, to fall down trembling before a thing made by your selves? Besides this, he argues from the matter, form, and design of them, how ridiculous it is to worship Images; and after exposing the other pretences of the Heathen Idolaters, in the last

Arnob. l. 6.

p. 195.

p. 200.

last place he considers this, *that the anti-
ents understood well enough, Nihil habere
Numinis signa*; that there was no *Divini-
ty in Images*, (T. G. sees I am for the
singular number still, and I think *Numen*
is so too) *but that Images were set up to
keep the rude people in awe*; which, he
saith, *they were so far from, that they
only made their Gods contemptible, and
thereby encouraged them more in their
wickedness*. I desire now the Reader to
reflect, whether these arguments are pe-
culiar to the worship of false Gods; and
whether they do not with as much force
hold against the worship of the *true God
by Images*? And if it be possible to sup-
pose that a man, that hath not the *stupidity
of an Image*, should object those things a-
gainst their *worship*, which would be return-
ed upon his own, and never provide in the
least for any defence of it? So that after
all the loud *clamours*, and insolent charges
of T. G. we find that *Arnobius* himself
doth fully prove, that the *Divinity* cannot
be *worshipped by Images*; and that what
the *Heathens* plead for themselves in him,
doth shew, that they believed there was
no *Divinity in Images*; but what only
comes from their consecration to such an
Use.

The next Testimony he charges me §. 17.
 with foul-dealing in, is that of *S. Austin*,
wherein I say the wiser Heathens deny, *Aug. in*
Pf. 113.
that they worshipped the Images them-
selves, but they add, that through them
they worship the Deity. After this *T. G.*
 sets down those words of *S. Austin*, *Vi-*
dentur sibi purgatiores esse Religiosi, &c.
 And because in the following expressions,
 mention is made of the *Corporeal Crea-*
tures, or the Spirits that rule over them
as worshipped by their Images, therefore
 he charges me with great *disingenuity* in
 saying, *that the Heathens in S. Austin af-*
firmed that through their Images they did
worship the Deity; and yet as it falls out,
 these are the very words I translated in
S. Austin, Non hoc visibile colo, sed Numen
quod illic invisibiliter habitat; and I now
 appeal to men of any common ingenuity,
 what usage I have met with from this Ad-
 versary, who passes by the very words I
 translated, as near to the signification as
 possible; and produces other passages;
 and then *Hectors*, and *Triumphs*, and cries
 out of my *disingenuity*; when scarce ever
 any man discovered greater than in so do-
 ing, and I fear against his own conscience.
 The true state of the case in *S. Austin*
about

about the *worship* of *Images* is this, 1. He exposes the *worship* of *Images* in general as a *filthy* and *ridiculous thing*; being of things much *inferiour* to the *meanest Beasts*; and if men are ashamed to worship *Beasts*, that hear and see, and live and move, they ought to be much more ashamed to worship a *dumb, stupid, senseless Image*; and they might with greater reason worship the *Mice* and *Serpents* which are not afraid of their *Images*, but shelter themselves within them. Now it is plain this discourse of *S. Austin* doth reach to all sorts of *Images* for whomsoever they are intended. For an *Image* made for the true God hath no more *sense*, or *life*, or *motion* in it, than one of *T. G's Idols*, or an *Image* made for a *Chimera*. But because the Christian Church knew nothing at that time of the *worship* of *Images*, therefore he directs his discourse against the *Heathens*, to consider the *pleas* and *excuses* they made for it. 2. He reckons up their several *pleas* for their *Images*; 1. Some said that there was a *secret Deity* which lay hid in the *Image*, and which they worshipped through it. 2. Others, that thought themselves of a more refined Religion, said, they neither worshipped *Images*, nor *Demons*, but only beheld in the corporeal *Image*, the
Symbol

Symbol of that which they ought to worship.
Which is the place cited by T. G. Now I appeal to the Reader, whether this very place doth not prove what I intended, viz. that the *Heathens* did look on their *Images* as *Symbols* or representations of that *Being* to which they gave *divine worship*. Whereby I see T. G. hath done me a kindness indeed, which I thank him for, i.e. he hath proved that which I did intend, and confuted that which I did not.

But there remains yet another charge of *disingenuity* to be answered, which concerns the *quotation* of *Trigantius*; the occasion whereof was this, "I had said, if
"S. Paul had not thought men to blame
"in the worship of God by an Image, he
"would never have condemned them for
"it; as he doth *Rom. I.* But he ought to
"have done as the *Jesuits* in *China* did,
"who never condemned the people for
"worshipping Images, but for worshipping
"false Gods by them; and perswaded
"them not to lay them aside, but to convert them to the honour of the true God,
"and so melted down the former Images
"and made new ones of them. Can we
"imagine S. Paul meant the same thing,
"when he blames men not for believing
"them

Trigant.
l. 5. c. 16.
p. 538.

T.G.p. 110,
111, 112,
113.

“ them to be Gods, but that God could be
 “ worshipped by the Work of mens
 “ hands ; and for changing thereby the
 “ glory due to God in regard of his infi-
 “ nite and incorruptible Being into mean
 “ and unworthy Images, thinking thereby
 “ to give honour to him. These are my
 words. Now observe *T. G's ingenuity* ; in-
 stead of answering the argument he falls
 to the exercise of his best Talent, *cavil-*
ling : the force of the argument lay in
 this, *S. Paul* condemns the very manner of
worshipping God by Images ; the *Jesuits*
 in *China* do not that, but bid them lay
aside their old Images, and *worship* new
 ones : what is the reason, that the *Jesuits*
 vary from *S. Paul's* method, but only be-
 cause they differ in judgement, *i. e. S. Paul*
 thought the *worship* of *Images* in general
unlawful, the *Jesuits* do not, but only the
Images of *false Gods*. This was the thing
 designed by me, to which he gives no man-
 ner of answer ; but only for several pages he
 tells a sad story how hard it was for him to
 come by the *Book of Trigautius* ; & when he
 had it, he thought he had gotten a mighty
 advantage against me ; *because*, forsooth,
I render simulachra Images ; for the whole
charge comes to this at last ; for whereas
Trigautius distinguished the *Heathen simu-*
lachra

lachra from the *Images of Christ* because I did not in the account of the thing; (for I designed no verbal translation, as T. G. knew well enough by the character) therefore this is charged to be the effect of some very bad design; and an instance of my want of fidelity, sincerity, honesty, ingenuity, and what not? I am sorry *Trigautius* was so hard to come by, for it is possible, if he had not been put to so much trouble in procuring him, I might have escaped better. But is it in good earnest, such a horrible fault to translate *simulachra* *Images*? I see what a good thing it is to have a good *Catholick Dictionary*, for a hundred to one, but others would have rendred it, as I have done. I had thought *Tully's* using the words *Statue*, *Imagines*, *Signa* and *simulachra* promiscuously might have been sufficient ground for my translating it by *Images*: But it seems the Ecclesiastical use of the word is otherwise. I had thought *Isidore* a good Judge of the Ecclesiastical use of a word; and he uses it promiscuously with *Imagines* & *effigies*; but I confess Ecclesiastical uses have been much changed since *Isidore's* time. And it seems *simulachra* is only applied to *Heathen Images*, by no means to those among *Christians*. But why so? do they not vultum

Ec-cicer. pro
Archia
c. 12.
Pro domo
sua.
Isid. Ori-
gen. l. 8.
c. 11.

Horat. ep. l. 2. ep. 1. *simulare*, as *Horace* expresses it ; *bear a resemblance to what they represent ? Do they not pariles lineas principali ab ore deducere*, which is *Arnobius* his description of the proper notion of *simulachrum* ? But for all this, their Images are not *simulachra*, and shall not be *simulachra*. It seems when Images were baptized *Christian*, they lost their former name, and have gotten a new one : and very much good may it do them, and all those that worship them, if the change of name would excuse their guilt. Yet *Agobardus* was of another opinion when he saith, that if those who forsook the worship of Devils had been bidden to worship the Images of Saints, *puto quod videretur eis non tam Idola reliquisse, quam simulachra mutasse* : I think, saith he, that it would have seemed to them, that they had not left their Idols, but only changed their Images. where we see *Agobardus* my Author for making *simulachra* common to the Images of Heathens and Christians. And *S. Augustin* calls the Image of the true God *simulachrum*. But to set aside Authorities, I hope the Images used in *China* before the Gentiles conversion, and those after did agree in something common to them both : alrthough they were before the Images of false Gods, and after of

*Agobard.
de Imag.
lib. 19.*

*Aug. de
Fide &
Symbolo
c. 7.*

of *Christ* or the *B. Virgin*, yet they were all *Images* still. Might I not be allowed to say, that the *Jesuits* did not perswade the *Converts* to lay aside the use of *Images*; but to convert *them* to the honour of the true God; and so melted down the former *Images* and made new ones of *them*? No, by no means, For *them* and *them*, coming after one another, and the first being the *Images* of false Gods, it was scarce possible for an ordinary Protestant Reader not to avoid being mistaken. In what? in thinking they did not worship *Images* after, as well as before their conversion? no, but in supposing, that they made use of the same *Images* afterwards, which they did before? and what if they did? what harm was there in it on *T. G.*'s principles, supposing the intention be directed aright? Nay, *T. G.* after all his clamour yields the thing, for saith he, *St. Gregory* turned the *Pagan Festivals* into *Christian Assemblies*, and *Heathen Temples* to *Christian Churches* without ever pulling them down to build them up again; and supposing the worship of *Images* lawful, why not those to be used as well as *Temples*? And yet, I nowhere say, that they made use of the very same, but they melted them down and made new ones of *them*; which is plainly

Greg. l. 9.
ep. 72.

to say, that though *they* did not allow those particular *Images*, yet they did not condemn the *Use* of *Images* for *divine worship*; but of the *materials* of the *former Images* they made *new ones* to be used by them as *Christians*, after that manner of *worship* which the *Jesuits* delivered to them; which was all that was necessary to my purpose. And now I leave the Reader to Judge whether in all this charge about these *citations*, T. G. hath not shewed himself to be a man of *admirable ingenuity*; and whether he be not well accomplished in the most laudable vertue of a *Writer of Controversies*, viz. *sincerity*, and *fair dealing*?

C H A P. II.

*The State of the Controversie about Images
in the Christian Church.*

HAVING thus far endeavoured to State the Dispute about *Image-worship*, as it was managed between *Christians* and *Heathens*, I now come to the *Rise and Progress* of this *Controversie* in the *Christian Church*. Wherein I shall proceed according to these following *Periods*, 1. When *Images* were not *used* or allowed in the *Christian Church*. 2. When they were *used*, but no *worship* allowed to be given to them. 3. When *inferiour worship* was given to them, and that *worship* publickly defended. 4. When the doctrine and practice of *Image-worship* was settled upon the *principles* allowed and defended in the *Roman Church*; and from thence to shew, wherein lie the main points of difference between us and the *Church of Rome*, as to this *Controversie* about the *worship of Images*. p. 1.

1. As to the *First Period* I had said in my former *Discourse*, "That the Primi-

"tive Christians were declared enemies to
 "all worship of *God* by *Images*, but I need
 "the less to go about to prove it now, since
 "it is at last confessed by one of the most
 "learned *Jesuits* they ever had, that for
 "the four first Centuries and farther, there
 "was *little or no use* of *Images* in the *Tem-*
 "ples, or *Oratories* of *Christians* : but we
 "need not their favour in so plain a Cause
 "as this ; as shall be evidently proved if
 "occasion be farther given. This *T. G.*
Petav.
Dogmat.
Theolog.
Tom. 5. l. 15.
c. 13. sect. 3.
c. 14. sect. 8.
T. G. p. 171. had no mind to ; and therefore saith, *Not*
to Dispute the matter of fact, of which he
confesses there was some little use (much
 as if I should say, that *T. G.* hath shewn
little or no ingenuity in his Book, and he to
 his great comfort should infer there was
some little ingenuity in it) but *Petavius*
 his words, are *supprimi omittique satius*
visum est, it was thought better to suppress
 them and let them alone ; was it all one in
T. G.'s sense to use them, and to omit the
 use of them ? And for the little reason, he
 saith, he had to doubt my sincerity in re-
 lating *Petavius* his words, from what I did
 with *Trigautius* ; in truth there was as lit-
 tle as might be ; but I have great reason to
 believe from his usage of me about other
 citations, that if he could have found any
 words before or after, that he could have
 inter-

interpreted to another sense, he would have made *little or no conscience* of saying, those were the words I translated thus and thus. But instead of debating the matter of fact as to the Primitive Church, he saith, *he will give me the answer of Mr. Thorndike, that at that time there might be jealousy of Offence in having Images in Churches, before Idolatry was quite rooted out, of which afterwards there might be no appearance; and therefore they were afterwards admitted all over, for it is manifest, the Church is tyed no farther, than there can appear danger of Idolatry.* This, he calls Mr. Thorndikes answer, but it is truly the answer of *Petavius*, from whose words it seems to be translated; *dum periculum erat, saith Petavius, ne offensionis aliquid traheret externa quorundam rituum species, cum iis quæ ab Ethnicis celebrabantur, similitudine ipsa congruens, &c.* Therefore I shall consider it as the answer of *Petavius*, and here examine, whether this were the ground on which the *Primitive Church* did forbear the *use and worship of Images*? I shall prove that it was not from these two Arguments. 1. Because the *Reasons* given by them against the *worship of Images* will equally hold against the *worship of Images* among

among *Christians*. 2. Because the *notion* of *Idolatry*, which they charged the *Heathens* with, may be common to *Christians* with them.

1. This supposes the *Primitive Christians* to look on the *worship* of *Images* as in it self indifferent, and to be made good or evil according to the *nature* of the object represented by them : which is a supposition as remote from the sense of the *Primitive Church* as any thing we can easily imagine. For then all the arguments used by them against the worship of *Images* must have been deduced only from the objects represented, or the *nature* of the *worship* given to them ; whereas they frequently argue from the unsuitableness of *Images* as a *Means* of *worship*, and the prohibition of the *Divine Law*. Would any man of common sense that had thought the *worship* of *Images* in it self indifferent, have said as *Origen* doth ; that the *Christians* as well as the *Jews* abstain from the *worship* of *Images* for the sake of the *Law* of *God*, which requires rather that we should dye than defile our selves with such impieties ? Yes, it may be said, this is acknowledged that the *Law* of *God* did forbid the *worship* of the *Heathen Images* ; but they who make this answer never looked
into

Orig. c.
cel. l. 7.
p. 375.

into *Origen*, or have forgotten what they read there; for *Origen* doth not there give an account why the *Christians* did not comply with the *Heathen Idolatry*; but why the *Christians* had no *Images* in their own worship. For *Celsus* charges this upon the *Christians*, that they thought it such a mighty matter, that they had no *Images*, whereas herein, saith he, they were but like the barbarous *Scythians*, *Numidians*, and *Seres*, and other *Nations* that had neither *Religion*, nor civility. To this *Origen* answers, that we are not only to look at the bare action, but at the reason and ground of it, for those that agree in the same thing, may yet have very different principles; and they that do it on a good principle do well, and not otherwise; as for instance, the *Stoicks* forbear adultery, and so may the *Epicureans*; but the former do it, because it is a thing repugnant to *Nature*, and civil Society; the latter, because allowing themselves this single pleasure may debar them of many more: so, saith he, in this matter those barbarous *Nations* forbear *Images* on other accounts than *Jews* and *Christians* do, who dare not make use of this way of worshipping God. Observe, that he doth not say this of the way of worshipping false Gods, or *Images*
for

for Gods, but of worshipping τὸ Θεῖον the Deity. And he gives three principal reasons wherein they differed from those Nations. 1. Because this way of worship did disparage the Deity; (τὸ Θεῖον again) by drawing it down to matter so fashioned. 2. Because the evil spirits were apt to harbour in those Images, and to take pleasure in the sacrifices there offered: which reason as far as it respects the blood of Sacrifices doth relate to the Heathen Images, standing over the Altars at which the Sacrifices were offered. But then Celsus might say, what is all this to the purpose? my question is, why you have no Images in your own way of worship; therefore he adds his third reason, which made it utterly unlawful for Christians as well as Jews to worship them, which is the Law of God mentioned before: now I say, if Origen answered pertinently, he must give this as the Reason why Christians used no Images in their own way of worship; and consequently was so far from thinking the worship of Images indifferent, that he thought Christians ought rather to suffer Martyrdom than to worship them. But to put this beyond possibility of contradiction; Origen mentions a saying of Heraclitus objected by Celsus, that it is a foolish thing

to pray to Images, unless a man know the Gods and Heroes worshipped by them; which saying Celsus approves, and saith, the Christians were Fools, because they utterly contemned Images, (in totum, the Latin interpreter renders it) To which Origen thus answers, we acknowledge that God may be known, and his only Son, and those whom he hath honoured with the Title of Gods, who partake of his Divinity, and are different from the Heathen Deities which the Scripture calls Devils (i.e. causally if not essentially, as Cajetan distinguisheth) but, saith he, it is impossible for him that knows God to worship Images. Mark that, he doth not say, it is impossible for him that knows the Idols of the Heathens to worship them; or the evil spirits that lurk in their Images: but for him, that knows the true God, and his Son Christ Jesus, and the holy Angels to do it. Is it possible after this, to believe that Origen supposed the worship of Images to be indifferent in it self, and that God and Christ and Angels might be lawfully worshipped by them? Was all this only *periculum offensionis*, jealousy of offence, before the Heathen Idolatry was rooted out? Which supposition makes the primitive Christians in plain terms jugglers and impostors

pastors, to pretend that to be utterly unlawful even for *themselves* to do; and to mean no more by it, but this; *yes, it is unlawful to do it, while there is any danger of Heathenism, but when once that is overthrown, then we may worship Images as well as the best of them.* For my part, I believe the *primitive Christians* to have been men of so much *honesty* and *integrity*, that they would never have talked at this rate against the *worship of Images*, (as not only *Origen*, but the rest of them, the best, and wisest among them did, as I have shewed in the foregoing Chapter) if they had this secret reserve in their minds, that when *Heathenism* was sunk past recovery, then they might do the same things, which they utterly condemned now. Which would be just like some that we have heard of, who while there was any likelihood of the *Royal Authority* of this Nation recovering it self, then they cry'd out upon *Kingly Government* as *illegal*, *Tyrannical* and *Antichristian*; but when the *King* was *murdered*, and the power came into their own hands, then it was lawful for the *Saints* to exercise that power, which was not fit to be enjoyed by the *wicked* of the *world*: So these men make the most excellent *Christians* to be like

like a pack of *Hypocrites*. The *Heathens* every where asked them, as may be seen in *Lactantius*, *Arnobius*, *Minucius* and others, as well as *Origen* ; what is the matter with you *Christians*, that you have no Images in your Churches ? what if you dare not joyn with us in our worship, why do not you make use of them in your own ? Is it only humour, singularity, and affectation of Novelty in You ? If it be, you shew what manner of men you are. No truly ; say they, gravely and seriously, we do it not, becaule we dare not do it ; for we are afraid of displeasing and dishonouring God by it, and we will on that account rather choose to dye than do it. Upon such an answer, the *Heathens* might think them honest and simple men, that did not know what to do with their lives, who were so willing to part with them on such easie terms. But if they had heard, the bottom of all this was, only a cunning and sly trick to undermine *Paganism*, and that they meant no such thing, as though it were unlawful in it self, but only unlawful till they had gotten the better of them ; what would they have thought of such men ? no otherwise, than that they were a company of base *Hypocrites*, that pretended one thing and meant another ; and that the
wicked

wicked of the world might not worship Images, but the Saints might, when they had the Power in their hands, although before they declaimed against it, as the most vile, mean, and unworthy way of worship, that ever came into the heads of men; that there could be no Religion, where it obtained; that it was worse than the worship of Beasts; that it was more reasonable to worship the artificers themselves than the Images made by them; that rats and mice had less folly than mankind, for they had no fears of what men fell down before, with trembling and great shews of devotion. These, and many such things as these, the Fathers speak freely, openly, frequently, on all occasions, in all places against the worship of Images; and after all this, was no more meant by it but only this, Thou O Heathen must not worship Images, but I may? And why not as well (might the Heathen reply) Thou must not commit adultery, but I may? Does the nature of the commands you boast so much of alter with mens persons? Is that indeed lawful for you that is not for us? Where doth the Law of Moses say, Thou shalt not worship the Images that we worship, but thou maiest worship the Images that Christians worship? And if the Law makes

makes no difference, either leave off your foolish babbling against our Images, or condemn your own. For to our understanding, yours are as much against the Law as ours are.

And so the *primitive Christians* thought, who very *honestly* and *sincerely* declared as much in their words and actions; witness not only the opinions of all the *writers* in behalf of *Christianity*, (not one excepted) that ever had occasion to mention this matter; but the *Decree* of as good a *Council* as was to be had at that time; I mean the *Eliberitan*, in the famous *Canon* to that purpose, Can. 36. *It pleaseth us to have no pictures in Churches, lest that which is worshipped be painted upon walls.* It is a pleasant thing to see what work our *Adversaries* make with this innocent *Canon*; sometimes, it is a *meer forgery* of *hereticks* (I wonder such men do not say the same of the second Commandment) sometimes, the *Bishops* that met there were not so wise as they should have been; (no nor *Moses* and the *Prophets*, nor *Christ* and the *primitive Christians* in this matter) sometimes, that they spake only against pictures upon walls (because the *Salt Peter* of the walls would be apt to deface them; or

Pet. av. de
Incarn. l.
15. c. 14.
sect. 8.

"because in case of persecution, they could not do as Rachel did, carry their Teraphim along with them"); but that which Petavius sticks to, is, that the Memory of Heathen Idolatry was yet fresh, and therefore it was not thought expedient to have Images in the Oratories or Temples of Christians. So that, after all the tricks and shifts of our Adversaries, the thing it self is yielded to us, viz. that this Canon is against such Images, as are now used and worshipped in the Roman Church. But, saith he, the reason doth not hold still, for then the memory of Heathen Idolatry was not out of mens minds. It is a wonderful thing to me, that these Spanish Bishops should be able to tell their own reason no better than so. You say, you will have no Images in Churches: why so I beseech you? Lest that, say they, which is worshipped be painted upon walls: worshipped by whom? do you mean by Heathens? no, we speak of the Churches of Christians. But why may not that which is worshipped be painted? We think that reason enough to any man, that considers the Being worshipped, and that which is painted, and the mighty disparagement to an infinite invisible Being to be drawn in lines and colours with a design to honour him thereby.

by. This to me seems a *reason* that holds equally at all times. For was the *Being worshipped* more unfit to be *drawn* so soon after *Heathen Idolatry*, than he would be afterwards? methinks it had been much better done then, while the skilful *Artificers* were living. *But those were Heathen Idolaters*; suppose they were, you must make *use* of them, or none, if that which *Tertullian* and others say, hold true, that it is forbidden to *Christians* to make *Images*; which surely they would never have said, if they had thought the time would come, when the *Heathen Idolatry* should be forgotten, and then the *Christians* might worship *Images*. well; but all this is only against *Pictures upon walls*, but for all that, saith *Bellarmin*, they might have *Images in Frames, or upon Veils*. It seems then that which is adored, might be painted well enough, provided it be not upon a wall; but methinks, it is more repugnant to an infinite Being to be confined within a *Frame*, than to be drawn upon a wall: and the *Decree* is, to have no pictures in *Churches*; but if they were in *Frames*, or upon *Veils*, would they not be in *Churches* still? What made *Epiphanius* then so angry at seeing an *Image* upon a *Veil* at *Anabla-* *tha*? Was not *Heathen Idolatry* forgotten

Bell. de Imag. l. 2. c. 9.

S. Epiph. ep. ad Jobi Hierosolym.

enough yet? It seems not, for it was coming in again under other pretences. But that good mans spirit was stirred within him at the apprehension of it, and could not be quiet, till he had rent alunder the Veil, and written to the Bishop of Hierusalem to prevent the like enormity. One would have thought by this time the jealousy of Offence might have been worn out, the Heathen Idolatry being suppressed; but yet it seems Epiphanius did not understand his Christian Liberty in this matter. Nay so far from it, that he plainly and positively affirms, that such an Image though upon a Veil and not the Walls, was contra autoritatem Scripturarum, contra Religionem nostram, against the Law of God, and the Christian Religion. But it may be, this was some Heathen Idol, or Image of a False God; no, so far from it, that Epiphanius could not tell whether it was an Image of Christ, or of some Saint; but this he could tell, that he was sure it was against the Authority of the Scriptures. And was Epiphanius so great a Dunce to imagine a thing indifferent in it self, and applyed to a due object of worship, should be directly opposite to the Law of God? Men may talk of the Fathers, and magnifie the Fathers, and seem to make the Authority of the Fathers

next

next to *infallible*; and yet there are none who expose them more to contempt, than they who give such answers as these, so directly against the plainest sense and meaning of their words. I confess, those speak more consonantly to their principles, who reject the *Authority of this Epistle*, at least of *this part* of it; but there is not the least colour or pretence for it, from any *M.S.* and *Petavius* ingenuously confesseth, that he sees no ground to believe *this part added to the former epistle*. God be thanked, there is some little ingenuity yet left in the World: and which is the greater wonder, among the *Jesuits* too; for not only *Petavius*, but *Sirmondus* owns the *Epistle of Epiphanius* to be genuine, Sirmond. in Concil. Narbon. quoting it to prove the *Antiquity of Veilsp.* 616. at the entrance of the *Church*. If it be good for that purpose, it is I am sure as good for ours; and so it was thought to be, by those who were no *Iconoclasts*, I mean Carol. M. de Imag. l. 4. c. 25. Synod. Paris. c. 6. the *Author of the Caroline Books*, and the *Gallican Bishops* who made use of this *Testimony*, although themselves were against *rending of painted Veils*. But commend me to the plain honesty of *John Damascen*, who saith, *one Swallow makes no Summer*; and of *Alphonsus à Castro*, who tells us, Damasc. tract. 1. Alphons. à Castro u. Imago. p. 572. that *Epiphanius was an Iconoclast*, (i. e.

a terrible *heretick* with a hard name) *materially* so but not *formally*, because the Church had not determined the contrary. It seems it was no matter, what the *Law*, or *Christian Religion* had determined ; for those were the things *Epiphanius* took for his grounds. But he, good man, was a little too hot in this matter, and did not consider, that when the *Pagan Idolatry* was sufficiently out of mens minds, then it would be very lawful to have *Christ* or *Saints* not only drawn upon *Veils*, or *Screens*, but to have just such *Statues* as the *Pagans* had ; and to give them the *very same worship* which the *Prototypes* deserve ; provided, that the people have forgotten *Mercury*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules* ; and put *S. Francis*, or *S. Ignatius*, or *S. Christopher*, or *S. Thomas Beckett* instead of them. O the *Divine power of names* ! for that which would have been *Idolatry*, downright *Paganish Idolatry* under the former names, becomes good *Catholick worship* under the latter. But I do not see that any of the *Primitive Christians* did ever think, that the change of names, or persons would have wrought such wonders ; but that the worship of *Images* would have continued the same thing, whatever names had been given

given to them. And what pleasant stories
soever Epiphanius the Deacon tells in the
second Council of Nice, concerning the
disciples of the elder Epiphanius, placing his
Image in a Church dedicated to him in *Cyprus*, yet Petavius confesses, that in his
time there were no Images in the Churches
of Cyprus, which he takes to be the rea-
son of his mighty zeal against them. Any
thing rather than that which himself
gives, viz. the Authority of Scriptures,
and the Christian Religion.

In the Theodosian Code we find a Law of
Theodosius M. against the several parts of
the Heathen Idolatry, the sacrifices, liba-
tions, incense, lights, &c. and after the
rest, it comes particularly to their worship
of Images in these words, *Si quis vero mor-
tali opere facta, & avum passura simu-
lachra imposito ture venerabitur, (ac
ridiculo exemplo metuens subito qua
pro se simulaverit) vel redimita vit-
is arbore, vel erectâ effossis arâ cespiti-
bus vanas imagines, humiliore licet mu-
neris pramio, tamen plena Religionis inju-
riâ honorare temptaverit, is utpote violatâ
Religionis reus eâ domo seu possessione
multabitur in quâ eum Gentilitiâ constite-
rit Superstitione famulatum.* The mean-
ing whereof is, that it was the forfeiture

YII. Synodi
Act. 6.

Cod. Theod.
dos. 16. tit.
10. n. 12.

of *house* and *land* for any man to offer *incense* to *Images* made by men, and that were of a *perishing* nature ; or that hung their *garlands* on *Trees*, or raised *Altars* of *Turf* before their *Images* ; for although the cost were less, yet the *violation* of *Religion* was the same. This *Constitution* I grant doth respect *Heathen Images*, but I say it proceeds upon such grounds which are common to all *Images*, unless they be such as drop from *heaven* ; such as the *Image* of *Edessa*, and the rest mentioned by *Gretser*, or that of *Diana* of *Ephesus*, or some few others that were pretended to have a *divine Original* ; for such as these the *Constitution* doth not reach, being *Divine* and *immortal*, but for all others I do not see how they can escape the *Reason* of this *Law*. And it is altogether as ridiculous for *Christians* to worship the things they have formed, as it was for the *Heathens* to do it : (where *T. G.* may learn the signification and *Etymology* of *simulachrum*, à *simulando* ; for *simulare* is the same with *effigiare*, as the *Scholiast* on that *Constitution* tells him.) In the same *Constitution*, they are called *sensu carentia simulachra*, which are words put in on purpose to shew how *stupid* and *senseless* the worship of them is, and are not all *Images* among

among *Christians* so? Have they not eyes and see not, and ears and hear not, as well as the *Heathen Images*? Or do they worship only living and sensible Images? moving I grant sometimes they do; such as *Themistius* upon *Aristotle* tells us that *Dadalus* made, that moved by the help of quicksilver; or springs, such as the Holy Rood of *Boxtel* in *Kent*, whose secret engines for moving the eyes and lips were laid open, and an *Anatomy Lecture* read upon them at *Pauls Cross* in *Henry the Eighth's* time by *Bishop Fisher*.

Themist. in Aristot. de an. p. 68. col. 2. Lambards peramb. of Kent in Boxtel. Herberts Hen. 8. p. 432.

2. That Notion of *Idolatry* which the *Heathens* were charged with by the primitive *Christians*, may be common to *Christians* with them. Therefore if the fear of *Idolatry* kept them from the worship of Images, and the same fear may justly continue where ever Images are worshipped, then the *Christians* rejecting of Images, was not upon any reason peculiar to that Age of the Church. If men by being *Christians* were incapable of being *Idolaters* without renouncing *Christianity*, there were some pretence for laying aside the fears and jealousies of *Idolatry*, when the *Christian Religion* had prevailed in the world. But *S. Paul* supposes that *Christians* continuing so might be *Idolaters*,
Neither

§. 3.

1 Cor. 10. *Neither be ye Idolaters as were some of
 7. them.* Yet these were the Persons who
 v. 2, 3, 4. *were baptized unto Moses in the cloud
 and the Sea ; and did all eat the same
 spiritual meat, and drink the same spiritu-
 al drink (for they drank of that rock that
 followed them, and that Rock was Christ.)*
 Which water they drank of, both before
 and after their Idolatry (and since the wa-
 ter followed them,) at the very time of
 committing it, so that those persons are
 said to be partakers of Christ, who were
 charged with Idolatry, and therefore
 S. Paul is far from supposing that Idolatry
 and the profession of Christianity are in-
 consistent with each other. But it is said
 that there can be no Idolatry to the Images
 of Christ, because the true object of worship
 is honoured by them ; nor to the Images of
 Saints, so long as men take them for Saints,
 that is, Gods Creatures, and give only an
 inferiour worship to them. If this be true,
 there appears to be little danger of Idolatry
 among those who do not renounce Chri-
 stianity. But against this plea I put in
 these exceptions.

1. That upon the same grounds all the
 Wiser Heathens must be cleared from Idola-
 try. For, 1. They owned the true Object of
 Divine worship, viz. One Supreme God, as I
 have

have at large proved in the former Discourses: both, those that went on the *Platonick hypothesis* of one *Supreme Deity*, and others *inferiour*; and those who believed *one God to be worshipped under different representations*. The former was the principle which *Julian* went upon, and the latter *Platonists*, who opposed Christianity to the utmost: the other was the principle of the *Stoicks* and others; and particularly owned by *Maximus Madaurensis*, who saith, that *S. Aug.*
the Heathens did worship one God under Epist. 43.
several names, thereby to express his several powers diffused through the world.

• Now upon this supposition, that where there is a *true object* of worship represented, there can be no *Idolatry* in worshipping the representation, I challenge any man to shew how the *Heathens* that went on these principles were chargeable with *Idolatry*. For is *Christ* any otherwise a *right object* of worship, than as he is believed to be the *True God*? if then there can be no *Idolatry* towards an *Image* of *Christ*, neither can there be towards any representation of the *True God*.

2. The *Heathens* did assert the difference between *God* and his *Creatures*, as I have already proved, that they looked on their *inferiour Deities*, as dependent on the

the

the *supreme Being Created and Governed by Him*: so that if the acknowledgement of *Saints* to be *Gods Creatures*, doth hinder men from committing *Idolatry*, it must do the same for all those who owned a *subordination of Deities*; which takes in the far greatest part of the *Heathen world*.

3. They allowed the *different degrees of worship* suitable to the *excellencies of the objects*; as *Sovereign worship* to the *supreme God*, *inferiour worship* to the *Gods* under Him, and so proportionably till they came to their *Heroes*, or *Deified persons* to whom they allowed the *lowest kind and degree of worship*. For it is a palpable mistake in any who think they did give the same degrees of *honour and worship* to all. *Plutarch* saith, *That Plato did put a difference between the worship of Cœlestial Gods and Demons*; and so did *Xenocrates* between the worship of *Gods* and good *Demons*, and those *swore and morose*, and *vindictive Spirits* which lived in the *Air*. *Plato*, he tells us, made it the office of good *Demons* to carry mens *Prayers* to the *Gods*, and to bring from them *Oracles*, and other *Divine Gifts*: and so their worship must be suitable to their employment, which is *inferiour* to that of the *Cœlestial Deities*, whose station and
em-

*Plat. de
Iside &
Osiride
p. 361.*

employment was more immediately under the supreme God. Apuleius thus reckons up the order of Deities according to Plato. 1. The supreme God, the Author and Ruler of all; 2. The Cælestial Deities, spiritual, immortal, good, and infinitely happy; to whom the Government of things is committed next under God; but because they supposed no immediate communication between these Cælestial Gods and men, therefore they ranked between them and men, 3. Demons, as Intercessors between the Gods and men, who were subservient to the Cælestial Gods. 4. The lowest sort of Demons, he saith, are souls discharged of the body; which if they take care of their posterity, are called Lares, or domestick Gods (Lar, in the old Hetruscan Language, signifies a Prince, thence the Lares are the Gods of Families) and those who were good had the Title of Gods for honours sake conferred upon them, as he speaks. But he confesses, That there was a peculiar honour belonging to the supreme God, *Cum sit summi Deorum hic honor proprius*, and him they did solemnly invoke, as not only appears by frequent passages in Plato, but by that of Boetius; For, as Plato saith, we ought to invoke the

Apul. de
 Dio Socrat.

 Boeth. de
 Cons. Philos.
 l. 3. p. 139:

 divine

divine assistance in the least affairs ; therefore in so great a matter, invocandum rerum omnium Patrem, we ought to call upon God the Father of all things. Next after him they prayed to the Cælestial Deities ; which prayers, the inferior order of Spirits was to carry up, and to bring down answers. So that the addresses were made to the Cælestial Deities, which the Aereal Demons carried to them, saith Apuleius, to keep a due distance between Gods and men. And although the other Platonists differ from Apuleius in the manner of reckoning up the several orders of inferior Deities, as may be seen in Alcinoüs, Proclus, Jamblichus, and others ; yet they all agree in making one Supreme God, the First Author and Cause of all things, and therefore making an infinite distance between him and his Creatures ; and that there are several degrees of the Beings that are to be worshipped under him ; some as the Bestowers of Blessings but subordinate to the supreme, and others only as Intercessors between the Gods and Men. Diogenes Laertius saith of Pythagoras, That he charged his Disciples, not to give equal degrees of honour to the Gods and Heroes. Herodotus saith of the Greeks, That they worshipped Hercules

Diog. Laert.
vit. Pytha.

Herod. in
Euterpe.

two waies, one as an immortal Deity, and so they sacrificed to him; and another as a Hero, and so they celebrated his memory. *Isocrates* distinguisheth between the Honours of Heroes and Gods, when he speaks of *Menelaus* and *Helena*: but the distinction is no where more fully expressed than in the Greek inscription upon the Statue of *Regilla*, wife to *Herodes Atticus*, as *Salmasius* thinks, which was set up in his Temple at *Triopium*, and taken from the Statue it self by *Sirmondus*; where it is said, That she had neither the honour of a Mortal, nor yet that which was proper to the Gods. Οὐδὲ ἰσὲς θνητοῖς, ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ θεοῖσιν ὅμοια. If any ask wherein the difference of these honours lay; *Lilius Gyraldus* saith, That the Gods were worshipped to the East, the Heroes to the west. *Vossius* thinks, That among the Greeks and Romans, it lay in having their Images carried in the publick Processions, but without Sacrifices; and their names put into the *Saliar Hymns* at Rome; and inserted into the *Peplus* of *Minerva* at Athens. *Hesychius* makes the honour of a Hero to lie in a Temple, a Statue, and a Fountain; but *Plutarch* in the *Life* of *Alexander* saith, That he sent to the Oracle of *Ammon* to know whether *Hephæstion* should be

*Isocr. encom.
Helen.*

*Salmas.
Not. ed. 26.
script. p. 81.*

*Lil. Gy.
vald. synt.
Deorum 17.
p. 501.
Vossius de
Idol. l. 1.
c. 12.*

*Hesych. v.
πῶρο.*

be made a God or no; the Oracle answered, That they should honour him and sacrifice to him as to a Hero; whence we observe that the material act of sacrifice, as T. G. speaks, might be common to Gods and Heroes, but the inward intension of the mind made the great difference between their worship, besides that which is expressed in the Inscription of Regilla, viz. that the honour of one sort was looked on as a voluntary Act, but the other was a necessary duty; they might sacrifice and pray to the Heroes (who were the Beati amongst them) but no man was absolutely bound to do it; but those who were devout and Religious would: as Salmasius there explains the words of the Inscription. And it is observed by the Criticks, that among the Greeks *ἀνδρῶν* and *βωτῶν* are words of a different importance, i. e. in the Language of the Court of Rome, to Beatify, and to Canonize. For I perceive the Heathen Heroes did stand upon their preferment as well as the Roman Saints, and those who had been Beatified a competent time, came to be Canonized at last: So Plutarch saith, of Isis and Osiris, Hercules and Bacchus, that for their Vertues, of good Demons they were promoted to Deities; and of Lampsaca, That she had at first

Salmas. not.
p. 118.

Plut. de
Isis et
Osiride
p. 361.
Plut. de
prael. faet.
Mulier.
p. 255.

*first only Heroical honour given her; and afterwards came to Divine. It seems by the Inscription of Herodes, and by the Testament of Epicteta extant in Greek in the Collection of Inscriptions, that it was in the power of particular Families to keep Festival daies in honour of some of their own Family, and to give Heroical honours to them. In that noble Inscription at Venice, we find three daies appointed every year to be kept, and a Confraternity established for that purpose with the Laws of it; the first day to be observed in Honour of the Muses, and Sacrifices to be offered to them as Deities; the second and third in honour of the Heroes of the Family; between which honour, and that of Deities, they shewed the difference by the distance of time between them and the preference given to the other. But wherein soever the difference lay, that there was a distinction acknowledged among them appears, by this passage of Valerius in his excellent Oration extant in Dionysius Halicarnass. I call, saith he, the Gods to witness, whose Temples, and Altars, our Family hath worshipped with common Sacrifices; and next after them, I call the Genii of our Ancestors, to whom we give *divices nuda* the second Honours next to the Gods (as*

*Inscript.
Antiq.
p. 216.*

*Dionys.
Halic.
Antiq.
Rom. l. 14.
p. 696.*

Orig. l. 8.
c. Cels.
p. 414.

Celsus calls those *not righteous men* the due honours that belong to the lower Demons; which he contends ought to be given to them. From which we take notice, that the Heathens did not confound all degrees of divine worship, giving to the lowest object the same which they supposed to be due to the Cælestial Deities, or the supreme God: So that if the distinction of divine worship will excuse from Idolatry, the Heathens were not to blame for it.

Iren. l. 1.
c. 24.
Epiph.
hær. 27.
Aug. de
hær. c. 7.

2. If this pretence doth excuse from Idolatry, the Carpocratian Hereticks were unjustly charged by Irenæus, Epiphanius, and S. Augustin; for they are said, To worship the Images of Christ together with the Philosophers, Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle. Wherein lay the fault of these Hereticks? was it only in joining the Philosophers together with Christ? If that had been all, it had been easie to have said, That they worshipped the Philosophers together with Christ; but they take particular notice of it as a thing unusual and blame-worthy, that they worshipped the Images of Christ; which they pretended to have had from Pilate: which had been no wonder, if there had been as many Images of Christ then extant, as Feuardentius pretends, viz. the Image of Christ taken by Nicodemus (not I suppose

pose when he came by night to our Saviour) that at *Edeffa*, besides those which *S. Luke* drew of Him; if there had been so many *Images* abroad of Him in veneration among Christians, why should this be pitched upon as a peculiar thing of these *Gnosticks*, That they had some *Images* painted; others made of other matters, which they crowned and set forth, or worshipped as the Heathens did, among which was an *Image* of *Christ*, as *Irenaus* reports it? And supposing they had worshipped the *Image* of *Christ* as the *Gentiles* did worship their *Images*, wherein were they to blame, if the honour given to the *Image* be not the honour of the *Image*, but of that which is represented by it? And since *Christ* deserves our highest worship, on this pretence they deserved no blame at all in giving divine worship of the highest degree to the *Image* of *Christ*.

3. The Primitive Christians did utterly refuse to worship the *Images* of *Emperors*, although they were acknowledged to be *Gods Creatures* therefore I say, according to their sense, acknowledging the *Saints* to be *Gods Creatures*, is not a sufficient ground to excuse the worship of the *Images* of *Saints* from idolatry. As in *Pliny's* Epistle to *Trajan* (mentioned be-

fore) one of the tryals of *Christians* was, whether they would *Imagini tua thure ac vino supplicare*; use the *Religious* rites that were then customary, of *Incense*, *Libation*, and *Supplication* before the Emperours Image; this *Minucius* calls *ad Imagines supplicare*, to pray before their Images: which *Pliny* saith, No true Christian could ever be brought to: but would rather suffer *Martyrdom* than do it. *S. Hierome* speaking of *Nebuchadnezzars Image*, saith, *Statuam seu Imaginem cultores Dei adorare non debent*; the worshippers of God ought not to worship an Image; Let, saith he, the Judges and Magistrates take notice of this, that worship the Emperours Statues; that they do that which the three Children pleased God by not doing. By which we see, it was not only the Statues of *Heathen Emperours*, which the *Christians* refused to give *Religious worship* to; but of the most pious and *Christian*; which out of the flattery of *Princes*, those who expected, or received *Honours*, were willing to continue under *Christian Emperours*; but it was at last absolutely forbidden by a *Constitution* of *Theodosius*; of which I have spoken already, in the Discourse about the *Nature of divine worship*. But upon what reason came this to be

Hieron. in
c. 3.
Daniel.

be accounted *unlawful* among *Christians*; if it were *lawful* to worship the *Images* of *Saints*, supposing them to be *Gods Creatures*? Is it possible they should think the *Emperours* to be otherwise? I do not think that the *Souldiers* who were trepann'd by *Julian*, to offer Incense to his *Image* at the receiving the *Donative* (and after they understood what they did, were ready to run mad with indignation at themselves, crying out in the *Streets*, *We are Christians*, and ran to the *Emperour*, desiring they might suffer *Martyrdom* for the *Christian faith*, which they were supposed to deny by that act of theirs, as *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Theodore*t relate the story) did imagine that *Julian* was any other than one of *Gods Creatures*; or that they had any belief of his being a *God*; but the *Christians* looked on the act it self of offering incense, as *unlawful* to be done to the *Image* of any *Creature*; or to the *Image* it self, because it was a *Creature*, and that of the meanest sort, viz. the *Work of mens hands*.

4. It is not enough for any of *Gods Creatures* to be worshipped under the *No-*
tion of *Saints*; if any worship be given to them, which is above the rank of *Crea-*
tures, i. e. any of that worship which be-
 longs to *God*: For none can have greater

Greg. Na-
 zianz. in-
 vett. 1. in
 in Jul.
 Theod. hist.
 l. 3. c. 16.
 17.

confidence of the *Saintship* of any *Persons* whose *Images* they worshipped, (those excepted which are revealed in *Scripture*) than many of the *Heathens* had of the goodness of the *Deities* which they worshipped. And if we observe the method, which *Origen*, *S. Cyril*, *S. Augustin* and other *Christian Writers* took to prove them to be *evil Spirits* which they worshipped, we shall find the great argument was from the *Nature* of the *worship* given to them. For, say they, we find in *Scripture* that *good Angels* have refused that *worship* which they seem so desirous of; and therefore there is just reason to suspect that these are not *good Angels*; (although they firmly believed them to be so, and *Hierocles* saith, *God forbid we should worship any other*; And the *Heathens* in *S. Augustin*, say peremptorily, *they did not worship Devils, but Angels and the servants of the Great God.*) So say I, as to those who are worshipped under the name of *Saints* or *Angels*, if in, or at their *Images* such things are spoken or done, which tend to the encouraging that worship which the *Primitive Christians* refused as *Idolatry*, there is the same reason still to suspect those are not *good* but *evil Spirits*; under whose name or representation soever they appear. For it is as casie

*Hierocl. in
Ant. Carm.*

*Aug. in
Psal. 96.*

easie for them to play the same tricks
 among *Christians*, which they did among
Heathens; for then they pretended to be
Good Spirits, and why may they not do the
 same still? If we have a fuller discovery
 of their design to impose upon the world,
 the folly of men is so much the greater to
 be abused by them; and the *Gentiles* were
 in that respect far more excuseable than
Christians, because God had not discovered
 the Cheat and artifices of *Evil Spirits* to
 them, so as he hath done to us by the *Christi-
 an Religion*. Whatever pretence of *miracles*,
 or *visions*, or *appearances* there be, if the
 design of them be to advance a way of wor-
 ship contrary to the *Law of God*, we have
 the same reason to believe that *evil Spirits*
 are the *Causes* of them, as the *Primitive
 Christians* had, that *evil Spirits* were wor-
 shipped by the *Heathens* under the notion
 of *Good*.

5. The *Arrians* believed *Christ* to be a
Creature, and yet were charged with *Ido-
 latry* by the *Fathers*. If it be said, that
 they did give a higher degree of worship
 to *Christ*, than any do to *Saints*; I answer,
 that they did only give a degree of worship
 proportionable to the degrees of excellency
 supposed to be in him, far above any other
Creatures whatsoever. But still that wor-

ship was inferiour to that which they gave to God the Father, according to the opinion of those Persons I dispute against. For if it be impossible for a man that believes the incomparable distance between God and the most excellent of his Creatures, to attribute the honour due to God alone to any Creature; then, say I, it is impossible for those who believed one God the Father, to give to the Son whom they supposed to be a Creature, the honour which was peculiar to God. It must be therefore on their own supposition, an inferiour and subordinate honour; and at the highest such as the Platonists gave to their Cæstial Deities. And although the Arrians did invoke Christ, and put their trust in him; yet they still supposed him to be a Creature, and therefore believed that all the Power and Authority he had, was given to him; so that the worship they gave to Christ must be inferiour to that honour they gave to the Supreme God, whom they believed to be Supreme, Absolute, and Independent. But notwithstanding all this, the Fathers by multitudes of Testimonies already produced do condemn the Arrians as guilty of Idolatry: and therefore they could not believe, that the owning of Saints to be Gods Creatures did alter the

State

State of the *Controversie*, and make such *Christians* incapable of *Idolatry*.

¶ 4.

2. I come to the *second Period*, wherein *Images* were brought into the *Christian Church*, but no *worship* allowed to be given to them. And I am so far from thinking, that the forbearance of the Use of *Images*, was from the fear of compliance with the *Pagan Idolatry*, that I much rather believe the introducing of *Images* was out of Compliance with the *Gentile worship*. For *Eusebius* in that memorable *Testimony* concerning the *Statue* at *Pan-<sup>Euseb. Ec-
cles. hist.
l. 7. c. 18.</sup>neas*, or *Cæsarea Philippi*, which, he saith, was said to be the *Image of Christ* and the *Syrophœnician woman*, doth attribute the preserving the *Images of Christ* and *Peter* and *Paul* to a *Heathen custome*, which, he saith, was done ἀπαρχυλάκτως, i. e. saith *Valesius*, *inconsideratè & imprudenter, contra veterem disciplinam, incautè* : very *unadvisedly*, and against the *ancient Rules of the Church*. And yet (to my great amazement) this place of *Eusebius* is on all occasions produced to justify the *antiquity* and *worship* of *Images* : if it had been only brought to prove, that *Heathenish Customs* did by degrees creep into the *Christian Church*,
after

after it obtained ease and prosperity, it were a sufficient proof of it. Not that I think, this *Image* was ever intended for *Christ* or the *Syrophænician Woman*, but because *Eusebius* saith, the people had gotten such a *Tradition* among them; and were then willing to turn their *Images* to the *Stories* of the *Gospel*. Where they finding a *Syrophænician woman* making her address to our *Saviour*; and a *Tradition* being among them that she was of this place, and there finding two *Images* of *Brass*, the one in a *Form* of a *supplicant* upon her *Knees* with her hands stretched out; and the other over against her with a hand extended to receive her, the common people seeing these figures to agree so luckily with the *Story* of the *Gospel*, presently concluded these must be the very *Images* of *Christ* and the *Woman*; and that the *Woman*, out of meer gratitude, upon her return home was at this great expence of two *brass statues*; although the *Gospel* saith, she had spent all that she had on

43. *Physitians* before her miraculous cure: and it would have been another miracle, for such an *Image* of *Christ* to have stood untouched in a *Gentile City* during so many persecutions of *Christians*, especially when *Asterius* in *Photinus* saith, this very

Statue

Mark 5.

Phot. Cod.
271.

Statue was demolished by Maximinus. I confess it seems most probable to me, to have been the Image of the City Paneas supplicating to the Emperour ; for I find the very same representations in the ancient Coines ; particularly those of Achaia, Bithynia, Macedonia, and Hispania ; wherein the Provinces are represented in the Form of a Woman supplicating, and the Emperour Hadrian in the same habit and posture, as the Image at Paneas is described by Eusebius. And that which adds more probability to this conjecture, is, that Bithynia is so represented, because of the kindness done by Hadrian to Nicomedia in the restoring of it after its fall by an earthquake, and Casarea is said by Eusebius to have suffered by an earthquake at the same time ; and after such a Favour to the City, it was no wonder to have two such brass statues erected for the Emperours honour. But supposing this tradition were true, it signifies no more, than that this Gentile custome was observed by a Syrophœnician Woman in a Gentile City ; and what is this to the worship of Images in Christian Churches ? For Eusebius doth plainly speak of Gentiles when he saith, it is not to be wondered that those Gentiles who received benefits by our Saviour should

*Imperato-
rum Numism.
collec. à Dues
Croyo edit.
Gasp. Ge-
wart. Tab.
39. n. 17,
18, 21, 22.
Patini
Numism.
p. 194.
Euseb.
Chron.
n. 2144.*

do

do these things; when, saith he, we see the Images of his Apostles Paul and Peter and Christ himself, preserved in Pictures being done in Colours, it being their custome to honour their Benefactors after this manner.

I appeal to any man of common sense, whether Eusebius doth not herein speak of a meer Gentile custome; but Baronius in spite of the Greek will have it thus, *quod majores nostri ad Gentilis consuetudinis similitudinem quàm proximè accedentes*; at which place, *Is. Casaubon* sets this Marginal Note, *Græca lege & miraberis*; but, suppose this were the sense of Eusebius, what is to be gained by it, save only, that the bringing of Images among Christians was a meer imitation of Gentilism, and introducing the Heathen customes into the Christian Church? Yet Baronius hath something more to say for this Image, viz. that being placed in the Diaconicon or Vestry of the Church of Paneas, it was there worshipped by Christians, for which he quotes Nicephorus; whom at other times he rejects as a fabulous writer. And it is observable, that Philostorgius (out of whom Nicephorus takes the other circumstances of his relation) is so far from saying any thing of the worship of this Image, that he saith expressly the

Baron. ad
A. D. 57.
N. 112.

Nicephor.
l. 10. c. 30.

Philostorg.
Eccles. hist.
l. 7. c. 3.

con-

contrary, οὐδενος μὴ ἢ προσκυνηται ἰδανός
 giving no manner of worship to it ; to
 which he adds the reason for it ; because it
 is not lawful for Christians to worship
 either Brass or any other matter ; no not
 although this Image were believed to re-
 present Christ after his Incarnation. What
 shall be said to such an Author who not
 only omits so considerable a passage, but
 puts in words of his own directly contrary
 to his meaning ? The Author of the Caro-
 line Book, saith, that allowing this story to
 be true (which by comparing the relation
 of Asterius in Photius with what Eusebius,
 Sozomen and the rest say, there seems to
 be some reason to suspect) yet it signifies
 nothing to the worship of Images ; such a
 Statue being erected by a weak ignorant
 Woman, to express her gratitude after
 the best fashion among the Gentiles ; and
 what doth this signifie to the Church of
 God ? and supposing the miraculous cures
 to be wrought by the Herb that grew at
 the foot of the Statue ; yet that doth not
 prove any worship of Images, but that
 men ought to leave their former Idols,
 and embrace the true Faith ; for, saith
 he, according to the Apostle signs are not
 for Believers, but for Unbelievers. But
 if we allow the story as it is reported by

Caroli Lib.
 de Imagin.
 l. 4. c. 25.
 Phot. Cod.
 27r.

Sozomen,

Sozom. *Sozomen, That the Christians gathered up*
l. 5. c. 21. the broken fragments of the Statue, and
laid them up in the Church, I grant it
proves that those Christians did not abhor
the use of Images, although there be no
proof of any worship they gave to them :
and this seems to be as much as Petavius
thinks can be made of this story.

Petau. de
Incarn.
l. 15. c. 13.
n. 4. 5.

Baron. ad
A. D. 57.
n. 111.

Petau. l. 13.
c. 13. n. 4.

Nic. de
Clemangis
de Novis
celebrat.
non institu-
end. p. 151.

But *Baronius* is not content with the
Syrophœnician womans example in this
 matter of Images, but he produces the
Apostles Council at Antioch, and a venera-
 ble decree made by them there, which
 commands *Christians to make Images of*
Christ instead of Heathen Idols; but our
 comfort is, that *Petavius* discards this as
 a meer forgery, as most of the things of
 the latter Greeks, he saith, are; and yet
Baronius saith, this Canon is made use of
 by the second *Nicene Council*; which
 shews what excellent Authorities that
 Council relyed upon. *Nicolas de Clemangis*
 is so far from thinking there was any
 Apostolical decree in this matter, that he
 saith, the *Universal Church* did decree for
 the sake of the *Gentile Converts*, that there
 should be no Images at all in Churches;
 which decree, he saith, was afterwards
 repealed. I would he had told us by
 what Authority; and why other Com-
 mandments

mandments and Decrees might not be repealed as well as that?

The first authentick *Testimony* of any thing like *Images* among Christians, is that of the painted *Chalices* in *Tertullian*; Tertul. de Pudic. c. 7. & 10. wherein *Christ* was represented under the *Embleme* of a *Shepherd* with a *sheep* on his back; (as it was very usual among the *Romans* to have *Emblematical Figures* on their *Cups*) but was ever any man so weak among them, not to distinguish between the *ornaments* of their *Cups* and *Glasses*, and their *Sacred Images*? How ridiculous would that man have been, that should have proved at that time that *Christians* worshipped *Images*, because they made use of painted *Glasses*? If this signifies any thing, why do they quarrel with us, that have painted *glass windows* in our *Churches*? All that can be inferred from hence is, that the *Church* at that time did not think *Emblematical figures* unlawful *Ornaments* of *Cups* or *Chalices*; and do we think otherwise? This I confess doth sufficiently prove that the *Roman Church* did think *Ornamental Images* lawful; but it doth no more prove the worship of *Images*, than the very same *Emblem* often used before *Protestant Books*;

Books, doth prove that those *Books* are worshipped by us.

I cannot find any thing more that looks like any evidence for *Images* for the first three hundred years; afterwards, there began to be some appearances of some, in some places; but they met with different entertainment, according to the several apprehensions of men. For although the whole *Christian Church* agreed in refusing to worship *Images*; yet they were of several opinions as to the Use of them. Some followed the strict opinion of *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Origen*, who thought the very making of *Images* unlawful; others thought it not unlawful to make them, but to use them in Churches, as the *Eliberitan Bishops*, and *Epiphanius*; others thought it not unlawful to have *Images* there, provided no worship were given to them. It is ridiculous to bring *S. Hierom's Saucomaria*, for any other purpose, than to prove that the *Apostles Images* were then seen upon their common drinking cups, of which he speaks; as any one may easily see that reads the passage, and the sport he makes with *Canthelius* about it: which will prove as much towards the worship of *Images*, as having the *Apostles pictures* on a pack of Cards would do.

S. Hieron.
in Jon. 4.

What-

Whatever the custome was in *Tertullians* time (if at least he speaks of the *Sacred Chalice*) we are sure in *S. Augustines* time there were no *Images* of *mankind* on the *Sacred Vessels*. For although these, saith he, are consecrated to a sacred use, and are the work of mens hands; yet they have not a mouth and speak not, nor eyes and see not, as the *Heathen Images* had; and afterwards saith, that the humane figure doth more to deceive mankind, as to their worship, than the want of sense doth to correct their error; and the great cause of the madness of *Idolatry* is, that the likeness to a living Being prevails more on the affections of miserable men to worship them, than their knowledge that they are not living doth to the contempt of them. Is it possible such a man as *S. Austin* was, could use such expressions as these, if in his time there had been any *Images* then used or worshipped in *Christian Churches*? What need he have so much as mentioned the *Sacred Utensils*, if there had been *Sacred Images*? and how could he have urged those things against *Heathen Images*, which would altogether have held as well against *Christian*? For it was not the opinion of the *Heathens* he disputed against, so much as

*S. Aug. in
Pf. 113.*

the proneness of men to be seduced to worship such representations, which they find to be like themselves. To this Bellarmin answers, that S. Augustin doth not say there were no Images in Churches, but only that the humane shape of Images did tend much to increase their error who worshipped them for Gods. But would any man of common sense have used those arguments against Images, which do not suppose them already worshipped for Gods; but imply the danger of being seduced to that worship where ever they are, in case there were such Images in Christian Churches? The worship S. Augustin speaks against, is adoring, or praying looking on an Image, (*Quis autem adorat vel orat intuens simulacrum*) which whosoever doth, saith he, is so affected as to think he is heard by that he prays before, and may receive help by it; and yet these persons S. Augustin disputes against, declare that they did not worship their Images for Gods, but only as the signs or representations of that Being which they worshipped. Which S. Augustin shews to be a most unlikely thing, because the manner of address, and the figure of their Images did shew that they did apprehend something more than meer signs in them whatever they pretended. I

do

Bellarmin. de
Imag. l. 2.
c. 9.

do not deny that there were *pictures* abroad
 in S. *Augustins* time, of *Christ* and *Peter* Aug. de
 consens.
 Evangel.
 l. 1. c. 101
 and *Paul*, for himself doth mention them;
 but he declares so little reverence for
 them, that he saith *they* deserved to be
 deceived who looked on them as Books to
 be instructed by; and it was no wonder to
 see seigners of false doctrines to be led aside
 by painters. By which it is plain, S. *Augustin*
 did not think *Pictures* and *Images* to
 be such good helps for the Ignorant, as
 was afterwards pretended. And for those,
 who worshipped *Pictures*, S. *Augustin* doth
 not deny that there were such in his time,
 but, he reckons them among the ignorant
 and superstitious, who by their practises
 did dishonour their profession of *Christiani-*
 ty. So that although we grant in the
 time of S. *Augustin* there were several *pi-*
ctures of *Holy men* mentioned in *Scripture*
 in several places, yet there is no clear evi-
 dence that they were then brought into the
African Churches any more than into those
 of *Cyprus* or *Palestine*; but they were in
 the latter end of the fourth Century in some
 of the more *Eastern Churches*, as appears
 by the *Testimonies* of *Gregory Nyssen*, and
Asterius produced by *Petavins* and others. Pic. av. de
 Inc. ar. l. 15.
 c. 13. n. 7.
 D. all. de
 mag. l. 3.
 And it is a very probable conjecture of
Daille, that in those parts of *Pontus* and

Cappadocia, they were first introduced, out of a compliance with *Gentilism*; and in imitation of the practice of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, whom *Nyssen* commends for changing the *Heathen Festivals* into *Christian*, the better to draw the *Heathens* to *Christianity*; which seemed a very plausible pretence, but was attended with very bad success, when *Christianity* came to be by this means, but *Reformed Paganism*, as to the matter of *divine worship*. This same principle in all probability brought the *Pictures* of *Martyrs* and others into the *Churches* of *Italy*, of which *Prudentius* and *Paulinus* speak; and this latter confesseth, it was a rare custom in his time to have *Pictures* in *Churches*,

Nyssen. vit.
Greg. Thaumaturgus.

Prudent.
ædæ seq.
hymn. 9.
Paulin.
ep. 12.

—pingere sanctas
Raro more domos.

and thought it necessary to make an *Apology* for it, which he doth by saying, he looked on this as a good means to draw the rude and barbarous people from their *Heathen Customs*, changing the pleasure of pictures for that of drinking at the *Sepulchres* of *Martyrs*; but there is not the least intimation of any *worship* then given to them.

Poem. Nat.
9. p. 614.

3. After that the *Use of Images* had prevailed both in the *Eastern* and *western* parts, men came by *degrees* to the *worship* of them: which is the *third Period* observable in this *Controversie*. As to which there are these *things* remarkable,

1. That it began first among the *ignorant* and *superstitious* people; of whom *S. Augustin* speaks in his time, that they were the *worshippers* of *pictures*; and afterwards in the *Epistle* of *Gregorius M.* Greg. Ep. l. 9. ep. 9. to *Serenus Bishop* of *Marseilles* it is observable, that the people began to *worship* the *Images* in *Churches* in perfect opposition to *Serenus* their *Bishop*; who was so much displeased at it, that he *demolished* them, and *brake* them in *pieces*: which act of his so exasperated them, that they *separated* from his *Communion*. The news of this coming to *Rome* (probably from some of these *Schismaticks*, who alwayes loved to take *Sanctuary* in *Rome*, and appeal thither against their *Bishops*,) the *Pope* writes to the *Bishop* about it by one *Cyriacus*, he flights the *Popes* Letters, as if he could not believe they were written by him; *Gregory* being nettled at this, writes again to him, and reproves him for breaking down the *Images*, but commends him for

Bell. de.
 Imag. l. 2.
 c. 16.

not allowing the *worship* of them. So
 that we find the first *beginning* of the *wor-*
ship of *Images* in these *western* parts to
 have been by the *folly* and *superstition* of
 the *People* expressly against the *will* of their
 own *Bishop* and the *Bishop* of *Rome*. *Bel-*
larmin saith, that *Gregory* only reprov'd
 the *Superstitious* worship of *Images*, i. e.
 that by which they are worshipped as *Gods*.
 Which is a desperate shift in a bad Cause:
 For if *Gregory* had intended any kind of
worship to be given to *Images*, could he
 not have expressed it himself? He speaks
 plain enough about this matter in all other
 things, why did he not in distinguishing
 what *worship* was to be given to *Images*,
 and what not? *We praised you*; saith he,
that you forbade the worship of Images (so
adorari must be rendred, and not accord-
 ing to the modern sense of *Romish Au-*
thors who would against all sense and rea-
 son appropriate that word to *Sovereign*
worship) but we reprehended you for break-
 ing them. It is one thing to worship an
Image, and another thing to learn by it
 what is to be worshipped. That ought not
 to be broken down which was set up in
Churches not to be worshipped, but Only to
 instruct the minds of the *Ignorant*. Would
 any man of common sense have said this,
 that

that did allow any worship of Images? Would Bellarmin, or T.G. or any that embrace the *second Nicene* and *Tridentine Council* have said that Images are set up in Churches ad instruendas solummodo mentes nescientium ; only to instruct the ignorant? Nay Gregory goes yet farther, and tells Serenus, he ought to call his People together, and shew them from Scripture that it is not lawful to worship the work of mens hands, because it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. Which very place Anastasius Bishop of Theopolis, in his Epistle produced in the *second Nicene Council*, thus expounds ; Mark, saith he, only is joyned to serve, and not to worship, adorare quidem licet, servire nequaquam, saith the Latin Translation there ; worship of other things is lawful but not the service, which is directly contrary to what Gregory saith, who makes the worship of any other thing unlawful from these words ; and to conclude all, Gregory saith, forbid not those who would make Images ; adorare verò Imagines modis omnibus devita, but by all means avoid the worship of them. What ! no kind of worship to be allowed them ? no distinction of an inferiour, honorary, rela-

Concil. Ni-
cen. 2.
act. 4.

tive worship? no, nor the least tittle tending that way. But our *Adversaries* run from this *Epistle* to another to *Secundinus* to help them out, where they say *Gregory* approves the *worship* of *Images*; to which no other answer is needful, than that all that *passage* is wanting in the *Ancient MS.* as *Dr. James* hath attested upon a diligent examination of them: and however, ought to be interpreted according to his deliberate sentence in the *Epistle* to *Serenus*, where he not only delivers his judgement, but backs it with the *strongest Reason*.

James
Corrupt.
of the Fa-
thers, pa. 2.
p. 76.

2. That the *worship* of *Images* no looner prevailed, but it was objected against the *Christians* by the *Jews* and *Gentiles*. Thus it appears in the *Apology* of *Leontius Bishop* of *Neapolis* in *Cyprus*, written against the *Jews*, and read in the *second Concil. Ni-*
cen. 2. aff.
4. p. 235. *Nicene Council* (and if the *Testimony* of *Constantinus Bishop* of *Constantia* in *Cyprus* there extant, may be taken, he flourished in the time of *Mauricius*) in which the *Jew* is introduced, *upbraiding the Christians with breaking the Commandment of God in the worship of Images*, and *Leontius* is put to miserable shifts to defend it. And in the dispute between the *Jew* and the *Christian* in the fifth *Action* of that *Council*; the
Jew

*Jew saith, I am scandalized at You Chri- Aet. 3. p.
 stians, because you worship Images, ex- 355.
 pressly against the Command of God. And
 in the discourse of John Bishop of Theffalo-
 nica, the Gentile saith, Do not You Chri- p. 354
 stians not only paint the Images of Your
 Saints, and worship them, but even the
 Image of your God too? so likewise think,
 that we do not worship the Images them-
 selves, but those incorporeal powers which
 are worshipped through them. And this
 learned Bishop to make out the disparity
 between the Heathens and them flies to
 this lamentable refuge, that they did not
 believe the Angels to be incorporeal as the
 Gentiles did, and therefore might better
 make Images of them. Which is not the
 thing I now observe; but only, that as
 soon as the worship of Images began, the
 Christians were sufficiently upbraided with
 it, by their enemies; and therefore it is
 most unreasonable to suppose, that if the
 same worship had prevailed before, the
 Jews and Gentiles would not have ob-
 jected the same thing; when there were
 men that wanted neither advantages, nor
 ill will to do it.*

3. That when the Controversie about
 the worship of Images grew hot, the de-
 fenders of them made use of Treason and
 Rebellion

History of the Iconoclasts pretended to be published A.D. 1671. but written 1674. or rather extracted out of Maimbourg's French History. Greg. 2. epist. 1. Onuphr. Annot. in vit. Greg. 2.

Rebellion to maintain their Cause. It would make one wonder to see how a late pretended Author of the History of the Iconoclasts in English hath endeavoured to accommodate that History to our Reformation in England, making Henry 8. to be Leo Isauricus and Queen Mary to be Irene, (which is not much for her honour.) But suppose Henry 8. to be Leo, on whose side lay the charge of Rebellion, which it is most certain the Pope and his adherents were guilty of towards Leo? For Gregory 2. confesses in his Epistle to Leo, that the people rebelled against him, out of zeal to their Images; and Onuphrius saith, that by reason of Leo's opposition to Images, the Pope deprived him of the remainder of the Empire in Italy. And this worthy Historian himself saith, that the Romans and others then subject to Leo did not only throw down his Statues from the high places and pillars whereon they stood, but would no longer pay him any Tribute or obey his Orders; and he confesses afterwards, that upon the Popes instigation they began a Defensive Conspiracy for Religion; (Just such another as the Irish Rebellion; which that Author hath heard of) only this was far more bloody and cruel than the other. But P. T. is concerned for the

History of Iconocl. P. 44. P. 47.

the Popes honour, saying, that what the Pope intended only for a defensive Confederacy for Religion, (sore against the Popes will) proved an offensive conspiracy against the Emperours temporal Right; in so much that all Italy renounced his dominion. Was the forbidding the paying Tribute to the Emperour only a defensive confederacy for Religion? Yet this *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, *Glycas*, *Theophanes*, *Siebert*, *Otto Frisingensis*, *Conradus Urspergensis*, *Sigonius*, *Rubeus* and *Ciacconius* all agree to have been done by the Pope, upon the Emperours declaring against the worship of Images. But I need go no farther than this* *Historian*, who delivers this for the doctrine of this Pope in a Synod at Rome on behalf of Images, viz. That it is against reason to believe, God would have a multitude of men, or all mankind to be damned rather than resist with armes, false doctrine favoured by one or a few Sovereigns, seeing Christ dyed rather to save Souls than to humour Sovereigns. Most primitive and Catholick doctrine! and happily applied to the worship of Images. But he goes on, as if he had been giving instructions for another Rebellion; that the Rule whereby they ought to judge of the time and lawfulness of their resistance, must not be

Anast. *hi-*
stor. p. 134.
Zonar. *An-*
nal. To. 3.
p. 85.
Cedren. *hist.*
To. 1. p.
453.
Michel.
Glyc. *An-*
nal. part. 4.
p. 281.
Theophan.
hist. p. 338.
Siebert. *ad*
A. 728.
Otto Fri-
sing. l. 5.
c. 18.
ursperg. *ad*
A. 718.
Sigonius de
Regno Ital.
l. 3.
Rubi Hist.
Raven. l. 4.
Ciaccon.
vit. *Greg.*
* *History*
of the *Ico-*
noclasts,
p. 54.

be their own fancies, but a real danger of altering the Catholick Faith, and the Sovereigns actual endeavours to do it. So that according to this blessed doctrine, a Rebellion on the account of Religion, is a just and holy war; and is it not easie to discern what such men would be at, who deliver this as the Doctrine of their Head of the Church in a Council of Bishops? If Gregory 2. said such things, he did but speak agreeably to his actions; if he did not, we know at least the mind of this Historian; who seems to have calculated his history for a Meridian nearer home.

4. It is observable, how great and apparent a change was made in the doctrine and practice of the Roman Church in this matter of Images, between the time of the two Gregories, the first, and the second, i. e. between A. D. 604. wherein the first Gregory died, and A. D. 714. wherein the second was made Pope. It would afford a man some pleasure to compare the Epistle of Gregorius M. to Serenus, with those of Gregory 2. to the Emperour Leo, and yet both these according to the Roman pretence Infallible Heads of the Church. We have already seen what the former Gregories opinion was, let us now compare it with his Name-sakes. He charges the
Emperour

Emperour Leo with using the very same words that his predecessour had done in this matter, viz. *that we are not to worship the work of mens Hands ; whereas,* saith he, very wisely, *those words were spoken in Scripture for the sake of such Paganish Idolaters, who worshipped golden, and silver, and wooden Animals (the Pope calls them ζῶα) and said, these are thy Gods, and there is no other God besides: (as though there ever had been such Fools in the World !) and for the sake of these Works of the Devils hands we are commanded not to worship them: but whatever is made by men for the honour of God ought to be worshipped ; in spite of his Predecessours definition to the contrary in the very same case. And then he tells a very worshipful story of the Pictures that were taken of Christ and his Apostles by their Disciples ; and of the Image Christ sent for a present to the King of Edeffa ; it is great pity the Veronica was forgotten by him ; but that piece of Antiquity was not yet known. Then, he bids the Emperour go among the boys at School, and if he should say among them that he was an enemy to Images, they would throw their Table-books at his Head ; because Children alwayes love Pictures ;*
and

Grig. 2.
epist. 1. ad
Leon.

and a little after, he saith, *he was like Ozi-
as the King of the Jews that destroyed the
brazen Serpent.* It seems the Bible was
then a Book not much studied by the Head
of the Church: for was it indeed *Ozias*
that demolished the *brazen Serpent*? and
was this such a reproach to *Leo* to be com-
pared to good *Hezekiah*? And so very
learnedly he falls to the commending the
brazen Serpent, and *inveighing against
that insolent King that broke it in pieces?*
Was not this a hopeful piece of *Infallibi-
lity*? After this, our learned Historian
saith, *the Pope declared him not only an
Heretick, but an Heresiarch*; for what I
beseech him? for being of the same opini-
on as to the *worship of Images*, that his
Predecessour Gregory had been of? But see
how the case is altered in a hundred years!
In my mind, the *Emperour Leo* asked a very
pertinent *Question* of the Pope; *How comes
it to pass that the six General Councils ne-
ver said a word of Images, if they were
such necessary things?* And the Pope made
as *impertinent* an answer; And why,
saith the Pope, *did they say nothing of
eating and drinking?* it seems *Images* in
his opinion were as necessary to *Religion*,
as *meat and drink* to our bodies; for, he
saith, *the Fathers carried their Images*

History of
the Icono-
clasts,
p. 55.

Greg. 2.
ep. 2.

to Council with them, and travelled with them; and I suppose slept with them too, as Children do with their Babies.

5. The *artifices* and *methods* ought to be observed whereby such a cause as the worship of *Images*, was advanced and defended. For being destitute of any colour from *Scripture*, *Reason*, or *Antiquity*, there was a necessity of making use of other means to supply the want of these. Such as,

¶ 6.

1. Representing their *Adversaries* to the greatest disadvantage; which is done to purpose in the fifth *Action* of the second *Nicene Council*. The demolishing of *Images* was condemned in *Serenus* by *Gregory* as an act only of *intemperate zeal* and *indiscretion*; but now it was become *heresie*, worse than *heresie*, *Judaism*, *Samaritanism*, *Manichaism*, nay worse than all these. This *Tarasius* offers to prove in the beginning of that *Action*; from *S. Cyril*, he compares them with *Nebuchadnezzar*, who destroyed the *Cberubim*; from *Simeon Stylites*, to the *Samaritans*; and *John* the pretended *Vicar* of the *Oriental Bishops* saith, the *Samaritans* are worse than other *hereticks*; therefore they ought to be called *Samaritans*; and *Constanti-*

Concil. Ni-
cen. 2. p.
347. ed.
Labbe.

- now Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus saith,*
 p. 349. *they are worse than Samaritans. Afterwards the same John saith, see how clearly we have demonstrated that the Accusers of Christians (in this matter of Images) are partakers with Nebuchadonosor, and*
 p. 370. *Samaritans, and Jews and Gentiles and*
 p. 383. *Manichees, and those who denied that Christ was come in the Flesh. Why? what is the matter? what article of the Christian Faith have they denied? what! have they renounced Christianity, and been circumcised! No: but worse; being Christians they call the worship of Images Idolatry. O dangerous heresie, and horrible blasphemy! But it may be worth our while to consider a little the account which Tarasius desires John to*
 p. 386. *give the Council of the beginning of this most detestable heresie; viz. that after the death of Solyman Caliph of the Arabs, Homar succeeded him, after whom followed Ezid or Jezid a vain man; in his time there was at Tiberias one Sarantapechys a Leader of the Jews, and a Magician; who promised long life to the Chaliph on condition he would do what he would have him; which he presently undertook with great promises of rewards to him; then the Jew required an Edict for the demolishing*
and

and defacing all the Images in the Christian Churches; which was accordingly executed by the Jews and Arabs. The news of which excited the Bishop of Nacolia, and those about him to do the same thing; but Jezid lived not above two years and a half after; and his Son Ulid destroyed this Jew, and the Images were again restored.

This was the story told and approved in the Council; but Zonaras saith, they were two Jews who perswaded Jezid to publish his Edict against Images; and that he dyed within the year; and that his Son seeking to punish them, they were fled into Isauria, where they met with Leo then a young man to whom they foretold the Empire, and made him promise them that when he came to it, he would do one thing for them: which one thing proved to be the destruction of Images; and they challenging their promise when he was now Emperour gave the occasion to the terrible persecution of images. Cedrenus saith, that a few years before the Reign of Leo, some Jews of Laodicea in Phoenicia went to Jezid, and obtained the Edict against Images; and then he tells the rest of the story, as Zonaras did. Theophanes saith, it was but one Jew of Laodicea, and that Jezid dyed before the Edict was published in all parts of

Zonar. An-
nal. Tom. 3.
p. 84.

Cedren.
hist. To. 1.
p. 450.

Theoph.
Chronog.
p. 336.

Const. Manass. p. 86.
 Mich. Glyc. Annal.
 part. 4.
 p. 281.

his Dominions, and saith, *this was in the seventh year of the Empire of Leo. Constantinus Manasses, and Michael Glycas only mention the Jews foretelling the Empire to him, and putting him upon the destruction of Images, without the other circumstances.* Let the Reader now judge whether this be not a probable story; and purposely invented to cast the odium of rejecting the worship of Images on the Jews and Saracens? as though it could never have come from any Christian. *It was one Jew, saith the Vicar of the Oriental Bishops; they were two Jews or more, say the Greek historians. It was a Jew of Tiberias, saith John; no, saith Cedrenus, they were two Jews of Laodicea; but one saith Theophanes. These Jews met with Leo when he was a young man and foretold the Empire to him, say Zonaras, Manasses and Glycas; but a few years before the Reign of Leo, saith Cedrenus; nay, saith Theophanes, it was in the seventh year of Leo; in the eighth, saith Baronius, for Jezid did not reign before.* Was there ever a more consistent story than this? But the Author of the late history of the Iconoclasts, thinks he hath found out a salvo for these contradictions. For he makes two several Edicts under two Jezids that

Baron. A.
 723. n. 17,
 21.

History of
 the Icono-
 clasts, p.
 28, 33.

that were Chaliphs ; the former of the two Jews about A. D. 686. who were the men that foretold the Empire to Leo ; and the other of Sarantapechys to Jezid the second in the time of Leo ; this he hath borrowed from the *French Author*, as he hath done all his quotations (and I much question by his manner of citing them, whether he ever saw the *Books* he quotes in his *Life*.) But this is said without the least shadow of proof ; for no one of all the *Historians*, ever mention two *Edicts* of the several *Jezids* ; but all pretend to tell the very same story. And is it probable that the two *Jews* who foretold the Empire to *Leo*, A. D. 686. should come to *Constantinople* to *Leo*, after A. D. 723. when *Leo* began to oppose *Images* ; merely with a design to extirpate *Images*, without proposing any other advantage to themselves by the Emperour, as the *Greek historians* say ? *Credat Judæus*. They are a sort of people, that know how to improve such an advantage to better purposes ; and their zeal against *Images* was never so great, as the love of their own Profit. But our *English Historian* is not content with the *Fables* of the *Greeks* ; but he makes more of his own. For, he saith, these were *Samaritan Sectaries*, who were more

precise than the rest of the Jews, and were much troubled at the Cherubims in the Temple, and more at the respect which the Christians tendered to the Images of Christ and his Saints. I never saw a more pitiful pretender to History than this Author; who, if he offers to add to, or vary from his Original, he makes the matter worse than he found it. For not one of his Authors in the Margin, say they were Samaritans but only Hebrews, as Zonaras, and Cedrenus; his other Authors Elmacinus, and the *Chronicon Orientale* have not one word about it, where they mention Jexid the Chaliph of Arabia. And yet granting they were Samaritans, there is not the least ground for his saying, *they were more precise in this matter of Images than the rest of the Jews*; for Epiphanius himself, whom he quotes, suspects them of secret Idolatry in Mount Gerizim, and the Jews generally charge them with it: for they say, they worship the Image of a Dove on Mount Gerizim; which Maimonides affirms of them with great confidence, and Obadias Bartenora, with several others. It was therefore very unhappy for this Historian to pitch upon the Samaritan Sectaries of all others, as the Beginners of the heresie of the Iconoclasts. And was it not luckily done to begin

Epiphan.
l. 1. heres.
Samarit.
p. 25.

Exercit.
Anti-Dio-
rin. Sect.
16.

begin a *History* with so palpable a falshood! But this was a pretty artifice to possess his Reader at the entrance, that none but *Samaritan Sectaries* could be enemies to the worship of *Images*: which, he knew, to have been the method of the second Council of *Nice*: only he pursued it with greater *Ignorance* than they.

2. By *fabulous stories* and lying *Miracles*. Of the former we have many instances in the *Actions* of that famous Council; but I shall only mention that out of the *Limonarion* of the pretended *Sophronius* about the *Spirit of Fornication* haunting a *Monk* who had an *Image* of the *Blessed Virgin*; to whom the *Devil* said, *If thou wilt not worship that Image, I will trouble thee no more.* But the *Devil* would not tell him this great secret till he had solemnly promised him, he would reveal it to nobody. The *Monk* next day told it to the *Abbot Theodore*, who assured him he had better go into all the *Stews* in the *City*, than leave off the worship of that *Image*; with which the *Monk* went away much comforted. But the *Devil* soon after charged him with *perjury*; the *Monk* replied, he had forsworn to *God* and not to him. Upon which *John Vicar* of the *Oriental Bishops*, said, it was better to for-

Concil. Ni-
cen. 2. act.
4. p. 251.

- swear ones self, than to keep an oath for the destruction of Images. And concerning miracles, it is observable, that *Tarasius* confesses, that their Images did work none in their dayes: because miracles were for unbelievers; and yet *Manzo* a Bishop there present saith, he was cured of a disease by laying an Image of Christ upon the part affected. *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* say, the miracle of the Image at *Berytus* was done in those times; and yet after the reading the story (which made the good Fathers weep) *Tharasius* saith those words, which make this story, by comparing these circumstances together, appear a meer *Fabulous imposture*. For in the Council of *Nice*, the story is reported as written by *S. Athanasius* near four hundred years before; but not only those Authors but *Sigebert* saith it was done *A. D. 765.* and *Lambecius* undertakes to prove that this story was never written by *S. Athanasius*. But most remarkable is the passage which *Eutychius* the Patriarch of *Alexandria* relates concerning the occasion of *Theophilus* the Emperours extirpating Images out of Churches. One of the Courtiers had told him there was an Image of the Blessed Virgin, from whose breasts there drops Milk upon her day; but search being
- p. 223.
- p. 258.
- Bell. de
script. Ec-
cl. in
Athanas.
Baron. ad
a. 787.
n. 29.
- Sigeb.
Chron. ad
A. 765.
Lambec.
Comment.
de Bibli-
oth. Vin-
dobon. l. 1.
p. 124. &c.
Eutychii
An. To. 2.
p. 448.

being made the Cheat was discovered, the Church officers executed, and all Images prohibited. If all the Impostors of this kind were dealt with after the same manner, there would be fewer pretences to miracles wrought by Images than there are.

3. By crying up those for *Martyrs*, who suffered for the worship of Images, and opposing the *Imperial Edicts* for pulling them down. Thus Pope Gregory 2. in his *Epistle* to Leo magnifies the zeal of the women who killed the Emperours Officer who was sent to demolish the Image of Christ called *Antiphoneta*, and afterwards suffered themselves for the tumult they raised in the City. But this was not the only Act of Zeal in the women in this good Cause; for as Baronius relates it, out of the Acts of Stephanus extant in Damascens Works, when a new Patriarch was set up in the room of Germanus, they shook off all Modesty, and ran into the Church, and threw stones at the Patriarch, and called him Hireling, Wolf, and what not? One need not wonder at the mighty zeal of the women in this Cause, for as Pope Gregory notably observes on behalf of Images, the women were wont to take the little Children in their arms, and shew them this and the other Image; which contri-

Greg. 2.
ep. 1. ad
Leon.

Baron. ad
A. 726.
n. 12.

Greg. 2.
ep. 2.

buted mightily to the *infallibility* of *Oral Tradition*: when the *women* and *Nurses* could point with their *Fingers* to the *Articles* of *Faith* elegantly expressed in *Pictures*, which the *Children* did delight to look upon. The great number of *Martyrs* in this Cause, of which *Baronius* glories, consisted chiefly of *women* and *Monks*, who were the most zealous *Champions* in it. And the *late Historian* can hardly abstain from making the *Empress Irene* a *Martyr* in this Cause; for in his *Epistle* to the *Queen* (a *Lady* of so incomparably greater *Virtue* and *Goodness*, that it is an affront to her *Majesty* to commend such an one to her *protection*) he had the boldness to tell her that the only *imputation* which assaults those *Princesses* reputed (viz. *Irene* and *Theodora*) was their piety in restoring the *Religious* use and *veneration* of *holy Images* to the *Eastern Empire*. What can be expected from such an *Historian*, who durst in the face of the *World* tell her *Majesty* so impudent a falsehood? For *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, *Glycas*, *Theophanes*, *Constantinus Manasses*, although *Friends* to the worship of *Images*, yet all accuse *Irene* of *Intolerable Ambition* and *Cruelty* to her *Son*, the *Emperour Constantine*, and to all his *Kindred*. Nay,
Baronius

History of
the Icono-
clasts E-
pistle De-
dicat.

p. 3. 5.

Zonar. An-
nal. Tb. 4.

p. 97.
Cedren. p.

473.

Glyc. p.

285.

Theoph. p.

398.

Manass. p.

90, 91.

Baronius himself (who minceth the matter as much as may be) saith, *That if* Baron. ad
A. 796. n. 8.
she used those cruelties to her Son, out of a desire of Empire, as the Greek Historians say she did, she was worse than Agrippina: but Const. Manasses, as zealous as any for Images, makes her worse than a Tigre, or Lion, or Bear, or Dragon for her cruelty; and he can think of no Parallel for her among women but Medea. And was not this an excellent Confessour at least, if not a Martyr in this Cause? a Person fit to be commended to her Majesties protection, as one that suffered only under the imputation of her zeal for Images? But if any be given up to believe lies, some must be first given up to tell them. And if this doughty Historian hath any honour or Conscience left, he ought to beg her Majesties pardon, for offering such an affront to her. But what had Queen Mary deserved at his hands, that in his Key to his History, he should compare her to the Empress Irene?

Pref. p. 21.

4. By pretending to Antiquity. This might justly be wondred at in so clear evidence to the contrary, as I have made to appear in this matter: but however, among the ignorant and superstitious multitude, the very pretending to it goes a great way.

Thus

AA45 Steph. Thus the Patriarch *Germanus* boasted of
Jnn. apud Fathers and Councils for Image-worship to
Damascen. the Emperor *Leo*; but what Fathers, or
 Councils did the aged Patriarch mean? why did he not name and produce them to
 stop the Emperours proceedings against
Baron. ad Images? *Baronius* confesseth, there were
A. 726. no Councils which had approved the wor-
n. 6. ship of Images by any Canon; but because
 they never condemned it, being constantly
 practised, it was sufficient. All the mis-
 chief is, this constant practice is as far
 from being proved, as the definition of
 Councils. If the picture *Christ* sent to
Abgarus King of *Edessa*, or those drawn
 by *S. Luke*, or the forged Canon of the
 Council of *Antioch*; or the counterfeit
 Authority of *S. Athanasius* about the
 Image at *Berytus*; if such evidences as
 these will do the business; they have
 abundance of Antiquity on their side: but
 if we be not satisfied with these, they will
 call us *Hereticks*, or it may be, *Samaritan*
Sectaries, and that is all we are to ex-
 pect in this matter.

5. The Council of *Nice* had a trick be-
 yond this, *viz.* burning, or suppressing
 all the writings that were against them.

Concil. Nic. The Popes Deputies in the fifth *Asian*
2. aff. 5. made the motion, which was received and
p. 387.

con-

consented to by the Council: and they ^{Concil. Nic.} made a Canon to that purpose, ^{Can. 9.} That all writings against Images should be brought into the Patriarch of Constantinople, under pain of Anathema if a Laick, or Deposition, if in Orders (and this without any limitation as to Authors or Time,) and there to be disposed of among heretical Books. So that it is to be wondred, so much evidence should yet be left in the Monuments of Antiquity against the worship of Images.

As to what concerns the matter of Argument for the worship of Images produced in this Age, I must leave that to its proper place, and proceed to the last Period, as to this Controversie, which is necessary for discerning the History and the State of it, viz.

4. When the Doctrine and Practice of Image-worship was settled upon the principles allowed and defended in the Roman Church. Wherein I shall do these 2 things.

1. I shall shew what additions have been to this doctrine and practice since the Nicene Council.

2. Wherein the present practice of Image-worship in the Roman Church doth consist, and upon what principles it is defended.

1. For

1. For the *additions* that have been made in this matter since the *Nicene Council*. And those lie especially in two things.

1. In making *Images* of God the *Father*, and the *Holy Trinity*. 2. In the *manner* of *worship* given to *Images*.

1. In making *Images* of God the *Father* and the *Trinity*. It is easie to observe how much the most earnest pleaders for *Images* did then abhor the making of any *Image* of God. So *Gregory* 2. in his *Epistle* to *Leo* saith expressly, *They made no Images of God, because it is impossible to paint or describe him; but if we had seen or known him, as we have done his Son, we might have painted and represented him too, as well as his Son. We make no Image or Likeness of the invisible Deity, saith the Patriarch Germanus, whom the highest Orders of Angels are not able to comprehend. If we cannot paint the Soul, saith Damascen, how much less can we represent God by an Image, who gave that Being to the soul which cannot be painted? What Image can be made of him, who is invisible, incorporeal, without quantity, magnitude, or form? We should err indeed, saith he, if we should make an Image of God who cannot be seen,*

Greg. 2.
ep. ad Leon.
Aug.

German.
epist. ad
Joh. Synod.
in act. 4.
Concil. Nic.
p. 291.
Damascen.
orat. 1. de
imag.
p. 747.

Orat. 2.
p. 759.

seen; and the same he repeats in other Orat. 3.
 places, who is there, in his senses, saith p. 767, 768
 Stephanus Junior, that would go about
 to paint the Divine Nature, which is
 immaterial and incomprehensible? For if Acta Steph.
 we cannot represent him in our minds, Jun. apud
 how much less can we paint him in co- Damasc.
 lours? Now these four, Gregory, Ger- p. 805.
 manus, Damascen, and Stephanus were
 the most renowned Champions for the De-
 fence of Images; and did certainly speak
 the sense of the Church at that time: To Conc. Nic. 2.
 the same purpose speak act. 4, 5,
 Joh. Theſſalonicen- 6, 7.
 ſis, Leontius, and others in the Nicene
 Council. The Greek Author of the Book
 of the use of Images according to the sense Biblioth.
 of the second Council of Nice (published Patrum
 by Morellius and Fronto Ducens) goes far- Gr. Lat.
 ther, for he saith, That no Images are To. 1. p. 737.
 to be made of God, and if any man go
 about it, he is to suffer death as a Pagan.
 By which it appears that according to the
 sense of this Council, the making any
 Images of God was looked on as a part of
 Heathen Idolatry. But when a breach is
 once made, the waters do not stop just at
 the mark, which the first makers of the
 breach designed: Other men thought they
 had as much reason to go a little farther,
 as they had to go thus far. Thence by de-
 grees

grees the *Images* of God the Father, and the Holy Trinity came into the Roman Church, and the making of these Images defended upon reasons which seemed to them as plausible, as those for the *Images* of Christ upon his appearing in our Nature; for so God the Father might be represented not in his nature, but as he is said to have appeared in the Scriptures.

Baron. ad
A. D.
726. n.

Baronius, in his Marginal Notes on the Epistle of Gregory, saith, *Afterwards it came into use to make Images of God the Father, and of the Trinity; not that they fall under our view, but as they appeared in holy writ; for what can be described, may be painted; to the same purpose he speaks in another place. It*

Ad A. 765.
n. 8.

seems then by the confession of Baronius no *Images* of God the Father were in use then, because they did not think them lawful; when they first came into use,

Christian.
Lup. not.
in Canon.
Conc. Sept.
dissert. c. 5.
p. 1175.

Christianus Lupus professes, that he knows not; but, he saith, there were none such in the Roman Church in the time of Nicolaus I. But Bellarmin, Suarez, and

Bell. de
Imag. l. 2.
c. 8.

others, produce an argument for the lawfulness of them, from the general practice of their Church, which, they say, would not have suffered such an universal custom, if such Images had been unlawful.

lawful. Bernardus Pujol Professeur of ^{Pujol de}
 Divinity in Perpignan, saith, not only that ^{sacr. Adora.}
 the Images of the Trinity are universal- ^{cultu disp.}
 ly received among Catholicks, but that ^{3. sect. 4.}
 they are allowed by the Council of Trent, ^{p. 250, 252.}
 and doth suppose the use of them as a
 thing certain and undoubted: and saith,
 that such Images are to be worshipped.
 For, saith he, as the mind is excited by the
 Image of Christ, or the Saints, so may
 devotion be raised by such an Image of ^{rsambert.}
 the Deity. ^{de Myster.}
 rsambertus saith, that they ^{Inc. ad}
 who give caution concerning the doing of ^{q. 25. disp.}
 a thing, as the Council of Trent doth, ^{3. art. 6.}
 about the Images of God, are to be under-
 stood to approve the thing it self: and
 he saith, the opinion about the lawfulness
 of such Images is so certain, that to
 say otherwise is rashness; and the com-
 mon practice of the Church for a long
 time hath been to have such Images in
 Churches, and they were never reprov'd
 either by the Pope, or so much as a Pro-
 vincial Synod. Vasquez goes farther, ^{Vasq. ad 3.}
 saying, That the lawfulness of Images of ^{Aq. disp.}
 the Trinity is proved by the most fre- ^{103. c. 3.}
 quent practice of the Church, which com-
 monly at Rome and other places, doth
 set forth the Image of the Trinity to be
 worshipped by the People. Arriaga saith,
 That

Arriaga
ad 3. Tb.
disp. 5.
sect. 1.

Tann. To. 3.
disp. 5. q. 2.
dub. 3.

Suar. in
Aq. 3. p.
Tb. 1. q. 25.
disp. 54.
sect. 2.
Cajet. in
Aq. 3. q. 25.
art. 3.
Procession.
secund.
sum Sa-
rum 1555.
fol. 16.

Petav. de
Incar. l. 15.
c. 14. n. 1.

That it is so certain that these Images are lawful, that to say the contrary is not only rashness, but a plain error; for God cannot be supposed to suffer his universal Church to err in a matter of such moment. Tannerus asserts, That it is not only lawful to make Images of God and the Trinity; but to propose them as objects of worship; which, he saith, is the common opinion of their Divines, and he proves it, as the rest do, from the practice of their Church and the Council of Trent. Neither are such Images, saith Cajetan, only for shew, as the Cherubims were in the Temple; but they are set up that they may be worshipped, as the practice of the Church shews. In the processionale of Sarum, I find a Rubrick for the incensing the Image of the Holy Trinity: which clearly manifests the practice of worshipping the Image of the Trinity.

Now in this matter, I say, there is a plain innovation since the second Nicene Council, which thought such Images utterly unlawful, as Petavius proves, from the Testimonies before mentioned.

Q. 8.

But T. G. saith, That Germanus and Damascen, and consequently the rest, only

ly spake against such Images, as are supposed to represent the Divinity in it self; with whom they fully agree in this matter, and think all such Images of the Divinity unlawful. To which I answer, (1.) This is plainly contrary to their meaning; for they shew that it was unlawful to make any Image of God till the Incarnation of Christ, as might be at large proved from all their Testimonies. Now this assertion would signifie nothing, if they thought it lawful to make any Image of God from the manner of his appearances. For then it was as lawful to make Images of God before as after the Incarnation of Christ. And one of the arguments of Damascen and the rest for the Images of Christ, although he were God, was to shew the reality of his humane nature, against those who said he took only the appearance of it. But if an appearance of God were sufficient ground for an Image, then this argument did prove nothing at all. And yet the Council of Nice laies so great weight upon it, as to conclude those who reject Images to deny the reality of Christs humane nature. They went therefore upon this principle, that no meer appearance is a sufficient ground for the Image of a Person; for in case it

be a meet *appearance*, the representation that is made, is only of the *appearance* itself, and not of the *Person* who never assumed that *likeness*, which he appeared in, to any *Personal union*; but, say they, when the humane nature was *personally united* to the *God head*, then it was *lawful* to make a *representation* of that *Person* by an *Image* of his *humane nature*. How far this will hold, at to an *object* of *divine worship*, must be discussed afterwards, but from hence it appears, that they did not speak only against such *Images* which represent the *Divinity in it self*, but against such as were made of any *appearance* of him. And it is observable that the ancient *Schoolmen*, such as *Alexander Hales*, *Aquinas*, *Bonaventure* and *Marsilius*, do all agree that any *representation* of *God* was forbidden before the *Incarnation* of *Christ*; from whence it follows, that they could not think any *representations* of *God* from his *appearances* to have been lawful under the *Law*. And there can be no reason given, why the *representation* of *God* from an *appearance* should have been more *unlawful* then, than under the *Gospel*. (2.) This would only hold then against *Anthropomorphites*, or those who supposed the *Divinity* to be really like their *Images*,
of

Alex. Hales

p. 3. q. 30.

m. 3. art. 3.

Aquin. p. 3.

q. 25. a. 3.

re b. adj.

Bona. v. l. 3.

d. 9. q. 2.

Mars. l. 3.

q. 8. a. 2.

of which sort I have shewn how very few there were among the Heathens themselves; and if this had been their meaning, they should not have made all *Images of God unlawful*, but have given them cautions not to think the *Divinity* to be like them. But whatever the conceptions of men were, they declare in general, all *Images of God to be unlawful*, which the *Church of Rome* is so far from doing, that the *Council of Trent* allows some kind of *representations of God from his appearances*; and the constant *practice* of that Church shews, that they picture *God the Father as an Old Man*, not only in their *Books*, but in *places of worship*, and with a design to *worship Him under that representation*; which was a thing the great *Patrons of Images* in the time of the second *Council of Nice* professed to abhor.

(3.) Those *Images of God* which are allowed in the *Roman Church* are confessed by their own *Authors* to be apt to induce men to think *God to be like to them*. Joh. Hessel. in Hesselius, a *Divine* of great reputation in the *Council of Trent*, confesses, That from the *Images of God in humane shape* men may easily fall into the error of the *Anthropomorphites*; especially the more ignorant, for whose sake especially those

conc. Trident. sess. 25. de Imag.

Joh. Hessel. in Catech.

O o 2 Images

Images are made. It being not so easie for them to understand *Metaphorical* and *Analogical representations*; but it being very natural, for them to judge of things according to the most common and sensible representations of them. And if they were all *Anthropomorphites* in the *Roman Church*, I wonder what other representation they could make of *God the Father*, than that which is used, and allowed, and worshipped among them. If there be then so much danger in that opinion as *T. G.* intimates, how can that *Church* possibly be excused, that gives such occasions to the People to fall into it? He that goes about to express the invisible nature of God by an artificial Image, sins grievously and makes an Idol, saith Sanders; but how is it possible for a man to express the invisible nature of God by an Image, otherwise than it is done in the *Church of Rome*? How did the *Heathens* do it otherwise according to *T. G.* than by making the Image of God in the Likeness of Man? But, *T. G.* saith, men may conceive the Deity otherwise than it is, and so go about to make an Image to represent it, which is folly and madness; and so it is to make such an answer; for then all the folly and madness in making the grossest Images of
God

Sander. de
honor. Imag.
ador. c. 4.

God doth not lye in the *Images* themselves, but in the *imagination* of the *Persons* that make them. Is it not as great in those that worship them with such an *imagination*? if it be, then whatever the Design of the makers was, if they be apt to beget such *imaginations* in those who see and worship them, they are in that respect as unlawful, as *T. G.* supposes any *Images* of God among the *Heathens* to have been. (4.) What doth *T. G.* mean, when he makes those *Images* unlawful which represent the Divinity in it self, and not those which represent God as he appeared? Can the meer essence of any thing be represented by an *Image*? Is it possible to represent any being otherwise than as it appears? But it may be *T. G.* hath found out the way of painting *Essences*; (if he hath, he deserves to have the *Patent* for it, not only for himself, but for his *Heirs* and *Executors*.) For he allows it to be the peculiar priviledge of an *infinite Being* that it cannot be represented as it is in it self; then all other things may be represented as they are in themselves, in opposition to the manner of their appearance; or else the distinction signifies nothing. *Petrus Thyraus* a man highly commended by *Possevin* for for his explication of this

Possuin.
biblioth.
l. 8. c. 16.

Bell, de
Imag, l. 2.
6. 8.

matter, saith, *the meaning is, that an Image doth not represent the Nature but the Person that is visible*; for, saith he, *when we see the Image of a man, we do not say we see a Reasonable Creature, but a Man.* Very well! and so in the Image of the Deity we do not see the Divine Nature, but the Divine Person, or in such a way as he became visible. *The Invisible Nature of God cannot be represented in an Image*; (and can the invisible Nature of Man?) Therefore, saith he, *it is no injury to God to be painted by an Image*: no more upon these principles than to a man, Bellarmine proves the lawfulness of making Images of God, because man is said to be the Image of God; and he may be painted, therefore the Image of God may be too; for that which is the Image of the Image is likewise the Image of the Exemplar, those which agree in a third agreeing among themselves. To this some answer'd that man was not the Image of God as to his body, but as to his soul which could not be painted; but Bellarmine takes off this answer, by saying, that then a man could not not be painted, for he is not a man in regard of his outward lineaments; but in regard of his substance, and especially his Soul; but notwithstanding the soul cannot be

be painted, yet a man may truly and properly be said to be painted, because the Figure and colours of an Image do represent the whole man; otherwise, saith he, a thing painted could never seem to be the true Thing, as Zeuxis his grapes did which deceived the birds. Therefore according to Bellarmine's reasoning, that which represents a Being according to outward appearance, although it have an invisible Nature; yet is a true and real representation, and represents it as it is in it self; and as far as it is possible for an Image to represent any thing. Wherein then lyes the difference between making the Picture of a man, and the Image of God? If it be said, that the Image of God is very short, imperfect, and obscure; is not the same thing to be said of the Picture of a man, which can only represent his outward Features without any description of his inward substance or soul? If it be farther said, that there is a real resemblance between a Picture of a man, and his outward lineaments, but there is none, between God and the Image of a man; then I ask, what Bellarmine's argument doth signifie towards the proving the lawfulness of making an Image of God? For if God may be painted because man may, who is the Image of God; (for the Image

of the *Image* is the *Image* of the *Exemplar*;) then it follows that *Man* is the *Image* of *God*, as he may be painted, and so *God* and *man* must agree in that common thing which is a capacity of being represented, which cannot be supposed without as real a resemblance between *God* and his *Image*, as between a *Man* and his *Picture*.

T.G. p. 69. But T. G. tells us, that they abhor the very thoughts of making any such likeness of *God*, and all that the Council of Trent allows is only making representations of some apparition or action of *God* in a way proportionable to our *Humane Conception*. I answer, (1.) It is no great sign of their abhorring the thoughts of any such likeness of *God*, to see such arguments made use of to prove the lawfulness of making *Images* of *God* which do imply it. (2.) Those *Images* of *God* which are the most used and allowed in the *Roman Church*, have been thought by wise men of their own Church to imply such a *Likeness*. Mola-

Molanus de *Thyraus* mention four sorts of *Images* of the *Trinity*, that have been used in the *Roman Church*. 1. That of an old man for *God the Father*, and of *Christ* in humane nature, and of the *Holy Ghost* in the Form of a Dove. 2. That of three Persons of equal Age and Stature. 3. That of an *Image* of the *Bl. Virgin*.

Bl. Virgin in the belly of which was represented the Holy Trinity: this Joh. Gerson, Gerson saith, he saw in the Carmelites ^{serm. in nativit.} Church; and saith, there were others like ^{Dom. To. 4.} it; and Molanus saith, he had seen such ^{p. 620.} a one himself among the Carthusians.

4. That of one Head with three faces, or one body and three Heads; which Molanus saith, is much more common than the other; and is wont to be set before the Office of the Holy Trinity; these two latter those Authors do not allow; because the former of them tends to a dangerous error, viz. that the whole Trinity was incarnate of the B. Virgin, and the latter, Molanus saith, was an invention of the Devil, (it seems then, there was one invention of the Devil at least to be seen in the Masse-Book;) for, saith he, the Devil once appeared with three Heads to a Monk, telling him he was the Trinity. But the two former, they allow and defend; Waldensis, saith Molanus, with a great deal of ^{waldens.} learning defends that of the three Persons ^{To. 3. tit. 19. c. 155.} from the appearance of the Three to Abraham; and Thyraus justifieth the first, and the most common from the Authority of the Church, the Consent of Fathers, and the H. Scriptures. And yet Pope John 22. ^{Avent. An. nal. Boior. l. 7. p. 751.} as Aventinus relates it, condemned some

to the Fire as *Anthropomorphites* and enemies to Religion, for making the very same representation of the Trinity, which he defends, being only of God as an old man, and of the Son as a young man, and of the Holy Ghost under the picture of a Dove.

Tsambert.
de Myst.
Incarn. ad
q. 25. disp.
3. art. 7.

Tsambertus takes notice of this story; but, he saith, they were such Images as were according to the mind of the *Anthropomorphites*; whereas *Aventinus* saith expressly, they were no other than such as are used and allowed in the Roman Church; by which *Tsambertus* saith, there is no more danger of mens being led into a false opinion of God, than there is by the expressions of Scripture. And upon this ground the danger doth not lye in making any representations of God, but in entertaining a false opinion of those representations; and the Scripture instead of forbidding men to make any similitude of God, should only have forbidden men to entertain any erroneous conceit of any Image of him. But, if the Church take care to prevent such an opinion, as he saith she doth, the other Image with three faces and one Head, or one body and three Heads might be justified on the same reason that the other is. Whereas the Roman Catechism saith, that Moses did therefore wisely say, that they
saw

Catech.
Rom. part.
3. n. 12.

saw no similitude of God, lest they should be led aside by error, and make an Image of the Divinity, and give the honour due to God to a Creature. From whence it follows, that all Images that tend to such an error are forbidden, and all worship given to such Images is Idolatry. And it is farther observable, that the Image allowed in the Roman Church for God the Father is just such a one as S. Augustin *Aug. de fide & symb. c. 7.* saith, it is wickedness for Christians to make for God and to place in a Temple, and I would desire of T. G. to tell me, what other Image of God the greatest Anthropomorphites would make, than that which is most common among them? And if there be such danger in mens conceptions of a Deity from any Images of God, they give as much occasion for it, as ever any people did: So much, that all men of any ingenuity have cryed shame upon them; but to very little purpose. *Abulensis, Durandus* and *Peresius* are cited by *Bellarmin* himself as condemning any Images of God: and which is observable, they do not condemn such Images as represent God in himself, as T. G. speaks, but such as were in use in the Roman Church. *Durandus* saith, it is a foolish thing either to make or to worship such Images, *Durand. in sent. l. 3. dist. 9. q. 2. n. 15.*

Images, viz. of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, after the former manner: and which is yet more, he quotes Damascen against this sort of Images, saying, that it was impiety and madness to make them: and so doth Peresius too. Thuanus mentions this passage relating to this matter, that A. D. 1562. the Queen Mother of France by the advice of two Bishops and these three Divines, Butillerius, Espemcaus and Picherellus declared, that all Images of the Trinity should be taken out of Churches and other places, as forbidden by Scripture, Councils and Fathers: and yet these were such Images which T. G. pleads for; but this soon came to nothing, as all good purposes of Reformation among them have ever done.

*Peres. de
tradit. part
3. p. 118.
ed. Colon.
Thuan. hist.
l. 28.*

*Thamb. ad
q. 25. disp.
3. art. 4.*

If it be said, as it is by *Thambertus*, that these are not properly Images of God, but of his appearance in a visible form; I answer, (1.) This doth not mend the matter, for we are speaking of an Image of the Father as a Person in the Trinity; and whatever represents him as such must represent him as he is in himself, and not barely in regard of a temporary appearance; and as to such an Image of God the Father, T. G.'s distinction will by no means reach. (2.) It is the common opinion

opinion of the *Divines* in the *Roman Church*, that all the appearances of God in the old Testament were not of God himself, but of *Angels* in his stead. And *Clichtovaus* gives that as a Reason why all representations of God were unlawful in the old Testament; because all appearances were by *Angels*, and those *Angels* were no more united to the Forms they assumed, than a mans body is to his Garments: from whence it must follow that all representations of God by such appearances is still unlawful. (3.) Suppose this be a representation only of some appearance of God, and so not of what God is, but of what he did, I ask then on what account such an effect of divine power is made the object of Divine adoration? For we have seen already by the confession of their most eminent *Divines*, that the Images of the Trinity are proposed among them as objects of adoration; now say I, how comes a meer creature, such as that apparition was, to become the object of Divine worship? *Durandus* well saw the consequence of this assertion; for when he had said, that those corporeal Forms which are painted are no representations of the Divine Person which never assumed them, but only of those very Forms themselves in which
he

Vasquez ad
9. 25. disp.
103. art. 3.
c. 3.
Clichtov. in
Damasc.
l. 4. c. 17.

he appeared ; therefore, saith he, no more reverence is due to them than is due to the Forms themselves. When God appeared in the burning bush, that Fire was then an effect of Divine Power, and deserved no worship of it self ; how then can the Image of the burning bush, be an object of Divine worship ? If God did appear to

Dan. 7. 9. Daniel as the Ancient of dayes, it must be either by the impression of such an Idea upon his Imagination, or by assuming the Form of an old man ; but either way this was but a meer Creature, and had no such personal Union to the Godhead to deserve adoration ; how much less then doth the Image of this Appearance deserve it ? So that I cannot see how upon their own principles they can be excused from Idolatry, who give proper Divine worship to such Images as these. He commits Idolatry, saith Sanders, that proposes any Image to be worshipped as the true Image of the Divine Nature : if this be Idolatry, what is it then to give the highest sort of worship to the meer representation of a Creature ? for those Images, which only set forth such appearances, are but the Creatures of Creatures, and so still farther off from being the object of adoration. So that notwithstanding all T. G's evasions and

*Sander. de
honor.
Imag. ado-
rat. c. 4.*

and distinctions, we find that as to this matter of the *Images* of *God* and the *Trinity*, the *Church* of *Rome* is not only gone off from *Scripture*, *Reason*, and *Antiquity*, but from the *doctrine* and *practice* of the second *Council* of *Nice* too.

2. I now come to the *additions* that have been made to the *Council* of *Nice* by the *Church* of *Rome* as to the *manner* of *worship* given to *Images*. For which I must consider,

1. What that *worship* was, which the *Council* of *Nice* did give to *Images*?

2. What *additions* have been made to it since that time?

1. What that *worship* was which the *Council* of *Nice* did give to *Images*? which will appear by these two things.

1. That it defined *true* and *real worship* to be given to *Images*. 2. That it was an *inferiour worship*, and not *Latria*.

1. That it defined *true* and *real worship* to be given to *Images*; i.e. that *Images* were not only to be *Signs* and *helps* to *memory*, to call to mind or represent to us the *object* of *worship*; but that the *acts* of *worship* were to be performed to the *Images* themselves. The former *use* of *Images* doth suppose them to be only of the

the nature of Books, which represent things to our minds without any act of *adoration* performed to that which is only an *instrument* of *intellection* ; although the thing represented to the mind be a *proper object* of *adoration*. As, if by reading a Book an *Idea* of *God* is represented to my mind whom I ought to worship, yet no man can imagine that from hence I should fall down upon my knees out of *honour* to the Book, or with a *design* to worship it. When a man reads his *prayers* out of a Book, and makes use of that only as a *means* or *instrument* to help his understanding, and direct his expressions ; no man can have any colour of *Reason* to say that he worships the Book, which he uses for a quite different purpose. It is the same case as to *Images*, when they are used for no other end but barely to represent to the mind an object of worship ; as a *Crucifix* may do our *Saviour* ; then it is no more than an external *Mark* or *Character*, and hath the same use that *words* have. But those who go no farther than thus, stand condemned and Anathematized by the *second Council of Nice*. For that not only determines with a great deal of assurance that *Images* are to be set up in Churches and Houses, and ways, in order to the worship

ship of them ; but very freely Anathematizes all sorts of dissenters either in judgement or practice. Anathema be to all those who do not Salute the Holy and Venerable Images : Anathema to all hereticks : Anathema to those that follow the Council against Images. Anathema to them that do not salute the Images of Christ and his Saints. Epiphanius in the sixth session declares this to be the sense of the Council ; Those who say that Images are Act. 6. p. 542.
to be had only for memory and not for worship or salutation, are half-wicked, and partly true and partly false, they are so far right as they are for Images, but they are in the wrong as they are against the worship of them. O the folly of these men ! saith Epiphanius. But this is not all, for as it was not sufficient to have Images for helps to memory, so neither was it to give them some kind of honour or reverence ; nothing but worship would satisfy them. So the Patriarch Tarasius, saith in plain terms, they who pretend to honour Images, and not to worship them, are guilty of Hypocrisie, and self-contradiction. For worship, saith he, is a Symbol and signification of Honour, therefore they who deny to worship them, do dishonour them. This was the Patriarchal way of arguing in this famous

P p

Council.

p. 577.

Act. 6. p. 542.

Act. 4. p. 247.

Council. And this he proves from the saying of Anastasius Bishop of Theopolis, Let no man be offended with the name of adoration or worship, for we worship men and Angels, but do not serve them, and worship is an expression of Honour. And it would do one good at heart, to see how all the Reverend Fathers clap their hands for joy at the subtle Criticism which it seems that Bishop had discovered, viz. that when our saviour said, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him Only shalt thou serve, that Only was not applyed to worship but to Service. Mark that, cries the Council, Only belongs to Service, and not to worship, therefore although we may not serve Images, yet we may worship them. If the Devil had been so subtle, might not he have said to our Saviour, Mark that, you are forbidden Only to Serve any else but God, but you may worship me, notwithstanding that command? The Patriarch Tarasius in his Epistle to Constantine and Irene expresses this worship by the very same word which is used to God; for, when God saith, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve; he restrains Service to himself, but allows worship to other things; therefore, saith he, ἀπολογούμενος ὡς ἀναγκασμένοι, without the

the least doubt or dispute it is a thing acceptable and well-pleasing to God, for us to worship and salute the Images of Christ and the B. Virgin, and of the Holy Angels and Saints. If any man think otherwise, and have any doubt in his mind, or any wavering, *καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν εἰκόνα προσκύνησιν*, about the worship of the Venerable Images, the Holy and Oecumenical Synod hath Anathematized him; and what is an Anathema but a Separation from God? And thus it becomes no less than damnation to doubt of the Worship of Images. O blessed Change! from what it was in the primitive times, when it was damnation to worship them. This worship he expresses in the same Epistle by *Kissing*, by *bowing*, by *prostration*; all which he shews from the signification of the word, and the use of it in Scripture. And in the Definition of the Council, among the Acts of worship, are reckoned the oblation of Incense ^{553.} and Lights, because the honour of the Image passes to the thing represented by it. So that all external acts of adoration were by the Definition of this Council to be performed to Images; and the same have been practised by the approbation of the Roman Church; wherein this Council of Nice is received as a General Council,

concil. Tri-
dent. sess.
25.

Spelman.
Concil. To.
2. p. 653.
666.

Lyndwood
Provinc.
l. 5. tit. de
hærit.
p. 16c. 2.

and appealed to by the Council of Trent, supposing the Decrees of that Council to be still in force. In the Constitutions of Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury made in the Convocation of the Bishops and Clergy begun at S. Pauls, 14 Jan. A. D. 1408. we have a particular enumeration of the several Acts of worship which were required to be performed to Images; and the places and Reliques of the Saints, viz. processions, genuflections, bowing of the body, thurifications, deosculations, oblations, burnings of Lights, and Pilgrimages, and all other forms and modes of worship which have been practised in the times of our predecessors or in our own; and this not only the People were required to practise, but the Clergy to teach and preach up the worship of the Cross and other Images with these acts of adoration. And this Constitution is extant in Lyndwood as part of the Canon Law then in force; who in his Notes upon it, observes, that offering incense was a sacrifice, as it was burnt upon the Altar, and a part of Latria, and therefore he saith, the same incense was not used to the Clergy and people with that burnt upon the Altar, but of another sort which was not consecrated. In the Records of the Tower is extant the Form
of

of *Renunciation* imposed on the *Lollards*, class. 19. R. 2. Spelman. p. 655.
 wherein are these words concerning the
worship of Images, I do swear to God
 and to all his *Seynts* upon this ho-
 ly Gospel, that fro this day forward
 I shall worship Images, with pray-
 ing and offering unto them in the
 worshop of the *Seynts* that they be
 made after. And yet after all this plain
 evidence, some have had the confidence
 to tell us, that they hardly worship *Images*
 in the *Roman Church*, but praying to them
 they abhor and detest. What conscien-
 tious men were those then who made the
 poor *Lollards* swear to do that, which
 they forbid them to do? But surely the
 Bishops and Clergy then understood the
doctrine and practice of the *Roman Church*
 as well as *T. G.* and his Brethren do at
 this day; and having Authority in their
 hands were not so cautious and reserved in
 this matter, as some think it for their in-
 terest to be at present.

And it is observable, that those learned ¶ 10.
 men in the *Roman Church* who have been
 most nice and scrupulous in this matter of
 the *worship of Images*, have yet agreed
 with the rest in the practice of the out-
 ward *acts of worship* towards them. So

Vasquez
disp. 106.
c. 1.

Lugo de
Myfter.
Incarn.
disp. 36.
sect. 2.

Suarez in
3. p. 9. 25.
disp. 54.
sect. 1.

Durand. in
sent. 3.
dist. 9. q. 2.

Vasquez observes concerning Durandus, Molcot, and Picus Mirandula, who speak the most suspiciously among them about the worship of Images, that they agreed with the Catholick Church in performing all external acts of adoration to Images, and that they differed only in the manner of speaking from the rest: and that the main thing the Council of Nice determined was the real acts of worship to be performed to Images, leaving the several ways of explaining the manner of giving them, and the names of this worship at greater liberty. The same, Card. Lugo saith, that these men differed from Hereticks, because these utterly refuse giving external acts of adoration to Images, which they allowed. Suarez confesses that some of the Hereticks condemned by the Council of Nice did maintain the Use of Images for Memory, which, he saith, appears by the Acts of the Council; and that all Catholicks agree in this proposition, Imagines esse adorandas, that Imagines are to be worshipped, although some, he saith, do so explain that worship as to differ little or nothing from hereticks. So Durandus, saith he, openly teacheth that Images are not to be worshipped, but only improprie & abusive, improperly and abusively, because at their presence

sence we call to mind those objects represented by them, which are worshipped before the Images, as if they were present, and on this account the Images are said to be worshipped.

It will contribute much to the understanding the *State* of this *Controversie*, to shew a little more particularly, what the opinion of these men was, and how it is condemned by the rest as *favouring of Heresie*, and *repugnant to the Council of Nice*, and the *sense of the Catholick Church*. Durandus goes upon these grounds,

1. That worship properly belongs to him in whom the *cause* of that worship is, and by *accident* may be given to that which hath only a *relation* to that which is the *cause*.
2. In him to whom proper worship is given we are to consider both the *Person* to whom it is given, and the *Cause* for which; worship is only properly given to the *Person*, and not to any *part* of him; the *Cause* is that from whence the *excellency* of the *Person* arises.
3. That *Supreme worship* or *Latria* is due only to God for it self, by reason of his *Deity*, because the *Cause* of this honour is only in God; but by *accident* the honour of *Latria* may belong to other things; Now, saith he, a thing may have relation to God:

two waies, 1. When it goes to make up the same Person, as the *Humanity* of *Christ*. 2. When it hath only an *extrinsecal* relation to Him, as *Christs Mother*, or His *Image*. 4. That the *humane nature* of *Christ* hath only by *accident* the honour of *Latria* given to it, as being part of that *Person* who is worshipped, who is the *Son of God*; but the *Humanity* it self is not properly that which is worshipped, nor is the *Cause* or *reason* of that worship, but only of an inferiour. 5. Of those things which have only an *extrinsecal* relation to *God*, this is to be held in general; that either they deserve no worship at all of themselves, as the *Cross*, and *Images*, or other inanimate things: or if they do, as the *B. Virgin*, it is an inferiour worship; of the first he determines that no manner of worship doth belong to them, no not to the *Cross* it self, upon the account of any excellency, or contact of *Christ*, for which he gives this reason, *That which is no subject capable of holiness or vertue, cannot in it self be the term of adoration*, but the *Cross* on which *Christ* did hang, was not a subject capable of holiness, &c. *Nunquam ergo cruci Christi debetur aliquis honor nisi in quantum reducit in remembrance Christi*; no kind of honour is due

due to the *Cross*, but as it calls *Christ* to our remembrance. 6. That although the conception of the mind be of the thing represented upon sight of an *Image*; there is still a real difference in the thing, and in the conception, between the *Image* and the thing represented; and therefore properly speaking the same worship is never due to the *Image* that is to the object represented by it. But, saith he, because we must speak as the most do, the *Image* may be said to be worshipped with the same worship with the thing represented, because at the presence of the *Image* we worship the object represented by it as if he were actually present.

Holkot in his *Lectures* on the *Book of Wisdom*, saith, That in a large sense we may be said to worship the *Image*, because by the *Image* we call *Christ* to mind, and worship him before the *Image*: and therefore, saith he, I think it fitter to say, that I do not worship the *Image* of *Christ*, because it is wood, nor because it is the *Image* of *Christ*, but that I worship *Christ* before his *Image*: but he by no means alloweth, that *Latria* in any sense be given to an *Image* of *Christ*. 1. Because *Latria* is the worship due only to God, but no *Image* is God: and therefore
it

Holkot in
Sap. c. 13
Lect. 138.
p. 424.

it is a contradiction to say, that Latria is due only to God, and yet that it is due to the Image of Christ, and to Christ. 2. Then the same worship would be due to Christ and to a Stone, or to Christ and to a creature. 3. He that gives to any thing the worship of Latria, confesseth that to be God; therefore a man may as lawfully say the Image is God, as that it may be worshipped with Latria; and consequently that something which is not God is God. *Joh. Picus Mirandula* gave this for one of his conclusions, That neither the Cross, nor any other Image is to be worshipped with Latria after the way of Thomas: this conclusion was condemned, and he forced to write an *Apology* for it: where he saith, That the way of Thomas is dangerous, for the Image as an Image is distinct from the thing represented, therefore if as such it terminates the worship of Latria, it seems to follow that something which is not God is worshipped with Latria: and he declares, that he agrees with Durandus and Holcot: but withal, he saith, that this conclusion of his was condemned as scandalous, and against the Custom of the Universal Church. Yet, he concludes his *Apology*, with saying, That if he had universally condemned the worship

*Joh. Pic.
Mirand.
Apolog.
p. 103.*

ship of Images, his proposition had been Heretical. From whence it appears, that these persons who did agree in the practice, yet because they said the Images were to be worshipped only improperly and abusively, were not thought to believe, or do what the Church required. Therefore Suarez saith,

(1.) That it is de fide, or an article of Suarez id. Faith, images esse adorandas, that Images are to be worshipped, and that so he owned not in any limited and improper sense, but absolutely and simply; which article, he saith, is founded in the Tradition and Definitions of the Church, and he proves it by the constant practice of the Church.

(2.) That Images are to be worshipped not abusively and improperly, but vere & propriè, truly and properly, and that the contrary opinion of Durandus is dangerous, rash, and favouring of Heresie. So, he saith, Medina determines it, who reports Barth. that Victoria said it was Heretical; and Medina this conclusion, he saith, is commonly received among the modern Divines; and 3. p. q. 25. a. 3. he proves it from the Definitions of Councils; especially the second Council of Nice, which hath defined it under an Anathema. But, he adds, if Images were only to be worshipped abusively and improperly, the worship of them was rather simply

ply to be denied than affirmed; for an improper and abusive worship is no worship at all; and they were not to be condemned for Hereticks, who allow the use of Images for memory, and only deny their worship. To which he subjoyns this Reason, either the Image truly and in it self, is at least the material object of worship, total, or partial, or it is not; if it be, the thing is granted; if not, then in plain terms, the Image is not worshipped. For it is neither the formal nor the material object of worship; but only the occasion or sign exciting men to worship the thing represented. And according to this opinion, the Hereticks would speak more properly than the Catholicks. For he that at the sight of a beautiful creature is excited to praise or love the Creator, cannot be said to praise or love the creature, although the presence of the Creature did raise that devotion. Therefore, saith he, the Nicene Council did condemn this opinion, when it condemned those who said that Images did only serve for memory, which in truth is all the use that opinion allows them; and when the Nicene Council declares the worship given to Images not to be Latria; for if no more worship be allowed, but only worshipping the object

ject in presence of the Image, then the most perfect Latria may be given to Christ before the Image; and consequently the worship in that abusive and improper sense may be Latria, which the Council denies: and farther the same Council saith, that not only the exemplar may be worshipped in the Image, but that the Image is to be worshipped for the sake of the exemplar, by which it determines the Image to be the object of worship, although the Reason of it be the thing represented. (3.) Suarez saith, That not only the external acts of adoration are to be performed towards Images, but the very intention of worship to be directed towards them: For even Durandus himself did allow the external acts to be done towards them, and because the inward intention he said was directed to the exemplar, therefore he said the Images were only said abusively to be worshipped. For which assertion Suarez gives these reasons, (1.) The external act without the intention of the mind is no proper worship, but only counterfeit. And Leon-tius, quoted in the Council of Nice, saith, In all worship the inward intention is required. (2.) From many passages in that Council, implying that the intention
of

of worship ought to be about the Images, because they are said to deserve worship, and from the sayings of Epiphanius, Basilus, Adrianus, Tarasius there extant, and Elias Cretensis, who saith he did perfectly worship them, which could not be without the inward intention. And from the Council of Trent, which calls it due honour and worship; but it cannot be any true honour without the inward intention. (3.) To perform the external acts of worship before an Image, is either to worship it, or not: if it be, then the inward intention is granted; but since there may be a distinction between the intention of worship, and the intention of performing the external acts of worship; in order to worship it is not only necessary to perform the material acts, but to do them with the intention of giving worship by them. Neither is it enough to say, that there is an inward intention, but the outward acts are towards the Image, and the inward intention to the exemplar, For, saith Suarez, as true worship doth essentially require the intention of worship, so the worship of this or that particular thing doth require a proportionable intention towards that thing: and the worship of one thing cannot be said to be the worship of another

another thing distinct from it, unless it be some way participated by it; but the Image is a distinct thing from the exemplar, therefore the worship of the exemplar cannot be said to be the worship of the Image, unless the Image do partake of the worship, and consequently there must be an intention of giving worship to the Image. This, saith he, may be illustrated by an example; If a man kiss the ground out of a meer intention of giving worship to God thereby, he cannot truly and properly be said to worship the ground about which the material action is conversant, but only God to whom he directed his worship. And all this he confirms by more passages out of the Nicene Council, which, he saith, was not so regardless about the manner and names of worship as Vasquez imagined, but took great care to express it self so that true and proper worship be given to Images; which it defines under an Anathema; and although it useth other words, of salutation, honour, &c. yet it makes these equivalent to that real worship which it doth expressly require. *Am- Cathar. de
bros. Catharinus saith, that the opinion of cultu &
those who say Images are not truly and ador. Imag.
properly to be worshipped, but God to be P. 133.
worshipped before an Image, differs very
little*

little from those who deny any worship of Images, and is repugnant to the practice of the Church, because we direct our gestures, our words and signs of adoration to the Images, to which likewise we burn incense: And we worship the Cross, saying, O Crux ave, spes unica, &c. And he proves at large by the second Council of Nice, that true and real worship was required to be given to Images; and concludes that Images are not meerly for instruction, or memory, or exciting devotion, but that they are set up properly for worship. Therefore if any man asks another, *Suntne adorandæ Imagines?* intrepide respondeat, *adorandæ*. Are Images to be worshipped? let him answer without fear, they are. Because, saith he, Images being set apart by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost for such a sacred use, do obtain such a degree of Sanctification, that whoever violates them is guilty of Sacrilege and Treason against the Divine Majesty. For, saith he, God himself is most truly believed to be present in them after a particular manner, and he shewes his power and presence by them, using them often for Oracles, that after this manner our Saviours saying is fulfilled, I am with you to the end of the World.

And

And for the sake of this peculiar presence of God which we sensibly perceive (and if I should deny that I had done it myself I should be a lyar and ungrateful) Images do deserve a peculiar adoration, but shors of Latria, because they are sanctified for such spiritual offices. Naclantius another Italian Bishop, and an eminent Divine in the Council of Trent as well as Catharinus saith, That it is needleß caution for any to say, that they worship before the Image, sed & adorare imaginem sine quo volueris scrupulo, but they may say it roundly, and without the least scruple that they worship the Image. Bellarmine saith, That the Images of Christ and the Saints are to be worshipped, not only by accident and improperly, but by themselves and properly, so that they terminate the worship, as they are considered in themselves, and not barely as they represent the exemplar: which he proves from the definition of the Council of Nice, and the same reasons which are mentioned from Suarez before. Dominicus Soto another great Divine of the Council of Trent, determines positively, That Images are not intended by the Church only for helps to memory; for we do not worship the Scriptures or names of Saints, which call them

Naclant.
inarr. in Ep.
ad Rom. c. 1
p. 171.

Bell. de
Imag. l. 1.
c. 21.

Soto de
Instit. &
jure l. 2. q. 3
art. 2 in fin.

to our minds; but as to Images we ought to think otherwise, for they do not only raise our minds to worship those who are represented by them, sed eisdem ipsas debemus adorare, we ought to worship the Images themselves; for, saith he, the Church doth not say, we worship thee, O Christ, but thy Cross, and O Crux ave, spes unica, &c. whose words are repeated and approved by Ferd. Velosillus. Bernardus Pujol laies down this assertion, The Image truly and properly is the matter of adoration, and the worship truly and properly is terminated upon it: which, he saith, is plain from the seventh Council and from several others, and those are Anathematized who deny it. And the definitions of Councils being absolutely put, are properly to be understood: therefore the worship is truly and properly to be terminated on the Image: and not only the external but the internal worship is, he saith, to be terminated on the Image, which he proves likewise from the second Nicene Council, wherein it is not only required that men do the outward acts of worship, but that they do them with love and affection. And when, saith he, the Council of Trent mentions the external acts, it implies that the internal worship

Velosill.
Advertent.
Theol. Scho-
last. in
2. Tom.
Aug. ad 9.
quest. p. 332
ad fin.
Pujol de
sacro
ador. cultu
disp. 3.
sill. 7. p. 2.

is terminated upon the Images; for the external acts have not the nature of worship, but as they are signs of internal worship. And to say that the worship is terminated improperly and abusively on the Image, is to make the Councils to speak improperly and abusively; and those who say that Images are improperly worshipped, do not only err in the manner of speaking, but in the thing it self. Tannerus saith, Absque hæsitatione fatendum, imagines non solum venerandas & colendas, sed etiam adorandas esse; that we should say it without hesitation, that Images are not barely to be honoured or revered, but to be adored; which he likewise proves from several passages of the Nicene Synod. Tsambertus delivers his sense in these particulars, 1. That the worship of the thing represented before the Image, is not properly worship of the Image, nor agreeable to the Definitions of Councils. For that, saith he, is only properly worshipped, which terminates the worship, and the Councils define such a worship of Images; which is terminated upon the Images; which he proves from the Council of Trent as well as Nice, because it requires such acts of worship, which are terminated on the Images. 2. Adoration may be directed

Tanner.
To. 3. disp. 4.
q. 2. dub. 3.
assert. 4.

Tsambert. de
Myster. In
carn. ad
q. 25.
disp. 4.

directed to the Image, as to the thing which terminates it; and to the exemplar as the reason of it; for which, besides the reasons given by others, he gives this, viz. when there are two things good and lawful, and there is no positive Precept to do them together, then it is lawful to do one without the other: but in the act of worshipping the Image with the exemplar, there are two good acts, viz. the worship of the Image, and of the exemplar, and there is no precept of the Church to joyn those together, therefore it is lawful to do one without the other. Eligius Bassanus desires it may be observed, That in the worship of the Image, not only the object is worshipped, which is represented by it, but also the Image it self, seeing that is properly worshipped, which is the term of adoration, or the matter to which it is directed. This is the Catholick verity, saith Sylvius, that Images are truly and properly to be worshipped, so that the honour is given not only to the exemplar, but for the sake of that to the Image, and this is defined, he saith, by the second Council of Nice. Arriaga laies down this as a certain principle among Catholicks, That Images are to be truly worshipped, which all the Definitions of Councils

Eligii Bassani
lex Flores
Theolog.
Prætic. v.
Adorat.
n. 10. ed.
1663.

Fr. Sylvius
in 3. p.
Th. q. 25.
art. 3. q. 5.

Arriaga de
Incarn.
dist. 56.
sect. 1.

Councils do clearly manifest, which being in a dogmatical point, and against Hereticks cannot without danger of error be explained in an abusive and improper sense: and he adds afterwards, that the opinion ^{sect. 2.} of Durandus seems manifestly condemned by all those definitions of Councils which require true worship to be given to Images: and he produces several passages of the seventh Synod to that purpose. And it signifies nothing to their excuse, that they perform the outward signs of worship to Images; for, saith he, since they allow no proper worship to them, the Images do only serve to excite the memory; which he thus farther confirms. It is not credible that any hereticks (supposing the object represented to deserve worship) should imagine it lawful to worship that object without an Image, and unlawful to do it when the memory of that object is excited upon the view of an Image, upon supposition that no worship is intended to be given to the Image thereby. And it is not credible, that if this had been all the Councils had determined, that they should never think of such an easie way of satisfying dissenters, as the declaring this to have been their sense would have been. But the controversy lay in another point, viz. that Images

did not deserve any immediate worship; so as to have any honour done to them, although considered only as the material objects. For, saith he, if all the dispute had been only about a condition exciting men to adoration, it could not have come into mens heads to have said, that because Images were dead and inanimate things, they could not be a meer Physical condition of adoration; which is all that Durandus allows them. Is any man so senseless to say, that because words are inanimate things, therefore they ought not to be excited to the worship of God at the hearing of them? and the case is the same of the representation made by the eye or by the ear. But when they denied the lawfulness of the worship of them, they spake of true and real worship which is immediately carried to the Images themselves, and for this they made use of an argument which hath an appearance of Truth, viz. that Images being dead things have no excellency to deserve any real worship from us. From whence it follows, that when the Fathers condemned these hereticks; they did not determine that they might be used as a condition of worship; but that true and real worship was to be given to them.

Cardinal Lugo saith, that to the worship Lugo de
Myster. In-
carn. disp.
35. sect. 3.
n. 37.
of Images, it is not only necessary that the
external act be performed to the Image, of
kissing, or bowing, &c. but there must be
an inward affection too which implies sub-
mission. For, saith he, worship as all agree,
is an expression of submission to the thing
worshipped; and it would be ridiculous to
say that Peter is worshipped by that token
of submission which I shew to Paul; there-
fore to the worship of the Image, the outward
act must express the inward submission of
the mind to it, or else we must deny the com-
mon definition of adoration, and make a
new one. And this he afterwards proves
to have been the definition of the second
Council of Nice, who did decree that true
and real worship is to be given to Images
as they are distinct from the exemplar ac-
cording to every thing that is required to
the Nature of worship. Thus I have ful-
ly proved from the Acts of the Council,
and the judgement of so many of the most
learned and eminent Divines of the Ro-
man Church, that by the Decree of the
Nicene Council, such true and real worship
is to be given to Images as is terminated
upon the Images themselves.

Q. II.

2. We are now to enquire *what kind of worship* that was, which the second Council of *Nice* did give to *Images* : which will appear by shewing these two things. 1. That the *worship* required was *higher* than *meer reverence*. 2. That it was *lower* than *Latria*. (1.) That it was *higher* than *meer reverence*. T. G. would insinuate, that all the *worship* required by the *Nicene Council*, was no more than the *Reverence* shewed to the *Books of the Holy Gospels*, or the *sacred Utensils of the Altar* ; for which he quotes the *definition of the Council*, wherein those *things* are joyned together. And so they are in *Hadrians* epistle extant in the *Council*, in the *Latin translation* (for the *Greek* hath another sense) and in *Damascens* oration ; but to clear yet farther the *State of the Question*, I shall shew, 1. The difference between the *Reverence* of these *things*, and the *worship of Images*. 2. That the *Council of Nice* did put a difference between them.

T. G. p.
123, &c.Añ. 2. p.
106.
Damaſc.
orat. 1. p.
749.

1. For the *difference* between the *Reverence* of these *things*, and the *worship of Images*. Although no irrational or inanimate being be capable of that real excellency to deserve any honour from us for its own sake, as *Aquinas* determines ;

Aquinas. 2. 2.
q. 103.
art. 4. ad 3.

yet

yet such things may have a relation to matters of so high a nature as to deserve a different usage and regard from other things; as the *Vessels* of the Church, or the *Chalices* are not to be used for common drinking; which peculiarity of the use of such things is that degree of honour which belongs to them on the account of their being dedicated to sacred purposes. So S. *Augustin* saith, of the *sacred Vessels*, that they are consecrated and do become holy by their Use, being separated from common service and devoted to the ministry of holy things; but he doth plainly distinguish the respect shewn to them from the worship of *Images*; for a little before he speaks of such who did worship or pray looking upon an *Image*, and that those who did so did behave themselves as if they expected to be heard by the *Image*; but do we pray to the sacred *Utensils* because we make use of them in our prayers to God? Little did S. *Austin* think, that praying looking upon *Images* and the Reverence shewed to sacred *Vessels* on the account of their use, should have been ranked together. He that prays looking upon an *Image*, doth either direct his adoration to the *Image*, or to the *Person* represented by the *Image* as if he were actually present,

and

Aug. in
Ps. 113.
conc. 21

and this is the true *reason* of the *worship* of *Images* ; but no man can pretend this as to the *Reverence* of *Holy things*, because all their *holiness* consists in a bare *extrinsecal denomination*, which affords no *reason* for any more than such an *esteem* as belongs to *sacred Things*, and not for any *act* of *worship* to be done to them. They who make the *Images themselves* to be the *material object* or *term* of *adoration*, do yet say that the *formal reason* of that *worship* is to be taken from the *object represented*: others say, that the *thing represented*, and the *Image* are *worshipped with the same act* of *adoration* ; but both sorts do make the *representation* in an *Image* to be the *ground* and *reason* of the *worship* given to it. Why then should those things, which do not *represent* be *worshipped* as those that do ? Are not *Images* appointed by the *Definition* of the *Nicene Council* to be *set up in Churches*, and in *High wayes*, on purpose for *worship* ? Are they not *formed*, and *set forth* with all advantages to allure men to the *worship* of them ? And after all this, is no more meant by their *worship* than by the *Reverence* of *Holy things* ; which are designed for a *peculiar use*, and serve for other *ends* than to be *worshipped* by us ? If *Images*
were

were set up in *Churches* only for *memory* and *instruction*, and were as much appointed by *God* to inform us of his *Will*, as the *Holy Scriptures* are; there were some colour of shewing a like *regard* to them as to the *Holy Bible*; but it is quite otherwise, they were never appointed for that purpose, they are incapable of doing it, and are set up for *adoration*; and yet can the same men who commanded their worship, have any pretence for making the *Reverence* to the *Bible* and the *worship* of *Images* to be alike? Besides all this, is there no difference between a *Religious respect* (if I may so call it) to *sacred places* and *things*, and all the most solemn *Acts* of *adoration* which were ever given to *Images* by the greatest *Idolaters*? such as *kneelings* before them, *prostrations*, *praying* with their eyes fixed upon them, as though they were speaking to them; *burning incense* and *lights* before them: which are as great *Testimonies* of *worship* as were ever used by the grossest and most sottish *Idolaters*. I may rather say, there is no great difference between them and their *Images*, that can see no difference between such *worship* and the *Reverence* of *Holy things*.

2. That the *Council of Nice* did put a difference between these things. For however, to blind the business as much as might be, they put them together in the *Definition*, yet if we observe the ground on which it established the worship of Images, was such as referred to the things represented by them, and not any sacred use of them: and those expressed in the very same *Definition*. For, say they, the honour of the Image passes to the Prototype, and he that worships the Image doth in that worship the thing represented. By which they lay the foundation of the worship of Images upon a thing peculiar to them, and that doth not hold for the other things. And this reason here assigned runs through all the several discourses in that Synod, of *Hadrian, Theodorus, Tarasius, Germanus, Leontius* and *Epiphanius*; and the very same reason is assigned by the *Council of Trent*. It is observed out of *S. Augustin*, that the most sacred things are only capable of honour, *honorem tanquam Religiosa possunt habere*, where he speaks of the elements of the Eucharist, but *Tarasius* in this *Council of Nice* pronounces them all guilty of hypocrisy, who would only give honour and not worship to Images: by which it appears that the

Council

*Concil. Nic.
cen. 2. act.
7. p. 555.*

*Aug. de
Trin. l. 3.
c. 10.*

*Act. 4. p.
247.*

Council determined more than *meer* Reverence to be given to *Images*.

2. That this *worship* which the Council of *Nice* determined was *lower* than *Latria*, For so it follows in the *definition* of the Council, that they only meant an *honorary* adoration and not true *Latria*, which is only due to God. *Tarasius* upon reading *Pope Hadrians Epistle* declares his consent to the worship of *Images* asserted in it, reserving *Latria*, and Faith to God alone. To the same purpose speaks *Constantinus Bishop of Constantia* in *Cyprus* upon reading the *Epistle* of *Theodorus*; whose words I grant were mistaken by the translatour of the Council into *Latin*, as appears by what he is charged with in the *Caroline Book*, and his words in the *Acts* of the Council; but it doth not therefore follow, as T. G. would have it, that the Council of *Frankford* did mistake the meaning of the *Nicene Synod*. For the Author of the *Caroline Book* particularly observes, that in those words (as translated) He did contradict the sayings of the rest, but that unawares he had betrayed that, which the rest endeavoured to conceal, viz. that they gave the worship proper to God to *Images*: for however they denied it in words, they did it in their actions. So *Epiphanius* the Deacon

Act. 2. p.
127.

Act. 3. p.
187.

T. G. p.
142, 145.

Lib. carol.
l. 3. c. 17.

Att. 6. p. 539. Deacon saith, that they often declared that they did not give Latria to Images. Thus we see what the sense of the second Council of Nice was as to the worship of Images.

Q. 12. 2. I now come to the additions which have been made to this doctrine, in the Roman Church; when it was delivered as good Catholick doctrine, that the worship of Latria was to be given to the Images of Christ. So Thomas Aquinas determines in several places, which are collected by Simon Majolus; and he goes upon these grounds. 1. Because no irrational creature is capable of worship, but with a respect to a rational Being. 2. Because Images are worshipped on the account of their representation, therefore, saith he, they are to be worshipped with the same worship with the thing represented. 3. Because the motion of the mind towards an Image, as an Image, is the same with the motion towards the thing represented. 4. Because the Church in praying to the Cross, speaks to it as if it were Christ himself. O Crux ave, spes unica. But how can this doctrine be reconciled to the definition of the Council

of Nice, which determines expressly contrary? Estius saith, that S. Thomas never
saw

Pro defen-
sione sacra.
Imagin.
Centur. 13.
c. 14.

Aq. 3. p.
q. 25. art.
3.
ad lib. sent.
3. dist. 9.
q. 2.

Est. in sent.
l. 3. dist. 9.
sect. 3.

saw this definition of the Council; the same is said by Catharinus, and Sylvius; for *cathar. de Imag. p. 137.* saith Catharinus, if he had seen it he would have endeavoured to have reconciled his opinion with the decree of the Council; *Sylv. in 3. p. q. 25.* which shews that he thought it inconsistent with it. *art. 3. q. 5.* From whence I argue that the Council of Nice was not then received in the Western Church, for if it had been, is it conceivable that so great a Doctor of the Church as Aquinas, should either not have seen it, or if he had seen it, should have contradicted the Definition of it. But Aquinas was not the first who asserted this doctrine in the Latin Church, for Alex. Hales, who was his Master, saith as much in effect, although he doth not so openly apply the term of Latria to it; yet putting this question, whether greater worship doth belong to the Cross than to any man? he determines it affirmatively; and distinguishes between the dignity of a thing, and the dignity of an Image, and an Image having all its excellency from the object represented, all the worship given to it is to be referred to the Prototype; now, saith he, man having a proper excellency can deserve no more than Dulia, and therefore the Cross as it represents Christ must have the worship of Latria.

Alex. Hales
3. p. q. 30.
m. 3. art. 3.
sect. m

And

And it is considerable that *Alex. Hales*, ab-
Pitts de *Pless* saith, writ his *Summa* by the Command
Scriptur. of *Pope Innocent 4.* and in the time of *A-*
et. 13. *lec. 4.* it was examined by seventy Divines
A. 1249. and approved, and recommended to be
taught in all Universities. *Card. Bon-*
avent. *sent. 3. dist.* *9. q. 2.* *ture* determines it roundly, that as
Christ himself from his union to the Divi-
nity is worshipped with Latria, so is the
Image of Christ as it represents him;
and concludes thus, propterea Imagini
Christi debet cultus Latria exhiberi.
Rich. de Media Villa who lived in the same
in 3. sent. *Century;* asserted the same doctrine. And
q. 9. art. 2. when *Durandus* opposed the doctrine of
Thomas on this ground, because the Image
and Prototype were two distinct things,
and therefore what belonged to the exem-
plar could not be attributed to the Image,
however considered as an Image, and so
the worship due to the exemplar could not
be given to the Image, yet he confesses
the other was the common and received
opinion; which was defended against *Du-*
randus by *Paludanus* and *Capreolus.* *Mar-*
d. 9. q. 1. *filius ab Ingen* speaks his mind freely in
art. 1. concl. this matter, saying, that the Cross as a sign
2. & 3. representing the object of worship, and as a
Marfil. l. 3. medium of it is to be adored with Latria;
art. 2. q. 8. and for this he appeals to the practice of
concl. 1.
& 3. the

the Church, *O Crux ave spes unica, Aage
 pro justiciam, reisque dona veniam*: which
 three things, he saith, do properly belong to
 God, and therefore, saith he, it is properly
 the worship of Latria which the Church
 doth give to the Cross as a sign. *Jacobus* Almain.
Almain declares, that Images are to be l. 3. dist. 99.
 worshipped with the same kind of worship concl. 5.
 that the things represented are: because
 no Image is to be worshipped for any san-
 ctity or vertue in it self, but only for the
 sake of the object represented, otherwise it
 would be Idolatry. *Gabriel Biel* likewise Biel in Ca-
 agrees, that the Images of Christ which re- non. Missa
 present him are to be worshipped with La- lect. 49.
 tria: but he found out the distinction of a
 twofold Latria, 1. Proper Latria, which is
 the worship given to Christ as the object re-
 presented upon the sight of an Image of him,
 and this is not terminated on the Image,
 but the exemplar. 2. Improper or ana-
 logical Latria, which is the worship of the
 Image as it represents: so that to the
 same external act of worship he makes two
 internal acts, whereof one is terminated on
 the Image, the other on the Prototype.
Thomas Waldensis saith, that the Images Waldens.
 considered in themselves deserve no wor- To. 3. tit.
 ship at all, but considered in relation to a 19. c. 136.
 higher Being and in regard of their re- n. 6, 7.

Rr presentation,

presentation, so they deserve to be worshipped; and if the mind passes from the Image to the thing represented, then he saith, the Image and the Prototype are worshipped with the same act; which must be Latria as to the Image of Christ; but the Latria condemned by the Nicene Council, he would have to be the worshipping the Images themselves for Gods: which the Heathens themselves, as appears by the Acts of that Synod, utterly denied that they did in the discourse of John of

Concil. Nic. Theſſalonica. we worship not, saith the
 AG. 5. p. Heathen, the Images, but through them the
 354. Spiritual Powers. Angelus de Clavasio
 Summa declares, that the Image of Christ is to be
 Angelica. worshipped with Latria as well as himself,
 v. Adorat. and that the Cross whereon Christ was
 n. 5, 6. Crucified was to be worshipped with La-
 tria both on the account of representation
 Barth. Fu- and contact; therefore, saith he, we
 mi Armilla speak and pray to the Cross as to Christ him-
 Aurea v. self. The same is said by Bartholomaeus
 Adorat. n. 7. Fumus, who was a Dominican, as the other
 Carthusia- a Franciscan, (whereby we see it was no
 nus in sent. opinion peculiar to the Dominican order
 l. 3. dist. 9. on the account of the authority of Thomas)
 Antonin. and by Dionysius the Carthusian, as well as
 Sum. 3. p. Antoninus the Dominican. Franciscus
 tit. 12. c. Ferrariensis saith, that when Latria is ap-
 9. sect. 4. propriated
 Franc. Fer-
 rar. in Th.
 c. Gentes
 l. 3. c. 120.

appropriated to God, it is to be understood
 primo & per se, primarily and for its own
 sake; but if it be understood only secondari-
 ly and for anothers sake; then, saith he,
 Latria may be given to an Image of Christ;
 for considering the Image, as an Image, it is
 worshipped with the same act, by which the
 Person represented is; and therefore since
 Latria is due to Christ, it must be so to
 the Image of Christ; and he answers all
 the arguments of Durandus, Holcot, and
 Mirandula by the help of the former di-
 stinction (as he might have done a hundred
 more) and he asserts, that the Image and
 the object represented make together one
 total object of adoration, whereof one part
 is the Reason why the worship is termina-
 ted on the other: and that the act of ado-
 ration whereby God and the Image are
 worshipped together, cannot be Latria in
 respect of one, and an inferiour worship in
 respect of the other, because both the in-
 ternal and external acts are such where-
 in the worship of Latria doth properly con-
 sist: and to shew this to be the Catholick
 doctrine, he proves it, from the practice of
 the Catholick Church, which makes genu-
 flexions, prostrations, supplications, and
 other acts of Latria to the Cross. Which
 was the true Reason of introducing this

doctrine of *Latria* to Images contrary to the Definition of the *Nicean Council*, because they saw the constant practice of the Church in the worship of the Cross could not be justified upon other grounds. The Church never owning any *Prosepechia*, but expressing its devotions to the Cross, as really distinct from, although representing the Person of Christ.

Cajet. in

Aq. 3. p. 9.

25. art. 3.

Card. Cajetan saith, that the act of worship towards the Image of Christ, is truly and properly terminated on the Image; not in regard either of its matter or Form, but as it performs the Office of an Image. So that Christ himself is the Reason of the worship of the Image, and his being in the Image, is the condition, by which the Reason of worship doth excite men to worship and terminate it. But since Christ is not asserted to be really and Personally in the Image, but only by representation, Cajetan ought to have shewn, that an union by meer Imagination between Christ and the Image, is a sufficient condition for performing those acts of worship to the Image which properly belong to God alone, which he hath not undertaken; but he shews against Durandus, that if the Image of Christ were only worshipped, as it puts us in mind of Christ, then any other thing which puts

puts us in mind of him might be worshipped as well as an Image. And the Practice of the Church shows, that it doth not worship the Cross as a commemorative sign, but because the Image of Christ is to be worshipped with Latria, therefore it worships it. Thus we see what the judgement of the most eminent and learned Divines of the Roman Church was, concerning giving the worship of Latria to Images before the Council of Trent, and upon what, that judgement was founded, viz. the practice of the Roman Church, in the worship of the Cross.

Let us now see whether this matter hath been otherwise determined by the Council of Trent, and whether the contrary opinion hath obtained since. That wary Council knowing very well the practice of their Church and the opinion of Divines, only determines due honour and veneration to be given to Images; not for the sake of any Divinity, or power inherent in them, for which they are to be worshipped, or that any thing is to be asked of them, or that Trust is to be put in the Images, as it was of old by the Heathens, who placed their hope in Idols; but because the honour which is done to them, is referred to the Prototypes

q. 13.

Council. Trident. sess. 25.

types which they represent, so that by the Images which we kiss, and before which we uncover our heads, and fall down, we adore Christ and worship the Saints which they represent, which hath been already decreed by Councils against the opposers of Images, especially the second Nicene Synod. Where we observe these things, 1. That all external Acts of Adoration are allowed to be done to Images; even the very same which were to be done to the Person of Christ, if he were actually present, are to be done to his Image to adore him thereby.

2. That there is not the least intimation against giving the same kind and degree of worship to the Image; which is given to Christ himself. And since the Council allows no proper vertue in the Image for which it should be worshipped, but takes all from the representation, and supposes the honour to pass to the Prototype, Vasquez thinks it is very evident, that the sense of the Council was, that the Image and the Exemplar were to be worshipped with the same Act of adoration, which as to the Image of Christ must be no less than Latria. 3. After the Council of Trent, many of their most Eminent Divines have asserted the worship of Latria to be given to Images. Dominicus Soto a Divine of the

Vasq. in 3.
p. disp.
108. c. 4.

the Council of Trent determines, that every Image is to be worshipped with the same <sup>Soto de ju-
stit. & jure</sup> worship, that belongs to the thing repre-<sup>l. 2. q. 3.
art. 2. in</sup> sented; as the Image of God and Christ ^{fin.} with Latria, and of the B. Virgin and other Saints with Dulia. Turrianus, another of the Trent Divines saith, that the same adoration belongs to the Image, and the Prototype; as that which is called Latria to Christ and his Image, but to Christ properly, and to the Image equivocally. Naclantus a third Divine of that Council saith, that if the object represented ought to be worshipped with Latria, so ought the Image too. And what more reasonable way can we have to understand the sense of the Council, than from the Divines who were present and managed the debates of it? Gretser hath a whole Chapter to prove, that the Cross is to be worshipped with Latria. Card. Palaotus saith, that the same worship which is given to the Prototype may be given to the Image, but with the different degrees of Latria and Dulia, &c. when, saith he, the Person of Christ is worshipped without an Image, that adoration is terminated upon his essence and Person as in themselves; but when he is worshipped in an Image, then his essence and Person is worshipped as represented.

and being in that Image; although he be not really there, but according to his figure and similitude. Gregory de Valentia confesses it to be the same Divine worship they give to the Image of Christ that they do to the Prototype, because the Image is worshipped in the stead of Christ, but, he saith, it is given in a different respect to them both: but besides this, he allows an inferiour worship to the Image which is terminated on it self. And in both these

Petr. Thyra. Petrus Thyraeus agrees with him. Cornelius Curtius an Augustinian, contends for Latria to be due to the very Nails of Christs Cross, by reason of their Contact of the Person of Christ, which worship, he saith, was approved by the Church, when Innocent 6. appointed the Festival of the Souldiers Launce and the Nails of the

Lud. de Paramo the Inquisitor of Sicily determines, that the Cross is to be worshipped with no other worship than that of Latria: and if it be taken as joynd with Christ in the mind, it is to be worshipped with a perfect act of absolute Latria: which belongs to Christ per se and to the Cross concomitanter & per accidens: but if it be taken as the material object of adoration, then it is only a Relative Latria for the sake of Christ. And he

he adds, that an Image is truly and properly to be adored or coadored with the exemplar: which he proves from the Council of Trent. To which he subjoyns a remarkable story, viz. of one *Joh. Aegidius* Canon of Sevil, who was forced to make a publick retraction for denying the adoration of the Cross, which was judged to be contrary to the practice of the Church, when it saith, *O Crux ave spes unica*, and in another place *Crucem tuam adoramus*, and for saying that God was to be worshipped with Latria and the Cross with Dulia: which propositions he rejected as heretical; and asserted that the Cross was to be worshipped with the same worship of Latria that Christ himself is. From whence *Lud. de Paramo* concludes, that this opinion is the most agreeable to the Catholick Faith. *Paulus Maria Quarti* a Clericus Regularis, in his late Commentaries on the Rubricks of the Missal agrees exactly with *Ludovicus à Paramo* in the manner of adoration of the Cross: and for Images of Christ, he saith, that their opinion is more probable who make it to be absolute Latria, and not reductive and Analogical. *Gregorius Valentianus* in his Commentaries on the Hymns declares his consent with *S. Thomas* about worshipping

the

n. 19.

Rubrica
Missal.
Rom. Comment. il-
lustr. p. 2.
tit. 4. de
Introit.
sect. 2. dub.
2. & 4.
Greg. Val-
ent. in
Hymnod.
Eccles. tr. 2.
Hymn. 13.
p. 268.

*Paul. Lay- the Cross with Latria. Layman saith, that
 man. Theol. we do not worship the Images of Christ
 Moral. l. 4. with an absolute Latria, because they have
 tr. 7. c. 5. no Divinity or rational excellency in them;
 R. 10. but with a relative worship whereby we
 worship the Image and Exemplar together,
 we ought to acknowledge that the Cross
 and Images of Christ are worshipped with
 Latria. Eligius Bassens a Capuchine
 Elig. Bas. agrees with Layman, that this is not ab-
 sa. Floris
 Theol. Pra- solute, but a relative Latria; but he de-
 slic. tit. termines that the Cross whatever mat-
 Ador. suppl. ter it be made of, ought to be worshipped
 R. 6, 7. with Latria as a sign; but that very Cross
 on which Christ did hang, not only as a sign,
 but in regard of contact of his body; and
 so the Nail and Thorns, and Sponge, and
 other things which touched his body, ex-
 cept only Judas his Lips, and the Ass he
 rode on to Hierusalem, because they
 did not partake of his sanctity, as no
 doubt the Nails and the Wood of the Cross
 did. But he hath yet a farther subtilty
 about this Latria, for, he saith, that when
 the Image of Christ is the material object
 of worship, and Christ as represented the
 Reason of that worship, that is not abso-
 lute, but relative Latria; but when Christ
 and the Image together make up the same
 material object of adoration, then it is
 properly*

properly *Latria*; which he endeavours to prove both from the Councils of Nice and Trent. *Phil. Gamachaus* a late Professor of Divinity of the Sorbon determines, that the Cross and Image of Christ as they represent him, and as they are conceived together with Christ, ought to be worshipped with the supreme worship of *Latria*: because Christ himself is the Reason of the adoration, and because the Church doth so worship the Cross, *O Crux ave spes unica*. The same is asserted as to *Relative Latria* by *N. Tsambertus* another late Professor of the Sorbon, (whom I the rather mention, that this might not be thought the particular opinion of any Orders among them, as of the Dominicans or Jesuits) who asserts, that both the Cross and Images of Christ are to be worshipped therewith, because the Image and the Exemplar make up one complex object, whose soul, as it were, is the exemplar, and whose body is the Image, to which object the adoration is directed, so, as that the worship to the Person of Christ is absolute, and to the Image respective: but yet so, as that the Image is at least the partial terminative object of such adoration. I might produce many more Testimonies not only of Schoolmen, but of Casuists, as *Filliucius*, *Jacobus à Grassus*,

Ph. Gamach.
cha. in 3.
p. Th. q. 25.
cos. 2.

Tsambert.
ad q. 25.
disp. 4.
art. 1. &
disp. 5.
art. 1.

Grassius, Azorius and others ; but I need not do it, since Azorius affirms, that this is the common opinion of their Divines.

¶ 14. All the difficulty is how to reconcile this doctrine with the Definition of the Council of Nice : and about this they have fallen into parties and made a pleasant Counter-scuffle among themselves. *Catharinus* saith, that none of the Ancients did ever allow Images to be worshipped with Latria ; and if this proposition be true, that an Image as an Image is to be worshipped with Latria, that likewise is true, that an Image is to be worshipped with Latria, for all wise men understand an Image as an Image ; but this is so far from being in any ancient writer that the contrary is expressly there, and especially in the Decree of the Council of Nice ; and therefore, he hath no way to excuse the doctrine of Thomas, but by saying he had never seen that Decree. But it is plain Thomas Aq. had more regard to the practice of the Church, than to the Definition of that Synod, which he thought could not otherwise be defended. The main argument of *Catharinus* against this opinion, is, Latria is due to none but God ; but an Image however considered as an Image is not God. And

Cathar. de cultu Imagin. p. 137.

And whatever the Imagination of the Person passeth to upon the sight of an Image, that can never make that to be God which is not God. If a man takes the Image for God, that is an abominable error: if he saith, it is not God and yet worships it with Latria; this is plainly giving Latria to something else besides God. If it be said, that it is the same act of the mind which passeth from the Image to the Prototype, and consequently the same adoration of both; this, he saith, will not hold, for if the Image be worshipped, that must be the object of adoration, and the worship of the Image must be terminated on the Image, otherwise it is not the worship of the Image, but of the thing represented; neither can it be understood how there should be two objects and but one adoration. Some answer that the Image and Prototype make one total object of adoration, and so it is but one Act and that of Latria; but this, saith he, makes strange confusion that the act of worship should be equally terminated on both. If they say it begins at the Image, and is terminated on the Prototype, that is not, saith he, proper worship of an Image which is not terminated on it; and how can that be a partial object of adoration, if the worship be no wayes terminated on it?

Others

Others say, there is a twofold Latria per se & per accidens, the former is only due to God; the latter may be given to an Image: this, saith he, contradicts the former, for then the same act of worship would be both per se and per accidens, which is ridiculous; and that which is per accidens ought not to be looked on as worship, for any thing may be said so be worshipped with Latria per accidens. Others say, that the worship of the Image is not terminated on the Image, but on the thing represented, and yet say it is the worship of the Image as an Image, which as such is distinct from the thing represented, which, saith he, is not intelligible. To say the Image is worshipped improperly, is a saying not fit for Philosophers or Divines, but for Poets and Orators. For it is no more properly said the Image is worshipped with Latria, than that the Image is the thing represented; which no man in his senses would say properly. To Cajetans saying, that an Image as performing the office of an Image is under that notion, the same with the thing represented, he answers, that such a Metamorphosis is impossible by any act of the Image, or of Imagination: but to defend, saith he, that the Image as an Image, or as representing is
the

the same with the thing represented, and so as that the Latria is any wayes terminated on the Image, is to be mad ones self, and to endeavour to make others so. Therefore others say, that the Images are not truly and properly worshipped, but the things represented at them, before them, or in them; but this, saith he, destroyes the worship of Images, and is against the practice of the Church, which directs the posture, words, and signs of adoration, (even incense) to the Images, as when we say to the Cross, O Crux ave spes unica. This we see is the Burden of the Song, among them all; the Church practises thus, and thus; this practice must be defended one way or other, and happy the man that doth it best; but still the practice must be continued, for Catharinus inveighs bitterly against Erasmus, for saying, he thought it safer and easier to take Images out of Churches than to fix the just bounds of worship and to prevent Superstition. And he grants at last, that by a fiction of the mind, supposing the Image to be the Person represented, it may be said, that the Image is to be worshipped with Latria, yet he concludes, that no one ancient writer, that he could ever see, did allow, that Images might any way be worshipped with Latria,

Latria, but all of them did abominate such an expression. And he adds, that the doctrine of Thomas doth rather take off from Images, that true and real worship, which he saith, from the Nicene Council ought to be given to them, and terminated on themselves though for the sake of the things represented by them. Martinus Peresius Ayala saith, that the doctrine of giving Latria to Images is repugnant to Fathers and Councils, especially to the Definition of the Council of Nice, and he adds, that there is no more connexion between a sign and the thing signified, than between two relatives, as between Father and Son, and although the Son represent the Father, yet no man will say, that by the same act of knowledge, whereby I know the Son as a Son, I do know his Father, for then the Relative apposition would be taken away, and the different definitions of correlatives; he saith he; although by the Image a conception doth arise of the thing represented, yet it is not the same act of knowledge whereby I apprehend the Image and the thing represented: but suppose it were so, there is not the same reason for worship as for knowledge. For it is not repugnant to an Image as an Image to be apprehended by the same act with the thing represented;

Martin.
Peres. Ayala.
de tradit.
3. p. de
imagin. p.
119. 121.

but it seems repugnant to an Image as an Image to be worshipped with the same worship with the thing represented; because an Image, however considered, is an insensible Creature, to which they all grant no worship is due; and although it represent never so much, it doth not change its nature, but a block remains a block still, and a Stone doth not become rational by it. But, say they, Is not the Kings Robe worshipped with the same worship that his Person is? I confess, saith he, the whole Person as clothed is worshipped, and his clothes are no more separated, than any other habits or dispositions he hath about him. But, if the Kings Robe be separated from his Person, what reason is there to worship that as the King himself is worshipped? and the Princes Image is neither substantially nor accidentally the same with the Prince, and therefore is not to be compared with his Robe; and although some honour be due to the Kings Image, yet no man ever saw, unless by the compulsion of some Tyrant, a Princes Image worshipped after the same manner that his Person is. And S. Augustin gives no other reason for the worship of the humanity of Christ (which he compares with the Princes Robe) but because it is united to the Divinity; which

Sf

reason

Est. in sen-
ten. 6. 3.
dist. 9.
sect. 3.

reason cannot hold for such an Imaginary Union; between the Image and the thing represented, and therefore it ought not to be worshipped with the same adoration. Besides, saith he, if this were allowed, we might sacrifice to an Image, as well as do other acts of Latria to it, which cannot be said without blasphemy; but he concludes, that he defines nothing, and submits all to the judgement of the Church. Estius declares, that although almost all the Schoolmen were for Latria to be given to the Cross, yet that it is point-blank against the definition of the Council of Nice; and it is an unsatisfactory answer to say, they only were against Latria to be given to Images for themselves or absolute Latria; for no man ever doubted of that, that they were not to have divine worship for themselves; and the Council puts a distinction between the worship of the Image and the Exemplar; and joyns Images with the Gospels and Vessels, which no man ever thought were to be worshipped with any kind of Latria: and that, when S. Basil saith, the honour of the Image passes to the Prototype, he means no more than that the Image is honoured for the sake of the thing represented: and that, if an Image may be worshipped with Latria, then sacrifice may be

be offered to it, which was condemned in Carpocrates and the Collyridians: and then those things which have a nearer conjunction than an Image may be better worshipped so, as the B. Virgin which bore him in her womb. Neither is it enough to say, they have proper excellencies of their own; for they might receive a double honour, the one proper, the other relative; and supposing no danger of error, then it might be done, and Medina, he saith, yields it of the B. Virgin not absolutely, but by reason of the conjunction between Christ and her while he was in her womb. Thus far in the opinion of these men, the case seems desperate as to the reconciling the doctrine of giving Latria to Images with Reason, or the Council of Nice.

But we must not imagine a doctrine so generally allowed and so suitable to the practice of their Church should be thus given up. Therefore Vasquez undertakes the business, and like a generous Adversary, not only proves that this may be the sense of the Councils, but that they could have no other; because, an Image cannot be lawfully worshipped any other way, than as in and by that the exemplar is made the term and next material object

q. 15.

Vasquez
disp. 208.
c. 3.

- c. 4. of adoration. This he shews, not only from the common consent of their Divines, but from the Council of Trent itself, where it sayes, 1. That no worship is to be given to Images for the sake of any Vertue inherent in them; but if Images be worshipped as separated from the exemplar, they must be worshipped for some virtue inherent in themselves; and whatever impression of Sanctity is supposed to be in them, it is only an inanimate sign of such a sanctity as doth not make it an object of adoration: and if the excellency of the thing represented be the reason moving to adoration, that excellency cannot be conceived as distinct from the exemplar when it makes the Image capable of adoration. If they say the excellency is derived from the exemplar to the Image, then it follows, that there is an inherent vertue in the Images for which they are worshipped, which is contrary to the Council of Trent. 2. That Council makes this to be the only reason of worshipping Images, because the honour passeth to the exemplar, which shews plainly that according to the sense of it, they are to be worshipped only as joyned with the exemplar, and by no means as separated from it.
- e. 3. And the same he proves, by expressions to the like purpose, from the Council of Nice; and

and from the former Testimony of Basil, which, he saith, cannot be otherwise understood than of the same adoration of the Image and exemplar, or else S. Basils Testimony was very impertinently alledged in the Council of Nice, and doth not serve the purpose for which he used those words himself; many other Testimonies he produces, and at last concludes that the other opinion is no older than Catharinus and Ayala, and that all those who were for the worship of Images before, viz. Fathers and Schoolmen, were of his opinion. And he proves his opinion from this reason because no inanimate thing is of it self capable of worship; but an Image considered as an Image, but without the exemplar, is an inanimate thing: the Major he proves, because worship is a token of submission to something on the account of its excellency, and superiority; but to use such to an inanimate thing, is to make our selves slaves to Images, which would be Idolatry: and on the same account a man uses such a mark of submission, he may as well pray to Images, or beg something of them, as a servant doth of his master. He saith, that Alexander and Thomas, although they never saw the seventh Synod, yet did speak the sense of it, as well as if they had seen it; and when that Council

c. 6.

c. 9.

c. 13.

denies Latria to Images, it is to be understood only of the inward submission of the Soul, and not of the external acts of adoration; and so he answers all the arguments from the Councils and Fathers: and he saith, that it may be delivered absolutely, that Images are to be worshipped with Latria, if by that be meant the same worship which is given to the exemplar; and that the doctrine of inferiour worship tends to folly and superstition, and that his own opinion is the most useful to be preached to the People. Suarez is by no means satisfied with this way, saying, the Author of it must necessarily fall into the abusive and improper way of worship which is condemned in Durandus and Holcot, for he takes away all proper worship of Images, and makes them only seem to be worshipped, for the external acts of adoration, without the internal is but an appearance of worship, and no real worship. Therefore he proceeds after another method, which is this: 1. The Prototype may be worshipped in the Image, and the Image for the sake of the Prototype, with one and the same act of adoration, both internal and external: to explain this he distinguishes between the *esse reale*, and the *esse representativum* of the Prototype; and although the

Disp. 109.
c. 1.

c. 2.

Suarez
disp. 54.
sect. 4.

the *Image* doth not contain the *Prototype* in the first, it does in the latter sense, i. e. in plain terms, although the *Person* of *Christ* be not in the *Image*, yet we may fancy him to be there; which being supposed, the mind of him that worships is carried primarily to the *exemplar*, and by way of *concomitancy* to the *Image*; not believing the *Image* to be *Christ*, (for that were a dangerous thing) but that it doth represent him as if he were there: and consequently this *Imagination* is a sufficient ground to perform all acts of *adoration* to the *Image*, as if the *Person* of *Christ* were actually present. Which is just like a *Schoolmaster*, whom I knew, who being to come into an unusual presence, he goes into a pit, where there were many *Trees*, and although every one of them had the *esse reale* of a *Tree*, yet he supposed them to have a distinct *esse representativum* of the several *Persons* he was to make his *Congies* too; and having thus fastned the *esse representativum* of the *Person* to the proper *Tree*, he makes all his approaches and with the same complements he intended to use to the *Persons* themselves. If one should have surpris'd him in this act of *civil worship* to the *Trees*, and asked him, whether he believed

the *Trees* to be the *Persons* whose names he called them by, he would no doubt, (if he had been versed in *School Divinity*) have answered to this very subtilly with *Suarez*, that he was not such an *Ass*, nor to distinguish the *esse reale* of the *Tree*, from the *esse representativum* of the *Persons*; and although he bowed and made *Leggs* to the *Trees*, he did not consider them in so doing as *Trees*, but as representing those *Persons* to whom he was bound to shew all that *Reverence*, which he shewed to the *Trees* upon the *Imagination* that they were those very *Persons*; so that the *Reverence* was primarily and per se shewn to those *Persons*, and but concomitanter & per accidens, and after an inferior manner, to the *Trees*. But saith *Suarez*, the *Image* is not so properly adored, as co-adored, as the *Kings Robe* is with his *Person*; and although the *Image* be really different from the *Person* of *Christ*, yet he is worshipped in his true Being as represented by the *Image*, and as it were vested with it, and so they both become one object, and that *Person* is worshipped, and the *Image* together with him with the very same act of adoration. I am glad to hear that, saith the *Schoolmaster*, for I hope by this means, I may do my *Reverences* to the
Persons

Persons themselves, by performing them to them as represented in their true Beings in these Trees ; and I pray Sir do not think me such a Fop that I would do all this to them considered as Trees, in actu signato, for I consider them as Images in actu exercito ; and although you may think I do it to the Trees, you are mistaken ; my mind all that while unites the Person represented and the Tree together ; and although my Reverence be primarily designed to the Person for his own sake, and to the Tree only for the sake of the person represented, yet this is only a reverence, such as a man shews to the Person of another, by kissing the hem of his garment, only there the Person is really Vested, and here it is only by Imagination.

2. *Suarez saith, since it is agreed among* *Disp. 34. sect. 5.*
Catholicks; that the Reason of the worship of the Image is the excellency of the exemplar ; that may be considered two ways.

1. *As the objectum quod or the thing it self worshipped in and by the Image as before.* 2. *As the objectum quo, i. e. as the Reason of giving worship to the Image it self : and this is that worship which Vasquez charges with folly and superstition ; but Suarez undertakes to prove this to be a possible and lawful worship, when the*

the Image is truly and properly worshipped
non adorato directè ut quod ipso exemplari;
 i. e. the worship not fixing immediately on
 the thing represented but on the Image it
 self, although on the account of the exemplar:
 for which he makes use of this notable ar-
 gument; because in this act of worship
 there is nothing omitted but a directing
 the intention to the exemplar, but there is
 no precept that requires, that as often as
 we worship the Image, we ought to direct
 our intention farther than the Image it
 self; and therefore that worship is lawful.
 And although, an inanimate thing be not,
 as Vasquez urges, *adorabile propter se*, yet
 it may, saith Suarez, with wonderful sub-
 tility, be *adorabile in se propter aliud*: and
 this second kind of worship he endeavours
 to prove was established by the Councils
 of Nice and Trent, as well as the first.

*Bellarmin. de
 cultu Imag.
 l. 2, 21, 22,
 23, 24, 25.*

Bellar. undertakes to clear the whole mat-
 ter by these propositions. 1. *That the Images
 of Christ and the Saints are to be worshipped
 not only per-accidens or impropiè, but per se
 & propriè, so as they terminate the wor-
 ship, as considered in themselves, and not
 merely as they represent the exemplar:*
 which he proves, from the definition of the
Nicens Council, which decreed Images to
 be worshipped and not with Latria: but if
 the

the Image were to be worshipped with a respect only to the exemplar, then it could not be denied that an Image of Christ was to be worshipped with Latria. 2. He would not have it said before the people that Images are to be worshipped with Latria, but rather the contrary, because the distinctions necessary to defend it are too subtle for their woddles, and the truth is, the men that make them do hardly understand them themselves. 3. But if we speak among our selves and of the plain Truth of the case, Images may be worshipped with Latria, but then it is improperly and per accidens: as it is represented in the Image. 4. If we speak of worship per se & propriè, so no Image is to be worshipped with Latria; because this was condemned by the Nicene Council. 5. Yet, he saith, that the worship which ought to be given to Images per se & propriè, is analogically and reductively the same that is given to the exemplar, i. e. the worship of an Image of Christ is analogical Latria: So that it is, and it is not Latria; it is so, but we must not say so; yet if we speak of the proper worship of Images, that is not so and yet it is so, i. e. analogically and improperly; but if we speak of the proper worship of Latria, then it is not so. But doth not the
proper

proper worship of *Latria* belong to *Christs Person*? therefore if *Christs Person* be worshipped in the *Image*, it ought to be worshipped with *Latria*. True, saith *Bellarmin*, when he is worshipped in his own *Person*, but not as he is in an *Image* by participation; but he that is worshipped in the *Image* is supposed to be the true object of *Latria*, and therefore *Christ* as in the *Image* must be worshipped with *Latria*. If representation be a sufficient ground of worship, then his presence being supposed in the *Image* doth require the same worship, as they say is due to him under the *Sacramental species*: and the manner of his being represented in the *Image* would take no more off from the nature of the worship, than the *Princes Robe* doth from the worship due to his *Person*. And *Bernardus Pujol* from thence proves, that it is lawful to worship the *Image* and exemplar with the same act of adoration as one complex object, because the Church doth worship the *Sacrament* of the *Eucharist* with *Latria*, as it is one complex object made up of the *Species* and *Christ* himself as there present. The same Author proves against *Bellarmin*, that the proper worship given to *Images* is not meerly analogically and reductively *Latria*, but properly,

*Puol de
cultu ador.
disp. 3.
sect. 7. as
sent. 5.*

assert. 7.

ly, although more imperfect, like that which is given to the humanity of Christ, and therefore, he saith, the meaning of the Council was only to exclude absolute Latria, and not relative; with whom Ysambertus agrees, who likewise saith, that when the Image and Prototype are worshipped with Latria, the Image is a terminative object of that adoration, at least as a part to make one entire object of the exemplar and the Image. Card. Lugo saith, that Vasquez hath not spoken clearly to this point, about the aggregate object, made up of the Image and the exemplar; for, saith he, if internal adoration were allowed to the Image as a partial object, it would go a great way to the proving that the Image it self may be so worshipped in recto, i. e. without the worship of the exemplar: and he thinks, that the same act of adoration may be terminated in recto, both on the Image and the exemplar: and that this aggregate object hath a sufficient excellency to terminate inward worship upon the Image as a part of that object. Arriaga disputes at large against the opinion of Vasquez; but after all he concludes, that we may say absolutely, that Latria is due to the Image of Christ, and he makes it the same case as to Images and the humanity of Christ;

Ysambert.
ad q. 23.
disp. 4.
art. 2.

Lugo de
Myst. Incarn.
disp. 36.
sect. 3.

Arriag. de
Incarn.
disp. 56.
sect. 6. sub.
2. n. 68.

Christ; and to the *Nicene Council*, he saith, that they spake not of the *Images of God*, but of *Angels and Saints*, to which no doubt *Latria* is not due; and he stretches the words of *Epiphanius the Deacon*, to this sense, that no *Images of Creatures* are to be worshipped with *Latria*; therefore, saith he, they did worship the *Image of God with Latria*. Very subtle I confess! and like *Epiphanius* his own self, who argues in that Council, much after that rate, and with equal probability. *Petavius* concludes with the generality of their *Divines*, that the design of the Council of *Nice* was only to exclude absolute *Latria*, and not relative: for which he quotes the *Greek excerpta*, wherein it is said, that the *Image* doth not differ in *Hypostasis* from the *Prototype* but only in nature: from whence he inferrs, that it is the same act of adoration to the *Image* and the thing represented. But if all the danger lay in supposing *Images* to be distinct *hypostases*; the *Heathens* in that Council declared, that they did not look on them as such, but only as representations, and therefore in that respect they were no more to blame than the *Nicene Fathers* in the Worship of them.

From all this discourse we see, (1.) That some great *Divines* in the *Roman Church* do

Petav. de
Incarn. l.
15. c. 15.
n. 6.

n. 70.

do assert *proper* and *absolute Latria* to be given to the *Images* of *Christ*, as those who assert, *the Image and Christ to make up one entire object of adoration*. (2.) That the *doctrine* of a *Relative Latria* to be given to *Images*, and such as is given to the *humanity of Christ*, hath almost universally obtained in the *Roman Church*. (3.) That they all agree in this, that the *external acts of adoration* are to be performed to *Images*, such as *genuflections, prostrations, burning of Lights and Incense, &c.* (4.) That those who assert an *inferiour adoration* to be given to *Images*, do suppose that *adoration* to terminate in the *Images* themselves, although it be given on the account of the *thing represented*. (5.) That those who differ from each other in this matter, do in effect charge one another with *Idolatry* ; but of that afterwards.

Nothing now remains to the full stating of this *Controversie*, but to consider the *practice* of the *Roman Church* in the *worship* of *Images*, which may be gathered very much from the former *discourse*, but will receive somewhat more light by these observations. 1. That the *Church of Rome* hath determined in her *publick Offices*, that *Latria* is due to the *Cross* of *Christ*,

p. 16.

Pontificale
Rom. Ordo
ad recip.
Imperat.
Rubr. 1.

Christ, viz. in the Pontificale, where the Rubrick determines the manner of procession at the reception of the Emperour; and there it is said, that the Cross of the Legat ought to have the right hand, quia debetur ei Latria, because Latria is due to it; not only that it may lawfully be given to it, but that it is due to it, without any mention of the exemplar, or any distinctions, or limitations about the nature of this Latria. 2. That solemn prayers are made for the consecration of the Images set up for worship and for virtue to be given to them. In the Office of benediction of a new Cross there is this prayer,

Pontific. in
Benedict.
Novæ Cru-
cis.

Rogamus te Domine Sancte, Pater omnipotens, sempiternus Deus, ut digneris bene + dicere hoc lignum Crucis tue, ut sit remedium Salutare generi humano; sit soliditas fidei, profectus bonorum operum, redemptio animarum; sit solamen, & protectio ac tutela contra seba jacula inimicorum. Per Dominum Nostrum, &c.

Is this prayer made in faith or no?
whereby they pray for such mighty benefits

fits by a *new Cross*; and to take away any suspicions of *Metonymies* and *Prosopopæia's* it is said expressly *hoc lignum Crucis tue*, this wood of thy Cross, may be a wholesome remedy to mankind, a strengthener of faith, an increaser of good works, the redemption of Souls, a Comfort, protection and Defence against the cruelty of our enemies. And after such prayers, allowed and used by publick Authority in the Roman Church, with what conscience could the Council of Trent say, that they believed no vertue in Images, nor hoped for any thing from them? After this, the Bishop consecrates the incense, and prays for many good things to come by that too, then the Cross is sprinkled with Holy water, and then he incenseth it, saying,

Sanctificetur lignum istud, in nomine Patris & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti; & benedictio illius ligni in quo membra sancta saluatoris suspensa sunt, sit in isto ligno; ut orantes inclinetque se propter Deum ante istam crucem inveniant corporis & anime sanitatem. Per eundem, &c.

Then the Bishop kneels before the Cross,
T t
and

and devoutly *adores*, and *kisses* it ; and as many besides as please: after this follows a long prayer for the *sanctification* of that *new sign* of the *Cross* ; then the *Bishop* *kneels*, *adores* and *kisses* again, and as many as will. Then follow particular *Offices* for the consecration of an *Image* of the *B. Virgin*, and of other *Images*. In the *Ceremoniale Romanum*, we find very strange *prayers* upon the *Consecration* of the *Agnus Dei's*, which if there were any ground to hope for any of the advantages there prayed for, by the *worship* and *honour* of them, no one that loved either his *Soul* or *Body* would be without them. For the Pope himself, good man, prays thus,

Sacrar. Cere-
mon. l. i. c.
de consecr.
Agnus Dei.

Tu eos bene~~+~~dicere, sanctifi~~+~~care, & consecr~~+~~are digneris, ut tua larga benedictione sanctificati eandem virtutem accipiant contra omnes diabolicas versutias & fraudes maligni spiritus; ut illos debote super se ferentibus, nulla tempestas eisdem prevaleat, nulla aduersitas dominetur, nulla aura pestilens, neque aeris corruptio, nullusque morbus caducus, nulla maris procella & tempestas, nullum intendium,

tendum, neque ulla iniquitas do-
minetur eis, neque prebaleat ;
homo partus cum matre incolu-
mis conseruetur per intercessio-
nem unigeniti, &c.

What admirable vertue have these
Agnus Dei's in them ! they are, good against
the Devil, good against Storms, pestilence,
falling-sickness, and Sin ; and what could
a man wish for more ? But then it is to
be observed that these *vertues* do not de-
pend meerly on the carrying of these about
one, but the worship of them is required
too : So in another prayer there extant,

Bene ✠ dicas, & benedicta sancti
✠ fites, quatenus ipsorum bene-
ratione & honore nobis famulis
tuis crimina diluantur, &c.

And there we find the *Verses* of Urban
5. which he sent to the Greek Emperour
with three *Agnus Dei's*. No Mountebank
ever set forth the power of his *Medicines*
with more advantage, than the Pope doth
the vertue of his *Agnus Dei's*.

Balsamus, & munda cera cum
 Chrysmatis unda,
 Confiunt Agnum; quod munus
 do tibi magnum:
 Fonte velut natum per mystica san-
 ctificatum.
 Fulgura de sursum depellit, omne
 malignum
 Peccatum frangit, ut Christi san-
 guis; & angit.
 Pregnans servatur; simul & par-
 tus liberatur.
 Dona desert dignis; virtutem de-
 struit ignis,
 Portatus munde de fluctibus eripit
 unde.

Quarant.
in Sum.
Bullar. p. 7.

Stephanus Quaranta having met with a
 more perfect *Copy*, adds some more *verses*
 of the *vertues* of these little *Images* of
wax; and it is great pity any of them
 should be lost.

Nocte repentina servat, Sataneque
 ruina.
 Si quis honoret eum, retinet super
 hoste Tropheum,
 Parsque minor tantum tota valet
 integra quantum.

Agnus

**Agnus Dei, miserere mei,
Qui crimina tollis, miserere nobis.**

It is not to be questioned, saith Azorius, but, the Pope himself having made these prayers over them (to whom alone it belongs to consecrate them the first year of his Popedom, and every seventh year after) they will have the effects prayed for, if they be used with that due reverence and devotion which is required. I find nothing more ingenuously confessed to have been taken from Heathenism, than the wearing of Agnus Dei's for such uses, by Cardinal Baronius, and Rasponi. Baronius saith, the newly baptized used to have them hanged about their Necks, instead of the little Amulets the Gentiles put upon their Childrens necks against fascination. For, saith he, it being impossible to break off all the Gentile Customs, in those who were become Christians, they were allowed the continuance of them, so they were turned to the worship of the True God. And Card. Rasponi saith, that instead of the little Images of false Gods, these were invented to be worn for the same purposes, viz. the driving away the mischiefs both of body and soul. These were called Bullæ, which were worn by Boys, and Pupæ, by Girles,

Azor. Instit. Mor. l. 9. c. 9.
Baron. ad A. D. 58. n. 76, 77.
Raspon. de Basil. Lateran. l. 2. c. 8. p. 144.

T t 3 being

being little round Images, that were first
brung upon Children, and after used by the
greatest Persons, as by those that Tri-
umphed, as *Rasponi* observes, to prevent
the power of enchantment. (Those that
consider this and the *saliva lustralis*, used
upon the *dies lustricus* among the *Hea-
thens*,

Perf. Sa-
tyr. 2.

*Frontemq; atq; uda labella
Infami digito, & lustralibus ante salivis
Expiat.—*

Dio l. 43.

Sueton. in
Neron. c.
55.

Ammian.
Marcell.
l. 22.
Apulei.
Apolog.

with the great *vertues* attributed by them
to salt, and oile, and holy water, may easily
understand that part of the *Roman Rituale*,
which concerns the *ceremonies* they have
added to *Baptism*.) But besides the *Bulla*,
which the *Heathens* used for *Amulets*, they
had little Images, which they carried
about with them; in which they supposed
there were great *vertues*, and to which
they gave *divine worship*. So *Dio* saith,
Cæsar carried a little Image of *Venus*; and
Suetonius of *Nero*, that he had *Incunculam
puellarem*, and which he secretly worshipped
three times a day; and *Asclepiades* did
carry alwayes about with him a little
Image of the *Dea Cœlestis*, saith *Ammia-
nus Marcellinus*; as *Apuleius* saith, he
did

did himself, a little Mercury which he worshipped, which, he said, ought not to be touched but with pure hands, being a consecrated thing; just as Azorius determines, that no Laymen ought to touch an Agnus Dei; for the very same reason, because they are consecrated: and the Council of Milan under Carolus Borromaeus (since Canonized) declares, that when any Artificer makes a golden or Crystal case to put an Agnus Dei in, he must not presume to touch it either with his Gloves, or with any instrument; but he must send for one in holy Orders to put it into the case. And after all this, is it possible for any to suppose, that the Heathens did attribute virtue to their Images, and that they in the Church of Rome do not? when they pray for virtues to be given to them; and believe great efficacy to be in them, and use them with as much superstition as the Heathens did. Whatever then the Council of Trent hath determined to avoid calumny, the solemn Prayers, and Offices, and Practice of their Church, do sufficiently manifest that they believe virtue to be in Images, and consequently do trust in them for those effects which were prayed to be given by their means.

Azor. l. 9.

c. 9. q. 3.

Acta Ec-

clesiae Mi-

diolan. sub

S. Carolo

Borrom. l. 2.

n. 41, 42.

(3.) We ought to compare the practice of the worship of Images in Heathen and Christian Rome together; and if either exceed the other, the latter hath done it in some parts of folly and superstition. The solemn rites which concerned the worship of Images in Heathen Rome lay in these things, 1. Consecration. 2. Supplication. 3. Pompous Procession.

1. Consecration of Images for publick worship; which was to be performed by the Pontifices or Priests. Before Consecration, saith Quintilian; they are only the works of Mens hands, it is that which brings God into them, and makes them fit to be set up for worship; this therefore is not to be permitted to all, but only to those whose hands are pure, and devoted to sacred things. This consecration was generally performed with a certain form of words, which is now lost with the old Pontifical Books; but perhaps, saith Gutherius, they had none at all; no more than they had in the Consecration of Emperours; which was done only by the solemnity of the action it self. Minucius Felix makes the adorning, consecration, and prayers, to be the necessary things, which make an Image to become a God; i. e. when it is solemnly dedicated to divine worship.

But

Quintil.
declam.
323.

Guth. de
Rit. pure
Pontific.
l. 4. c. 22.

Minuc. p.
26.

But they had two sorts of consecrated Images, some that were only *ornamental*, which they called *ἀγάλματα*; and others that were the *proper Images* of the Temple, which were set up over the middle Altar, and to that God, whom that Image represented, the Temple was dedicated, and the rest, as Servius tells us, were only to beautifie the Temple. Vitruvius saith, the Images were to be above the Altars, that they who came to pray and sacrifice at the Altar, might look on the Divinity; as it is fully exprest in one of the Coyns of Domitian mentioned by Guthrius and Gevartius. This was the High Altar, besides which, there were generally two other at least; the one near the entrance; where the Beasts were sacrificed and burnt; the other held the Vessels and Utensils and was called *Anclabris* saith Festus: but the chief Altar was that, over which the Image was placed, and was called *altare ab altitudine*, i. e. the high Altar. And it is very observable, although it hath been little taken notice of, that the Sacrifices were burnt at the lower Altar; which the Priests having done, they then went up to the High Altar, and there did *adolere*, i. e. offer incense and prayers; for as Arnobius saith, they did cast their incense into the

Serv. in
Georg. 3.
Vitruv.
l. 4. c. 8.

Guthr. de
Vet. jure
Pontif. l. 3.
c. 6.
Gevart.
Numif.
Tab. 32.
n. 4.

Fest. v. An-
clabris.

Arnob. l. 7.
p. 232.

Fire,

Fire, ante ipsa Numinum signa, before the Images of the Gods; which, he there saith, they believed to be the chief part of worship, and to have the greatest influence on propitiating the Gods. From whence I observe, how unreasonably those of the Church of Rome, meerly to excuse themselves, have made Sacrifice the only external act of Latria, and excluded Incense and Supplication from being peculiar to God; when among both Jews and Gentiles, these were looked on as the more solemn and diviner parts of worship.

2. *Supplication*: which properly relates to the prayers made in great distresses; but I take it as comprehending all their solemn prayers; which were wont to be made among the old Romans, with great expressions of devotion, before the Images

Arnob. l. 1. of their Gods; which in Arnobius is expressed by Deorum ante ora prostrati; by

Lucret. l. 5. Pandere palmas--- Ante Deum delubra; by Caesar, ante simulachra projecti victoriam à Diis exposcerent; by

Lucan. l. 2. Lucan, mæstæque tenent delubra catervæ; by Ovid,

Ovid. Fast. l. 4. Summissoq; genu vultus in imagine Diva Fixit.

which,

which, with many other expressions to the same purpose in Latin Authors, do imply, that they made *their prayers before the Images of their Gods* ; and not that they took *the Images themselves for Gods*, any otherwise than those do who suppose some extraordinary presence after consecration ; or by the power of *Imagination* represented them as present to them in their *Images* ; which the *Romans* properly called *Adoration* : which was *orare ad* to pray to them as present ; or *ad os orare*, as *Gutherius* interprets it ; thence *Arnobius*, *quotidianis supplicationibus adorare*. And this on great occasions, was performed through all the *Temples* for two or three days, as the *Senate* thought fit, as we find it often in *Livy*, with solemn processions of the *People*.

*Guth. de
Vet. jure
Pontif.
l. 4. c. 17.
Arnob. l. 1.*

3. Another part of the *Divine Honour* they gave to *Images*, was the carrying them in *Pomp* upon *solemn Festivals* (which is largely described by *Dionysius* :) For then they carried their *Gods* from the *Capitol* through the *Forum* into the great *Cirque* ; and after the several *Orders of men* in the *Procession*, at last came the *Images of the Gods* carried upon *mens backs* ; and when this procession was over, the *prayers and sacrifices* began. This was

*Dionys. Ha-
lic. l. 7.
p. 475.*

Sutt. in
Jul. l. 26.

was looked on as so peculiar to the *Gods*, that *Suetonius* reckons it as one of the great instances of *Cæsars* affecting *Divine Honours*, that he would have his *Image* carried in this *sacred Procession*.

¶ 17.

Let us now see what the *Practice* of *Rome Christian* hath been in these particulars. 1. For *consecration*, we have already seen the *set Forms* appointed for it in the *Roman Pontifical*; although the *Nicene Council* thought no other *consecration* necessary, than the setting up the *Images* for *publick worship*; yet the *Roman Church* would not let People imagine them defective in any thing which the *Heathens* did towards the more solemn worship of *Images*. 2. For *supplication* before them; let the *Images* set up for *worship* over the *high Altar* speak for them, whether in this point of *adoration* they come behind *Heathen Rome*. By the *Rubrick* of the *Missal*, in every solemn *Mass*, the *Priest* is to go up to the middle of the *Altar*, and there having kissed the *Altar*, he puts the incense into the *Thuribulum*, which he is to do three times with his right hand, and his left hand on his breast; having done this, he makes a profound *Reverence* to the *Crucifix* over the *Altar* (as appears by the picture of the *Altar*

Missal. de
Intr. Part.
2. tit. 4.
2. 4.

Altar in *Gavantus*) and three times incenseth that; then bowing again to the *Gavant. in Miss. p. 103.* Crucifix he incenseth the Altar; which is to be done with so much niceness and ceremony, that *Gavantus* reckons up twenty nine times, with their exact order, wherein the several parts of the Altar and Crucifix are to be incensed by the Priest who celebrates Mass. If there be any Reliques or Images of Saints about the Altar, after the incensing and adoration of the Crucifix, before the Priest goes from the middle of the Altar, he first incenseth those on the right-hand, and then making his Reverence to the Cross, he doth the same to those on the left-hand. *Philander in his Notes on Vitruvius Philand. in Vitruv. l. 4. c. 8.* in his Discourse to Paul 3. about the right placing of Images, saith, That the due placing of Images is over the Altars, as the Image of the Madonna at Loreto, hath a holy Altar before it of square stone, saith *Tursell. Turzel. hist. Lauren. l. 1.* *Matthæus Riccius* saith, That in China they placed the Image of the B. Virgin on the Altar, where they every day did offer their Devotions. *Trigaud. de Christian. Exped. apud Sinas l. 4. c. 11. p. 403.* *Aloysius Novarinus* glories in the invention of a new sort of worship, viz. of the B. Virgin big-bellied, with Christ in her womb; *Novar. l. 4. c. 34.* which was called, LA MADONNA DELL' ALLEGREZZA, and

and he saith, *That he caused an Altar to be erected, and an Image to be set up for this worship, first at Verona; and desires it may be generally received, as the most excellent way of her worship, to promote which, he saith, he had written, (no doubt, an admirable Book) Of the Life of Christ in the Womb of the Virgin.*

And for praying to Images, it is done with as much ceremony and formality as it ever was among the Heathens; with prostrations, genuflections, looking devoutly upon the Images, approaching to them, and touching them with as much *Shew* of Reverence as ever was used among them; insomuch that if an old Roman were revived and saw the modern practices of worship of Images at Rome, he would say they had done by worship as the Stoicks did by Philosophy, viz. only changed the Names, when the things were the same. Nay scarce any superstition can be mentioned so barbarous among the Heathen Idolaters towards Images, but it is practised in the Roman Church; witness the binding the Image of S. Anthony to get a good

Della Valle Wind, which Peter Della Valle saith, is much used, and not without success among the Portugals; and Boulaye le Gouz mentions their putting the Images of S. Anthony

Della Valle
Lett. 9. p. 6.
Boulay
Voyage
l. 2. c. 25.

ny and the B. Virgin, with their Heads forward into wells, drawing them up and down there, to procure rain, and for other very useful purposes. But setting aside such barbarous superstition of the People (which is not condemned by their spiritual Governours that we find) we need insist on no more than what is either required, or commonly allowed and practised with Approbation. We have already seen by the confession of their best Writers, That their Church does allow praying to the Cross in the most exprest and formal terms of Prayer, *O Crux Ave spes unica, Hoc passionis tempore, Pius adauge Gratiam, Relisque dele Crimina.* Wherein Bernardus Pujol confesses that not only the common people, but the Church it self doth speak to the Cross, as the Image of Christ; and what is this then, but praying to the Image? Upon the third of May we find this *Antiphona* to the Cross,

O Crux splendidior cunctis astris, mundo celebris, hominibus multum amabilis, sanctior universis, quæ sola fuisti digna portare talentum mundi, dulce lignum, dulces clavos, dulcia ferens pondera; Salva presentem catervam in tuis hodie laudibus congregatam.

Hymn. ad
Vesper.
Dom.
Passion.
Pujol de
adorat.
disp. 3.
Sect. 6.
p. 281.

Brev. Rom.
Fest. Maii
30. invent.
S. CRUCIS.

Buc

But the most soleimn adoration of the Cross is performed upon Good-Friday, which according to the Rubricks of the Roman Missal is after this manner, Prayers being ended, the Priest goes to the Epistle side of the Altar, and there takes the Cross from the Deacon; and then turns to the People, and by degrees uncovers a little of it from the top, and begins the Antiphona, Ecce lignum Crucis, in qua salus mundi pependit, Then the Choire sings, Venite Adoremus; at which they all prostrate themselves (not to the earth saith Gavantus, but with kneeling, and a very lowly Reverence) Then he goes forward to the Corner of the Altar, and opening the right-hand of the Crucifix, and lifting it up a little, he sings louder, Ecce lignum, &c. and the rest sing and adore again; then he goes to the middle of the Altar, and uncovers the whole Crucifix, and lifts it up and sings yet louder, and they adore, as before. When this is done, the Priest carries it to a place prepared before the Altar, and there kneeling he places it; then he pulls off his Shooes, and goes to worship the Cross, three times kneeling, before he kisses it: and after him, the rest do it in their Order. And the Pope himself on that day,

laies

Rubr. Mis-
sal.
de feria
sextâ in
Parascut.

laies aside his Mitre, hath his Shooes pull'd ^{cerem.}
 off, and goes between two Cardinals ad ^{Sacr. l. 2. di}
 adorandum, to worship the Cross, before ^{sexta Feria}
 which he kneels three times at a conveni-
 ent distance, and prays, and then kisses it :
 and so all the Cardinals two and two, and
 the rest after them. Several other Ce-
 remonies there are in the Missals of York
 and Salisbury ; but those which are in the
 Roman Missal are sufficient to prove that
 they in the Roman Church are bound to give
 as solemn adoration to the Cross, as ever
 any Heathens gave to any Images whatso-
 ever. Besides this, they make solemn sup-
 plication to other Images of Christ ; as to
 that of the Veronica at Rome, in those
 known Verses, *Salve sancta Facies nostri*
Redemptoris, &c. wherein they pray to
 the Image, to purge them from sin and
 bring them to heaven ; which are pretty
 reasonable requests to be made to an Image,
 especially so authentick a one as that is :
 of which *Brevius* saith, *That it hath su-* ^{Brov.}
preme honour among Christians, and hath ^{A. 1216.}
an Altar on purpose for it, which is called ^{a. 16.}
Altare sanctissimi sudarii, (as he shews
 from *Grimaldus*) in S. Peter's Church at
 Rome, & was in the Oratory of Pope John 7.
 and the Monuments of the consecration of
 that Altar are still preserved among other

*Æn. Sylv.
Comment.
l. 8.*

*Gretser de
Imag. non
manuscriptis
c. 17.*

*Bolland. in
4. Febr.
Sæc. 3. n. 13*

Records of that Church: which had Priests belonging to it. This Image is shewed at solemn times, and then the people fall down and worship it; the manner whereof is described by Pope Pius 2. relating the procession of the Pope at the translation of the Head of S. Andrew; The Pope coming in Romp with the Cardinals and Clergy to that part of the Church where the Veronica was, commanded it to be shewn. Forthwith the Cardinal of S. Mark goes up the steps, and shews the venerable and sacred Image, the people three times crying out Mercy. It was, saith he, a wonderful thing at one time to see our B. Saviour (in this Image) and the Reliques of the Apostle; and the Pope and Cardinals and Clergy kneeling and praying with their heads uncovered, viz. to this Image of Veronica? Gretser saith, That in some Missals there was a Missa de Veronica, with an Indulgence granted by Innocent 4. to those who said that Mass, or but the Collect there mentioned; after which follows the Sequence, viz. Salve sancta facies, &c. full of devout affections, saith Gretser; which Bollandus supposes to be the Psalm made by Innocent 3. for the honour of the Veronica, of which Matth. Paris speaks. But we are not to imagine the Veronica to be

be

be only thus worshipped at Rome; for
 the very same is pretended to be in Spain
 too, in the Cathedral Church of Jaen in
 Andalusia, where it is likewise shewed and
 worshipped with mighty Reverence and a
 kind of Sacred horror, saith Bollandus,
 twice a year. *Lucius Marinus* saith, Luc. Mari-
nae. Sic. de
reb. Hispan.
 There is so much Divinity in it, that no
 man can tell what colour it is of; and
 that the worship of it hath mightily en-
 riched the place; to which Clement 7.
 and Julius 3. granted large Indulgences,
 and Litanies are appointed to be used by
 the people at the shewing of it. There
 are others of them shewed, and worship-
 ped in other places as both Bollandus and
 Gretser confess; at which they seem a lit-
 tle troubled, but think to save all by say-
 ing, that the rest are copies, or that *Veronica's*
handkerchief had three foldings,
 and every one had a distinct Image, where-
 of one was kept at Rome, another at Je-
 rusalem, and a third in Spain; but whe-
 ther Originals or Copies, whether true or
 false, they are all worshipped, where ever
 they are, with mighty devotion, and mi-
 racles are said to be done by them. *Luci-
us Marinus* mentions another Image of Luc. Marin.
ib.
Christ which was solemnly worshipped in
 Spain, viz. one made by *Nicodemus*, and

was found by a Merchant in an Ark floating
 on the Sea ; Cujus Imaginis invocato Na-
 mine, saith he, The Divinity of which
 Image being pray'd to, abundance of in-
 firm persons were healed. And he saith
 of Ferdinand King of Spain, That he did
 most devoutly worship a certain Image of
 God, which he carried about with him.
 Ab eâ itaque quicquid & necessario & ho-
 nestè petebat, facile semper assequeba-
 tur ; he obtained easily and alwaies, what-
 ever he duely prayed for to the Image.
 Another Divine Image of Christ which
 hath solemn supplications made to it in
 that imprinted on the sacred Sindon, or
 Shroud at Besançon, which is shewed twice
 a year upon a Mountain near the City,
 where vast numbers of people meet to adore
 it ; and the Devils roar at the opening
 of it, and the Skies of a sudden clear,
 although it rained before, when it is
 shewed, and doth such mighty wonders,
 that Chiffletius saith, *Presenti Divini
 Numine semper affulget ;* it hath alwaies
 a Divine Presence with it ; forty hours
 prayers, he saith, are often made to it,
 and in extraordinary necessities it is carried
 in procession like the Ark, (but more holy
 than the Ark) and in a time of general
 Pestilence, he saith, they finding no other

chifflet. de
 linteis
 sepulchr.
 christi.
 c. 11, 15.

c. 14.

re-

remedy did fly in S. Sudarii asylum & entelam, into the Sanctuary and protection of this Divine Image, and thereupon the City instituted a society and solemn procession to the honour of it every year, on the third of May, to which other Cities of Burgundy, as Dole and Salines, joyned themselves; and Gregory 13. granted an Indulgence to the Altar erected for the honour of this Image: which is called Altare S Sindonis. The like might be shewed concerning other Images, but these are sufficient to my purpose, to prove the common and allowed practice of the worship of Images in the Roman Church, as to the Rites of Supplication and adoration, to be as extravagant, as ever were among the Heathens.

3. For Solemn Processions with Images, we have as great Instances as ever were among them; witness the Procession with the Image of S. Roch by the grave Fathers of the Council of Constance, which was done, saith Baronius, by a decree of that Baron. Mart. Aug. 16. Council; when upon the Plague raging there, his Image was carried through the City in solemn Pomp, upon which the Plague stayed: from this example, saith he, his Images were every where set up, and Altars, Chappels, and Temples erected to him.

claccon. in
Paulo. 2.
Brou.
A. 1216.
n. 16.
Rasponi de
Basil. Later.
l. 4. c. 19.

him. Witness, The Procession at Rome
by Paul 2. wherein the Pope and Cardinals
went barefoot, the Image of S. Maria de
Populo, and the Image of our Saviour in
the Lateran being solemnly carried to gain
a victory over the Turks. Cardinal
Rasponi saith, That is thought to be the
most effectual way to obtain favour and
mercy of God, to carry the Image of our
Saviour from the Lateran Church in a so-
lemn Procession to S. Maria Major; for
then they think their prayers are most sure
to be heard, when the Image of Christ
stands by that of the B. Virgin, whose
Authority and Favour is so great with
her Son. So Stephen 3. found when he
carried the Image on his own shoulders
barefoot, the people following him, when
he was much distressed by Aistulphus.
Upon the Feast of the Assumption of the
B. Virgin, the Pope and Cardinals keep the
Vespers at S. Maria Major (as Rasponi de-
scribes it from Benedictus Canon of S. Pe-
ters) those being ended, the Pope returns
to the Lateran; the Cardinals take from
the Chappel of S. Laurence the Image of
our Saviour, but first, the Pope and Car-
dinals, barefoot, make seven bowings, and
then open the Image and kiss the feet of
it, then this Image is carried with great

Pomp

Pomp and Devotion, with Torches burning, and the People singing through those Streets of the City that have been most troubled with Serpents and Devils; for which cause Pope Sergius appointed this Procession. But it seems so great wickedness was committed in this nocturnal Procession, (although Rasponi saith, That a miracle happened of not consuming the wax of the Torches,) that Pius 5. forbade this Procession. Every year in Rogation week for three daies the Image of the B. Virgin is carried in a solemn Procession from Mount Genoa. Guardia near Bononia, with publick supplications; because once, in a time of great chronie. Disp. p. 346. A.D. 1433. Rain, when no other means would help them, Cardinal Albercati appointed such a Procession against Rain for four daies together, after which it seems the Rain ceased. Upon Tuesday in Easter week, Sedulius describes a most solemn Procession carrying the Image of the B. Virgin; at Maestricht. Sedul. de First, The Image is taken out of the Chapel, and placed in the middle of the Virgin Mosa Tra. Church for more solemn adoration; where jell. c. 2 1. the People continue at their prayers all night, before the Image; at which times, he saith, the officers of the Church have given away seventeen thousand little Images of the B. Virgin with Indulgences:

where, saith he, it is a pleasant sight to behold children, Boys, Virgins, Matrons, Men, only covered with linnen or flannen shirts, and barefooted to approach, to worship, to kneel, and even to creep about the Image of the B. Virgin, and watering the very ground with their Tears: Many from the head to the knees having iron Armour next to their bodies; going upon their bare knees the whole Procession; and drawing heavy chains of Iron fastened to their Feet. The manner of which procession is thus set down, After Mass performed to the honour of the B. Virgin, and the chords of S. Francis are distributed among the great Persons, (which they carry upon their garments that day like shoulder bells) the Procession begins; first a Crucifix is carried by one of the Friars, whom a great number follows of men, women, and Children, all barefoot, with only linnen or flannen shifts, with Torches in their hands, in the habit of penitents with great silence praying and weeping as they go. In the year 1608. there were about a thousand in the dress, among whom were not a few men who covered their Heads with Iron Head-pieces that they might not be known. Many women drew their Children after them that could hardly go; and others carried them

Marian.

l. 2. c. 14.

them sucking at their breasts; and an old woman that could not go, was carried in her bed. After these followed the whippers under the peculiar care of the Jesuits, with their faces covered and bare-foot. Then followed another Cross; after them the Franciscans singing to the Praise of the B. Virgin; then the chief Citizens, then the Officers of her Chappel, then the Torch bearers immediately before the sacred Image, which the choicest Virgins carried on their shoulders: then followed a Company of armed men, who had vowed this service to the Virgin for several years. In that year 1608. there were 86 persons stark naked (only where nature would not allow it) that had iron armour on their bodies from head to foot; and most of them drawing a heavy chain fastened to their right feet, that they might go more uneasily; their linnen drawers did shew how the blood dropt from their flesh by the pinching of the Armour; and the very way was sprinkled with blood; after these, the Magistrates of the City followed, and the Consuls and Senators all bearing torches before the Host, which was carried under a silken Canopy, with a most profound Reverence; then came in the last place, the Governour, the Nobility, and a vast multitude

rude of all sorts of people ; and for eight
dayes together many people walked the same
round out of great devotion. I do not
think this Procession can be matched, by
the supplications and the *Pompa Circensis*
of old Rome ; or by any of the Processions
with their Idols, which Peter della Valle
describes among the Heathen Indians,
which, he confesses, to be very like those
used among Christians, when the Images
of Saints are carried in procession, when any
Body or Fraternity go in Pilgrimage to Lo-
reto or Rome, in the Holy Year.

The Jesuits boast very much of their
zeal in setting up the worship of the Images
of the B. Virgin in Flanders, and especi-
ally of these solemn processions with her
Images ; particularly at Courtray for nine
dayes together, wherein there have been
nine thousand persons : In the year 1636
the plague raging there, a solemn suppli-
cation was appointed with a Procession of
the Image through the City, with wonder-
ful devotion ; and at Bruges, A. D. 1631
with an incredible number of people ; and
a thousand torches of Virgin wax ; and the
like solemnities were set up by their means
at Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin and other
places. Osbo Zylius a Jesuite sets down the
order of the Procession, wherein the Image
of

Pet. della
Valle lett.
3. n. 3. 18.
25.

Imago pri-
misec. soc.
Jesu L. 6.
p. 775,
&c.

Osbo Zyl.
hisor. B.
Mar. Syl-
veduc. l. 4.
c. 28.

of the *B. Virgin* that was before worshipped at *Boisleduc* was carried to *Brussels*, upon the *Shoulders* of four *Capucins*, the *Infanta Isabella* following it with all the *Nobility*, and infinite number of people, with the highest expressions of *Pomp* and *Devotion*, and at last it was placed in the middle of a *Chappel* just over the *Altar*, where it hath solemn worship given to it, and wonderful cures are said to be wrought by it. I cannot conclude this Discourse, without giving some account of another notable *Procession* at *Brussels* of an *Image* of the *B. Virgin*, the occasion whereof was this; a new confraternity was instituted in *Spain* of the *Slaves* of the *B. Virgin*, by one *Simon Rojas*; whose custome was to salute one another with those words, *Ave Maria*, instead of *Your humble Servant*, and this *Sodality* was established with large *Indulgences* by *Paul 5.* and afterwards was begun in *Bruges*, *A. D. 1626.* having fetters as the badge of this *Slavery*, and new *Indulgences* from *Urban 8.*; for the establishing this *Society* it happened luckily, that an officer of the *King of Spain's Fleet* being sick at *Dunkirk*, pretended to discover a great Secret to *Barth. de los Rios* then *Preacher* to *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, viz. that he had a most admirable *Image* of

*Barth. de
los Rios
bitharsh.
Marian.
l. 2. c. 7.*

c. 19.

c. 10.

of the B. Virgin, which had been worship-
 ped for 600 years in the Cathedral Church
 of Aberdene, and had spoken to the last
 Catholick Bishp, and had miraculously esca-
 ped the Hereticks hands; and was design-
 ed for a present to Isabella; but he, (wretch
 that he was) upon a promise made by the
 Franciscans of his own Countrey in Spain,
 of praying for his Soul and his Families,
 had intended to have carried it thither,
 which he found was displeasing to the B.
 Virgin by his dangerous sickness; and he
 hoped upon this confession she would have
 mercy upon him; and therefore he desired
 him to present this Image to her Highness
 in the name of the Catholicks of Aberdene;
 which was received by her with wonderful
 devotion, and she said her prayers before
 it morning and evening; but this did not
 satisfie her, for she resolved to have this
 Image carried to Brussels with a solemn
 procession, and for that purpose obtained
 an Indulgence from Urban 8. for all those
 who should attend it; and a rich and mag-
 nificent Altar was erected, over which
 the Image was to be placed: and banners
 were made with this inscription, In Nomine
 Mariæ omne genu flectatur, &c. after
 which on May 3. the Procession was per-
 formed with all imaginable Pomp, and
 kept

kept for eight dayes together : and yet after all this, one Maxwel, a learned Scotchman shewed in a Discourse presented to Isabella, that upon the best enquiry he could make, this famous Image was a meer imposture, and a trick of a crafty merchant to procure some advantage to himself by it ; but the poor man was imprisoned for this discovery, and forced to make a publick Recantation : and the worship of this Image was advanced, and a solemn supplication, and procession with it observed every year ; as the same Author informs us, and the Confraternity of the slaves of the *B. Virgin* highly promoted by it. Several other solemn processions are related by him, as of *B. Maria de Remedij*, *B. Maria de Victoriâ*, with the Popes Bulls for establishing the Society of slaves of the *B. Virgin* ; but these are enough to shew, that the Roman Church in its constant, and allowed practises, doth not come behind old *Heathen Rome*, in this part of the worship given to Images.

c. 14.

c. 16.

c. 19.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

Of the Sense of the second Commandment.

§. 1. **H**AVING endeavoured, with so much care, to give a just and true account of the *Controversie* between us, as to the *worship* of *Images*, and therein shewed from the *Doctrine* and *Practice* of the *Roman Church*; 1. That they set up *Images* in *Churches* over *Altars*, purposely for *worship*. 2. That they consecrate those *Images* with *solemn prayers* for that purpose. 3. That they use all the *Rites* of *worship* to them which the *Heathen Idolaters* used to their *Images*, such as *bowings*, *prostrations*, *Lights*, *Incense*, and *praying*. 4. That they make *solemn Processions* in honour of *Images*, carrying them with as much *Pomp* and *Ceremony* as ever the *Heathens* did their *Idols*; The Question now is, whether these *Acts* of *worship* towards *Images* were *unlawful* only to *Heathens* and *Jews*; but are become
lawful

lawful to *Christians*? But if these *Acts* of *worship* be now equally unlawful to us, as to them, then *Christians* performing *them*, are liable to the same charge that the *Jews* and *Heathens* were; and if the *Scripture* calls that *Idolatri* in them, it must be so in *Christians* too, as much as *Murder*, or *Theft*, or *Adultery* is the same in all, for the words of the *Law* of *God* makes no more difference as to one, than as to the other. We are therefore to enquire on what account the *Sense* of this *Law* is supposed to be consistent with the *practice* of the same things among *Christians*, which were utterly forbidden by it to *Jews* and *Heathens*: The words of the *Law* are these,

Thou shalt not make to thy self any Graven Image, nor the Likeness of any Thing which is in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Waters under the Earth; Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them; for I the Lord thy God am a Jealous God, &c.

My Adversary T. G. denies, that *God* herein did forbid himself to be worshipped by a *Crucifix*, or such like sacred Image;
and

T. G. p.
38, 39.

p. 49.

and he asserts, that the design of the Law is only to forbid the worship of Idols. The first part, he saith, toucheth not the worship of Images, nor of God himself by them, but only the making them; the second forbids indeed in expresse terms to bow our selves down to the Images themselves, but speaks not one word of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of worshipping God himself by them. To bow our selves down to the Images themselves, without any relation to God, is by the concession of all to worship them instead of God; The Jews we know did worship God by bowing down before the Ark and the Cherubims, and yet they did not worship them instead of God; therefore, he asserts, that by Image an Idol is to be understood, and that by Idol such an Image as is made to represent for worship a figment that hath no real Being; and by similitude, an Image or resemblance of some real thing, but falsely imagined to be a God. This is the sense which T. G. gives of the second Commandment. But if I can make it appear,

1. That there is no reason to take the word he translates *Idol* here, for the representation of a meer figment set up for worship, and that if it were so taken, it would not excuse them.

2. That

2. That the worship of *God* before the *Ark* and the *Cherubims* was of a different nature from the worship of *Images* here forbidden, and that the *sense* of the *Law* doth exclude all worship of *Images*; then this interpretation of *T. G.* will appear to be very false and groundless.

1. That there is no reason to understand, ¶. 2.
what we tender *Image*, of such an *Idol* as represents a meer *figment* set up for worship. If there were any colour of reason for such an acception of the word *Idol* here, it must either be, 1. From the natural importance of the word; or, 2. From the use of it in *Scripture*; or 3. From the consent of the *Fathers*, or 4. From some *Definition* of the *Church*. But I shall shew that there is no ground for affixing this *sense* to the *Commandment* from any one of these.

1. Not from the natural importance of the word. He that reads such an express prohibition in a divine Law, of something so displeasing to God, that he annexes a very severe sanction to it, had need be very well satisfied about the sense he gives to the words of it, lest he incur the wrath of God, and be found a perverter of his Law. If a man should reject all humane

Authority, because the *First Commandment* saith, *Thou shalt have no other Elohim besides me* ; but in *Scripture*, *Magistrates* and *Judges* are called *Elohim*, therefore it is unlawful to own any civil *Magistrates* ; he would have much more to say than *T. G.* and his Brethren have in restraining the sense of the Law about *Images* to such *Idols* as are only *representations* of *Imaginary Beings*. For the Original word hath no manner of tendency that way, it signifying any thing that is carved or cut out of wood or stone ; and as I told *T. G.* before, “ it is no less than “ forty several times rendred by the LXX. “ by γλυπτον, and but thrice by εἰδωλον, “ and which is very observable, although “ *Exod.* 20. 4. they render it εἰδωλον, yet in “ the repetition of the Law, *Deut.* 5. 8. “ the *Alexandrian MS.* hath it γλυπτον, “ and *Deut.* 4. 16. in some copies of the “ LXX. the same word is translated γλυπτον, “ and *Isaiah* 40. 18. they translate it by “ εἰκων, which is properly an *Image*, and “ the *Vulgar Latin* it self useth *Idolum*, “ *Sculptile*, and *Imago* (*Isa.* 44. 9, 10, 13.) “ all to express the same thing. To this *T. G.* replies, that the LXX. generally translating it γλυπτον, had some particular reason to render it *Idol* here ; and because
this

this is a word of stricter signification; it ought to regulate the larger; and in the other places, he saith, there is still some term or clause restraining the words to such a graven thing or Image, as is made to be compared with God or to be the object of divine worship, that is, to be an Idol. Then it seems a graven Image when it is made the object of Divine worship becomes an Idol in T. G's sense; and yet an Idol in the Commandment is the representation of a meer Figment; but might not that be the sense of an Idol in this place, which he grants is meant in another? where the words are express concerning the representation of God, as in *Isaiah* 40. 18. And if he allows this to be the meaning of an Idol in the Commandment, I will grant that the LXX had a particular reason to render *Pesel* by εἰδωλον here. For *Aquinas* well observes, that this Commandment doth not forbid the making any sculpture or similitude, sed facere adorandam, to make it for worship; because it follows, thou shalt not fall down to them and worship them. And *Montanus* expresses the sense of the Commandment after this manner; *simulacrum divinum nullo pacto constato. Signa cultus causa ne facito*; and *Nicolaus Faber*

Aq. 3. q. 25. art. 2. ad 1.

Montan. de Cth. & Regn. A. d. m. l. 4. c. 9.

ber (both learned men of the Roman Church.)

Fa'ri o-
puscul. p.
97.

*Sculptilibus nè flecte genu, pictave ta-
bella.*

and again,

*Non pictum sculptumve puta venerabile
quidquam.*

If this be T. G's sense of an *Idol*, I freely yield to him that the LXX. had very good reason so to render *Pesel* in this place, where it is supposed to be an *object* of *divine worship*. But how can this agree with what T. G. saith, *that the Law speaks not one word of the unlawfulness of worshipping God himself by an Image*? For doth not the Law condemn the *worship* of an *Idol*? And doth not T. G. say, *that an Image when it is made an object of Divine worship becomes an Idol*? And doth it not then follow that the Law in express terms doth condemn the *Worship* of God by such an *Image*? Nay, is it not the self-same T. G. that saith, *that the making such Images as are conceived to be proper Likenesses or representations of the Divinity,*

T. G. p. 56.

nity, is against the Nature and unalterable Law of God? But what Law of God is there that doth forbid such Images, if it be not this? And if this Law doth forbid such Images, then the signification of an Idol is not here to be taken for the representation of a Figment, but of the greatest and most real Being in the World. Have not I now far better reason to return his own words upon him, such frequent self-contradictions are the natural consequences of a Discourse not grounded upon Truth; and although the Reader may think I take delight to discover them in my Adversary, yet I can assure him it is a much greater grief to me to see so subtle a Wit so often intangled in them? But it may be T. G. thinks to escape by saying, that when he saith an Image being made the object of divine worship is an Idol, he doth not understand it of an Image of God, but when the Image it self is taken for God; which evasion can do him no service; for, 1. He grants that Images which are made for Likenesses of God are condemned by the Law of God, and that they are an infinite disparagement to the Divine Nature. 2. I have at large shewed that in the Roman Church, Images of God and Christ are made the objects of Divine wor-

ship. And 3. That the very Heathens did not take the Images themselves for Gods. 4. The place he answers, Isa. 40. 18. doth imply that the Images of the Divinity are therefore condemned, because nothing can be made like unto God. But of that afterwards.

§. 3. Let us then suppose that the LXX. had particular reason to render *Pesel* by εἰδωλον in the Commandment, yet what is this, to the representation of a meer *figment* for worship? Doth εἰδωλον so properly, so naturally, so necessarily signifie a *figment*, that it cannot be taken in any other sense? I see T. G. makes only use of good *Catholic Lexicons* (such a one as that called *Catholicon* which *Erasmus* is so pleasant with) that assure him what the sense of a word must be in spite of all use of it by *prophane* and *heretical* Authors: thus *simulachrum* must signifie only *Heathen Images*, and εἰδωλον, a *Sphinx*, a *Triton*, or *Centaure*; and why so? did it alwaies signifie so? did all *Greek Authors* use it only in that sense? Doth the *Etymology* of it imply it? no, none of all these: what then is the reason that a word should be so restrained against the former and common acception of it? The reason is very plain; for if it be

be taken for the *representation of real Beings*, then for all that we know, the *Image of the Trinity*, or of the *B. Virgin*, or of any other worshipped in the *Roman Church* may prove *Idols*; and therefore this must be the sense, because the *Church of Rome* cannot be guilty of *Idolatry*. This is the real Truth of the case, but it is too great Truth to be owned. Only *Bellarmin* (who often speaks freelier than the rest) confesses, *their design herein is to shew that the Images worshipped in the Church of Rome cannot be Idols, because they are representations of real Beings.* Bellarmin. de Imag. l. 2. c. 5. A very miserable shift! as will appear by the examination of it. Let us therefore see whether there be any pretence from the use and importance of the Word, for restraining the sense of an *Idol*, to an *imaginary representation*. And I am so far from *T. G's* opinion, that by the best enquiry I can make, the proper signification of *εἰδωλον* is, a *representation of something that really is*. So *Hesychius* interprets it by *ὑποκείμενα* and *εἶκον*; and the old *Greek* and *Latin Glossaries* render *εἰδωλον* and *simulachrum* by each other (and notwithstanding *T. G's* severity against me for translating *simulachra* *Images*, I can make it appear from some of the most

Catech.

Rom. explic.

præc. 1. n. 10

Onuphr. de

7 urb. Eccl.

de Basil.

Lateran.

Cavol.

Barrom. in

Concil.

Mediol. 1.

p. 1.

Isid. Orig.

l. 8. c. 11.

Plut. vit.

Sylla.

authentick Writers of the Roman Church, that they do not scruple calling such Images as they worship *simulacra*, I leave T. G. then to judge whether they be not Idols too) *Isidore* makes *Idolum* to be properly *Simulachrum quod humana effigie factum & consecratum est*: an Image made and consecrated in the figure of a man: as *Plutarch* calls the Image of *Sylla* *Εἰδωλον*; and *Porphyrie* in the beginning of the Life of *Plotinus*, when *Amelius* desired a Picture of him, he answered, *Is it not enough to carry such an Idolum about me, but I must leave εἰδῶλε εἰδωλον an Image of an Image?* So we find *Idolum* used in the Chaldaick Oracles,

Ἔστ κ) Εἰδῶλοις μελὲς οἷς τὸ πᾶν ἀμφοτέρωνται,

Psell. in.

Orac.

Chaldaic.

p. 53.

where *Psellus* observes, That according to the Platonists, the mind is said to be *Εἰδωλον τοῦ Θεοῦ* the Image of God; and the rational soul, the Image of the mind, and the irrational, the Image of the rational; and the nature of the irrational soul; and the body of the Image of Nature; and Matter of the Body. But *Isidore* applying *Idolum* to an Ecclesiastical sense, supposeth not only representation, but consecration to be necessary to it; wherein he follows

Tex-

Tertullian, who speaking of the created Beings that were worshipped, saith, *Eorum Imagines Idola; imaginum consecratio Idolatria: Their Images were Idols, and the consecration of them is Idolatry:* and a little before, he saith, *That all service of an Idol is Idolatry, and every representation is an Idol;* *Omnis forma vel formula Idolum se dici exposcit;* For, saith he, *ἰδωλον* is from *ἰδω* which signifies a form or representation of a thing. Or as the Greek Etymologist thinks it comes immediately from *ἰδω* to resemble. Among the Philosophers it was taken for the Image of things conveyed to our sight, so Diogenes Laertius saith, *That Democritus held Vision to be performed κατ' ἰδωλον ὑποστάσεως* by the incursion of Images; κατ' ἰδωλον ἀκρίβειας saith Plutarch; Empedocles saith he, joyned raies to the Images, (*ἰδωλον:*) and Democritus and Epicurus said that reflection in a glass was performed κατ' ἰδωλον ὑποστάσεως by the subsistence of the Images. Cicero, Lucretius, and S. Augustin render these *ἰδωλα* by Images; Catius the Epicurean called them Spectra; Macrobius Simulacra; but all of them understood the most proper representations of things to our sight; which Epicurus was so far from thinking that they represented

Tertul. de
Idol. c. 4.

c. 3.

Diag. Vit.
Democr.
Cicero ad
Attic. l. 2.
p. 3.
Plut. de
placit.
Philos. l. 4.
c. 13, 14.

Lucr. l. 4.
Cic. ep. l. 13.
ep. 16.
August.
ep. 56.
Macrob.
Sat. l. 1.
c. 14.

Odys. x.
v. 83.

sented things that were not, that he made them infallible criteria of the truth of things. The Poets, and some other Authors made use of εἰδωλα to signify Spectres and Apparitions; but still they supposed them to be the representations of some real Beings; So Homer calls the soul of Elpenor that appeared to Ulysses εἰδωλον; but Eustathius there observes, That these εἰδωλα were exactly like the Persons they represented as to Age, Stature, Habit, and every thing: and so Homer himself expresses it, saying that Apollo made an εἰδωλον a representation of Æneas,

Ilid. i.
v. 450.

Ἄντ' ἢ τ' Ἀινείῃ ἰκελον, εἰ πύχισσι πτόν.

So in another place speaking of Minerva's making a representation of Iphibima,

Odys. δ'.
v. 796.

Εἰδωλον πόινσι, Νίμας δ' ἦκετο γυναῖκα.

By which we see that the very Poetical use of the word, for a Spectre, doth imply an exact resemblance to some real Being which it represents: from whence then hath this signification of an Idol come into the Roman Church, that it must signify a representation of something that is not? but from whencesoever it comes,

we

we are sure it is neither from the *natural importance*, nor the *use of the word among Greek Authors*.

2. Not from the *use of it in Scripture*. p. 4.
 The *Author* of the *Book of wisdom* gives this account of the beginning of the worship of Idols, viz. *That Fathers having* *wisd. c. 14.*
left their Children, made Images of them, *v. 15.*
and appointed solemnities to be kept before them, as if they were Gods; then by degrees, Princes passed these things into Laws, and made men to worship graven Images: and thus either out of affection or flattery the worship of Idols began: where it is observable, that he makes the representation of Persons, that were really in Being, to have been the first Idols: and he distinguishes the bringing in of Idols from *ch. 13.*
the worship of the Elements, or heavenly *v. 6, &c.*
bodies; and he thinks these much more excusable than those who worship the work of mens hands; the folly of which he there elegantly describes; but he still supposes these Idols to have the resemblance either of man or some living creature. To the *v. 13, 14.*
same purpose Diophantus the Lacedemonian in Fulgentius, saith, That Syrophanes *Fulgent.*
the Egyptian, being greatly afflicted for *Mythol.*
the loss of his son made an Image of him, *l. 1.*
and

Erych.
Annal.
Tom. I.
p. 56.

Herod. l. 2.
Lucian. de
Dia Syr.
Epiph. l. 1.
Sect. 8.
Cedren. hist.
Comp. p. 45.

and all his servants to please him did what they could to adorn this Image, and some when they had offended ran to it as a Sanctuary; from hence, saith he, came the worship of Idols. And Eurychius gives the like account of the Original of Idols, That when a great man was dead, they set up his Image on his Sepulchre; from whence the world was filled with Idols, i. e. with Images of Men, Women, and Children: this he thinks began among the Chaldeans and Egyptians; but Herodotus saies the Egyptians were the first who made Images of their Gods: Lucian, that they borrowed this custom from the Assyrians. Epiphanius makes the beginning of Idolatry to be in the time of Seruch; but he saith, that it went no farther than to Pictures in his time; and came to Images and Statues in the time of Nahor. Cedrenus saith, That Seruch and his Companions made Statues for the honour of those who had done any famous action; which their posterity misunderstanding, worshipped them as Gods. Thus far we find that the first Idols that are supposed to have been in the world, were the representations of things that had real Beings. The only people that could be suspected to be meant in Scripture as those who had such Idols as were

representations of what had no real Beings, must be the Phœnicians and Egyptians: who besides the worship of Beasts, and the Images of them, had many extravagant Images. Sanchoniathon saith, *Taurus made the Images in Phœnicia with wings, Saturn with four, and the rest of the Gods with two.* And Dagon, and Atergatis or Derceto, is supposed to be an Image, whereof the upper part is of humane shape, and the lower of a Fish; among the Egyptians, one of their Images had the face of a Ram, and another of a Dog, &c. If these be the Idols T. G. thinks are prohibited in the Second Commandment; I desire him to consider, 1. Whether the Images of humane shape were not prohibited by the Law equally with these? or whether it were lawful to worship such Images as did represent real beings in that manner, that it was unlawful to worship those Images that were only Chimera's and fancies of mens brains? If not, this distinction serves to no purpose at all. To make this more plain, I ask T. G. whether it were unlawful to worship God among the Egyptians under the representation of an Image with the body of a man, and the Head of a Hawk, which was a representation of something that had no real Being

Euseb. Prep.
Evang.
l. 3. c. 11.

Plut. de
Isid. &
Osiri.
p. 357.

Being just like it ; but it was lawful to worship Him with the Image of a man, as Eusebius saith, that *Oneph or the Creator of the world was worshipped under such a representation among them* ? It is certain, that both these sorts of Images were among the Egyptians, and according to T. G's notion, one of these was an Idol, and the other not. But is it possible for men of common understandings, to suppose that God by the words of the Law hath forbidden the one, and not the other ; when both were intended to represent the same Being ? But according to this sense, the Inhabitants of Thebais, of whom Plutarch saith, That they only worshipped Oneph the immortal God, or the Creator under the Image of a man, were altogether as innocent, as those in the Roman Church, who worship God under a like representation. And can it enter into T. G's head, that God should, notwithstanding all the words of this Commandment, allow such a kind of worship of Images as was received among the Egyptians ? But if this were condemned in them, then if the Second Commandment be in force, the like worship must be condemned in the Church of Rome. 2. That there is a distinction to be made between such Images as have no real

real resemblance in nature, and such Images
 which represent that which hath no real
 Being; for although the Phœnician and
 Egyptian Images had nothing in nature
 which answered to their figure, yet there
 might be something which answered their
 representation, i. e. they were only Sym-
 bolical Images, and the Nature of those
 Symbols being understood, there was no
 difference as to matter of worship between
 these and other Images. As for instance,
 a *Sphinx* is one of those Images which
 T. G. would have to be understood for an
 Idol in the Second Commandment; sup-
 posing then that I allow him (as a *Sphinx*
 was painted among the Egyptians with
 wings, and the face a man, and the body
 of a Lion) that it was the representation
 of something that had no real Being agree-
 able to it; yet Clemens Alexandrinus Clem. Alex.
Str. 5. saith, That their design was to represent
 hereby that God was both to be loved and
 feared; now this Image did Symbolically Pignor.
exposit.
mensē
Isiacæ.
p. 34.
 represent a real object of worship; and
 therefore could be no Idol even in T. G's
 sense. So Kircher saith, one of the chief Kircher.
Sphinx.
Mystagoga
par. 2. c. 3.
 and most common Images of the Egyptians
 was a winged Globe with a Serpent passing
 through the middle of it; by the Globe,
 saith he, they represented the Divine na-
 ure,

ture, by the Serpent, the spreading of life, and by the wings, the Spirit of the world. Here is an Image that hath no real Being correspondent to it, and yet it represents the infinite nature, and power, and goodness of God: Sometimes, saith he, they represented Providence by a Scepter with a Dogs head within a Semicircle; by which, and innumerable other waies they represented the hidden Mysteries of the Divine Being: and they thought this Symbolical way most pleasing to God; and was certainly farthest from that danger which T. G. thinks to be most considerable in Images, viz. making men Anthropomorphites. To avoid which, the Egyptians generally mixed the figures of men and beasts together, not so much to shew the

Porphyr. de communion of nature, as Porphyrie imagines, as that these were meer Symbolical

Images, and not intended for any proper Likenesses, and therefore according to T. G's principles, those which he calls Idols, were more innocent, than those which he calls Images, for the one might bring men to erroneous conceits of the Deity; but the other being Symbolical were not apt to do it. Plutarch saith, That when they represented Mercury by the Image of a man, with the head of a Dog, they

Plut. de
Isid. &
Ostr. p. 355.

they only intended thereby to represent
 care, watchfulness, and wisdom: and
 that they represented Osiris by a Scepter
 with an eye in it, by a Hawk, and by
 the figure of a man; now by Osiris, he p. 371.
 tells us, *They meant the most powerful
 God, and so doth Apuleius; and Tacitus* Apul. Me-
 tamor. l. 11.
 Tacit. hist.
 l. 4.
saith, The same God which was called
Jove among others, was called Osiris by
them. These Images, and many other of
 very strange shapes, with a mixture of very
 different forms, are supposed, in the *Mensa*
Isaca, and the *Egyptian Obelisks*, to re-
 present the most true and perfect Being in
 regard of his nature and production of
 things; as *Athanas. Kircher* hath endea- Oedip.
 Egypt.
 Tom. 3.
 voured at large to shew. If therefore the
Egyptians did make such *Symbolical figures*
 with respect to the most real Being; and
 yet these Images were *Idols* properly so cal-
 led: then it follows, that some representa-
 tions of the true God are *Idols*, and con-
 demned in the Second Commandment.

3. The Scripture uses the word *Idol* for
 the representation of all sorts of things
 which are made the objects of worship.
 Thus in the first place the LXX. makes
 use of the word *εἰδωλα*, it is taken for the
Teraphim of *Laban*, Gen. 31. 19, 34, 35.
 which are supposed to be of humane shape;

not only from the general opinion of Jewish Writers; but because of the mistake of the *Teraphim* for *David*, 1 Sam. 19. 13. The *Images* of *Baal* are called *Idols*, 2 Chron. 17. 3. Jer. 9. 13. and what the LXX. render, 2 Kings 11. 18. τὰς εἰκόνας the *Images* of *Baal*; in the parallel place, 2 Chron. 23. 17. they express by τὰ εἰδωλα *the Idols* of *Baal*. Whether by *Baal* be understood the *Assyrian Belus*, or the *Phœnician Beel Samen*, i. e. whether a representation of a *man*, or of the *Sun*, we are sure this was an *Image* of a *real Being*; and yet the LXX. call it an *Idol*. *Idols* are joyned with *Molten Gods* by the LXX. Levit. 19. 4. i. e. what ever *Images* are set up for *Divine worship*: And all the *Gods* of the *Heathen* are said to be *Idols*, 1 Chron. 16. 26. but they were not all meer *figments* of *mens brains*, being either *dead men* that were worshipped (as S. Hierome saith, by the *Idols* of the *Heathens* we understand *imagines Mortuorum* the representations of dead men) or the *works* of the *Creation*, especially the heavenly bodies, which was the most early and the most common *Idolatry* of the *Eastern* parts, and most frequently condemned in *Scripture*.

Hieron. in
Isai. c. 37.
l. 11.

If it be said, *That although they had real Beings, yet their Deities were fictitious*, I answer, 1. That is not to the purpose; for the question is, whether the proper signification of an *Idol* be the representation of *meer imaginary Beings*, *Sphinxes*, *Tritons*, *Centaures*? but what a ridiculous answer is this to that question, to say that although their *being real*, yet their *Deity is fictitious*? for this is to grant, that *Idols* are not representations of *imaginary Beings*, but of *imaginary Deities*: which I readily grant. 2. This will equally hold against all *representations* of created *Beings* that have *divine worship* given to them; for by giving them any part of *divine worship* they are so far made *Gods*; but since they are not truly so, they are still but the representations of *imaginary Deities*, although they be of real *Saints*, or *Angels*. In which sense the Scripture calls them אֱלִילִים and אֲוִנִים *nothings*, and *vanities*, and S. Paul saith, *That an Idol is nothing in the world*; not because it represented that which was not; but because neither the *Image* nor the *thing* represented were any real *Deity*.

4. The far greatest part of the *Idols* expressly mentioned in *Scripture* were the *representations of real Beings*: not only

Lyra in
 Lev. 18.
 Benjam.
 Itiner. p. 33.
 ed L' Em-
 per.
 Kircb. Pan-
 theon He-
 braeorum.

that the *things* had *Subsistence* which were represented by them, but that the very *Images* were of some *creatures* existing in the world. *Lyra* saith, *That Moloch was in the fashon of a man*; and so *Benjamin Tudelensis* supposes, when he saith, *That two femal Images stood of either side of him*. *Kircher* shews, from *Baal Aruch*, that *Asima* was worshipped in the form of a *Goat*: and from other Jewish Authors, *That Nibcas* had the figure of a *Dog*, *Thartak* of an *Ass*, *Adramelech* of a *Mule*, and *Anamelech* of a *Horse*; *Bel* and *Nebo* of *Serpents* and *Beasts*; *Succoth Benoth* of a *Hen* and *Chickens*; *Astaroth* of *Sheep*. Will *T. G.* say that these were not *Idols*, because they were *Images* of real *Beings*? If he doth, he must excuse the grossest *Idolatry* condemned in *Scripture*; if he doth not, he must then confess, that this is not the notion of an *Idol* in the sense of *Scripture*, viz. a representation of what hath *no existence*, but in the *imagination*, as *Sphinxes*, *Tritons*, *Centtaures*, and the like.

- §. 4. 3. But *T. G.* would have us believe, that this is the sense of the *Fathers*; for he quotes *Origen* and *Theodore*t for this in-

interpretation of the second *Commandment*. It is well known that *Origen* had a great many of *T. G's Idols* in his head, viz. *imaginations of things that were not*; and therefore it is ill fixing upon an interpretation of *Scripture* of which he was the first Author. But I have proved at large from the unanimous consent of the *Fathers* in charging the *Arians* with *Idolatry*, and the *Gnosticks* in worshipping the *Images of Christ* with *divine honours*, that this could not be their sense. For if this were the notion of an *Idol*, to represent what hath no existence, neither the *Arians* nor the *Gnosticks* could be accused of worshipping an *Idol*; but the *Fathers* do in express terms call *Christ* an *Idol*, if he had *divine worship* given him, and yet were not *God*. And it is farther observable, (1.) That the second *Council of Nice* confesses, that the *Arrians* were justly condemned for *Idolatry*, not only by one or two *Fathers*, but by the *Catholic Church*; from whence it is evident, that the *Catholic Church* did declare that *T. G's* sense of an *Idol* is false. (2.) That when the *Fathers* repeat the second *Commandment*, instead of *ειδωλον*, they use other words, which they would never have done, if they had thought there had been any peculiar im-

*Concil. Nic.
can. 2. Act.
6. p. 411.*

*Just. Mart.
tyr. dial
cum Tryph.
p. 321.*

*Clem. Alex.
Str. l. 3.
p. 441.*

*Orige. Cels.
l. 4. p. 182.
Tertull. de
Spect. c. 23.*

*De Idol.
c. 3, 4.*

*c. Marcion.
l. 2. c. 22.*

portance of the word *Idol* in that place different from *Image*. *Justin Martyr* in his *Dialogue* with *Trypho* the Jew, repeats the words of the Law thus, μήτε εἰκόνα μήτε ὁμοίωμα, Thou shalt not make any Image or similitude. *Clemens Alex.* makes the thing forbidden to be τὰ γλυπτὰ πεποιημένα, to worship graven Images; and the thing required to be, not to make γλυπτὸν ἢ χυμένον, either a graven or a molten Image. And even *Origen* himself, layes so little weight on his observation about εἰδωλον, that when he gives an account of this Law in his *Books* against *Celsus*, he never mentions it, but useth γλυπτὸν, εἰκὼν, ὁμοίωμα; and saith, the meaning of the Law was to forbid any kind of Images. *Tertullian* saith, that God hereby did forbid all kind of similitude, quanto magis Imaginis suæ, how much more any Image of himself: and elsewhere he makes an *Idol* and an *Image* the same thing; and in another place, that God did prohibit all similitudes to prevent any occasion of Idolatry; for, he adds, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them. Therefore, saith he, the brazen Serpent was not against the Law, being not for worship, but for a Remedy; nor the Cherubim, being meerly Ornaments, and therefore not falling under

der the Reason of the Law, and afterwards
 he reckons up the several terms of the
 Law, by *Images, Statues and Similitudes*. c. Marcion.
l. 4. c. 22.
S. Cyprian interprets the meaning of the
 word *Idols* in the Commandment, when
 he saith, *they are such as the Psalmist* Cyprian. de
exb. Mar-
tyr. c. 1.
speaks of, that have mouths and speak not,
 &c. which is certainly meant of *Images*
of humane shape; and in another place, he
 saith, *the Heathen Idols were made,* De Idol.
vanit. c. 1.
ad defunctorum vultus per imaginem detinendos:
to preserve the countenances of the dead by
Images: which are almost the same words
 with those of *Minucius Felix* speaking of Minuc. Fel.
p. 21.
the same subject, while they desired, saith
he, defunctos Reges in imaginibus videre,
to see their Princes Images and to retain
their memories in their Statues, that which
at first was intended for their comfort, be-
came an object of worship. So *Lactantius* Lact. l. 2.
c. 2, 3.
 saith, *that their Simulachra, their Idols,*
 in T. G's sense, were either the monuments
 of the dead, or of the absent; and he
 makes the sense of the Law to be *nihil*
colendum esse quod oculis mortalibus cerni-
tur, nothing to be worshipped that can be
seen. *S. Augustin* giving the sense of t' i S. Aug. ep.
119. c. 11:
 commandment saith, *that therein any si-*
mitude of God is forbidden to be wor-
shipped; and therefore surely not the meer

figments of mens brains, or representations of *Sphinxes*, and *Tritons*, and *Centaurs*.

Orig. in.
Exod.
hom. 8.
Theod. in
Exod. q. 38.

Orig.
Exhort.
ad Martyr.
ed. Wetsten.
p. 167.

(3.) That those very persons who put that sense upon the word *Idol*, do yet make the sense of the Commandment to be against the practice of the *Roman Church*. For both *Origen* and *Theodoret* make it unlawful by the force of this commandment, to perform any external act of worship towards any representation whatsoever: and the difference they both put between worship and service is, that the latter is that of the mind, and the former of the body; but both, they say, are here forbidden; and therefore I cannot imagine what comfort *T. G.* can have in supposing their *Images* are not forbidden under the name of *Idols*, if they be forbidden under the name of *similitudes*, and it be as unlawful to worship them under one name as under the other? Our quarrel is not with them, meerly on the account of the word *Idolatry*; but it is on the account of their worships being contrary to the express Law of God; and whether it be forbidden under the name of *Idol*, or *similitude*, it is all one to us, as long as the worship they practise, is as plainly against the sense of this Commandment, as *Perjury*,
Adultery,

Adultery, or These is against the other Commandments: and that even in the opinion of *Origen* and *Theodore* themselves. Besides, if we look into the sense of these two Authors, we shall find their meaning was not, as T. G. imagines, to make those only *Idols* that were made to represent *fictions of the brain*; but to shew that God had forbidden all sorts of *Images*, *Symbolical* as well as others. For, saith *Origen*, *Moses being skilled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*; did forbid those things which are used in their secret and hidden *Mysteries*; i. e. their *Symbolical* and *Hieroglyphical* representations: and *Theodore* particularly mentions the *Egyptian Images, with the face of a Dog, and the Head of an Ox*; whereby it is plain that they thought *Moses* by this *Law* intended to forbid all manner of representations of things in order to worship, whether it were by *Hieroglyphicks*, or by proper *similitudes*. So that, neither *Origen*, nor *Theodore* by this interpretation do give the least countenance to the practice of the *Roman Church*.

4. I shall in the last place shew, that this interpretation of the term *Idol* is overthrown by the most learned persons of the

§. 5.

Bill. de
Ingg.
l. 2. c. 24.

the *Roman Church* ; who do confess that the *Images* of *real Beings* may become *Idols*. And that in these following cases,
1. When proper *Latria* is given to an *Image* ; that is truly *Idolatry*, saith *Bel-larmin*, when proper *Latria* is given to any thing besides *God* ; and it is not only *Idolatry* when an *Idol* is worshipped without *God*, but when an *Idol* is worshipped together with *God* ; and from hence he concludes, that no *Image* ought to be worshipped with proper *Latria* ; which conclusion cannot be of any force, unless such an *Image* becomes an *Idol* : but he goes farther, and saith, that those who worshipped an *Image* of *Christ* with divine honours, although it be for the sake of *Christ*, and not of the *Image*, did commit *Idolatry* ; for, saith he, although a man pretends to give these honours for the sake of *God* or *Christ*, yet in as much as he gives divine honours to them, he doth really give it for themselves, although he denies it in words, (which is a very fair confession) and from hence those were condemned as hereticks, who gave divine worship to the *Image* of *Christ* ; as appears by *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, *S. Augustin*, and *Damascen*. According to which concession, the dispute cannot any longer be, whether the *Images* of

of *Christ* or the *Saints* be *Idols* or no, if we can prove that *divine honours* are given to them by the doctrine and practice of the *Roman Church*. And even *T. G.* himself saith, *Is not the giving Divine worship to a Creature the same as to make it a false God ? And is it not Heathen Idolatry to worship a false God ?* From whence it follows, that it is the *worship* makes any thing an *Idol*, and not the representation of an *Imaginary Being*. 2. When *Images* are worshipped as true representations of the *Divine Nature*. So *Sanders* expressly ; *He that goes about to represent the invisible Nature of God by an Image, sins grievously and makes an Idol ; and he that proposes such an Image for worship commits Idolatry : but such an Image is no representation of a meer figment of mens brains ; but a vain endeavour to set forth the most perfect Being. If he had only said it had been a foolish and vain attempt, he had only expressed the impossibility of the thing ; but when he makes such an Image an Idol when it is proposed for worship, he doth imply, that an imperfect representation of an infinite Nature when it is worshipped becomes an Idol. This is not to be avoided by saying, that such an Image is a false representation : for it is no otherwise*
false

*Sander. de
honor. Imag.
adorat.
c. 4. init.*

*Biblioth.
Patr. To. 4.
p. 734.*

*Jacob.
Almain.
in sentent.
l. 3. dist. 9.
prope fin.*

*Vasq. q.
108. c. 9.
art. 3.*

false than every Image of a man is so ; for no Image can represent the invisible Nature of a Man. And it adds much force to this, that the Author of the Greek Excerpta about the use of Images, from the Nicene Council and the Writers of that time, saith, that the design of the second Commandment is against making any Images of God ; which he looks on not only as an absurd but a very wicked practice ; and which, he saith, was then common among the Egyptians. 3. When an Image is worshipped for the sake of any sanctity, vertue, or Divinity abiding in it. whosoever doth so, saith Jacobus Almain, is an Idolater ; and so much is implied in the Council of Trent it self ; when it declares, that no worship is to be given to an Image on any such account ; if so, then the doing it is a thing forbidden and unlawful ; and not only so, but they looked on this as the certain way of putting a difference between Idolatry and their worship ; but men may suppose sanctity, vertue, and Divinity to be in an Image of a real Being ; and therefore such an Image may be properly an Idol : and so Vasquez confesses that this is Idolatry to give worship, although it be inferiour, to any inanimate being (as an Image is) for the sake of any thing belonging

ing to it, or inherent in it. Thus I have shewed that there is no pretence to excuse the worship of Images from being Idolatry and a breach of the second Commandment, because an Idol is only a representation of only imaginary beings, as T. G. saith, such as Sphinxes, Tritons, Centaurs or the like.

2. I now come to shew more particularly what the sense of the Law is, by considering what T. G. saith in answer to what I had formerly said about it: the original Question between us, was, whether God by this Law hath forbidden the giving any worship to himself by an Image? No, saith T. G. he hath not; but what he forbids there is only giving his worship to Idols. To resolve this Question, being about the sense of a Law, I proposed three wayes. 1. From the Terms in which the Law is expressed. 2. From the Reason annexed to it. 3. From the judgement of the Law-giver himself. But before T. G. comes to the handling of these, he lays down some arguments of his own to shew, that God did not intend by this Law, to forbid the worshipping of himself by an Image, but only the worship of Idols. 1. Because the Jews did worship God by bowing down before the Ark and the Cherubim. 2. 39. 40.

rubim. 2. Because S. Austin makes this Commandment to be only an explication of the first. To these I shall give a distinct answer.

T. G. p. 40,
49, 50, 52,
53, 56, 77,
79, 81,
103, 206,
207.

I. T. G. on all occasions, lays great weight on the worshipping of God before the Ark and the Cherubims: which he makes to be the parallel of their worshipping God by bowing or kneeling before a Crucifix; to which instance I had given this Answer, "1. That the Jews only directed their worship towards the place where God had promised to be signally present among them; which signifies no more to the worship of Images, than our lifting our eyes to heaven doth when we pray; because God is more especially present there. 2. That though the Cherubims were there, yet they were alwayes hid from the sight of the people, the High Priest himself going into the Holy of Holies but once a year; and that the Cherubims were no representations of God, but his Throne was between them on the Mercy Seat; but that they were Hieroglyphical Figures of Gods own appointing, which the Jews know no more than we do: which are plain arguments they were never intended for objects of worship, for then they must not have been

"been meer *appendices* to another thing,
 "but would have been publickly exposed
 "as the *Images* are in the *Roman Churches*,
 "and their form as well known as any of
 "the *B. Virgin*. But *T. G.* still insists
 upon it, *that the Reverence which the Jews* *T. G. 206,*
showed to the Ark and Cherubims, was of
the same nature with the worship they give
to Images ; and he thinks, I have not an-
swered the argument he brought for it.
 Therefore to give him all reasonable satis-
 faction, I shall 1. Compare their *worship*
 of *Images* and *these* together. 2. Exa-
 mine all the colour of argument he pro-
 duces for the *worship* of these among the
Jews.

1. For comparing their *worship* of *Ima-*
ges, with the *Jews* worshipping God be-
 fore the *Ark and the Cherubims*. As to
 their *worship* of *Images*, I need only re-
 peat, 1. That they are publickly set up
 and exposed for worship in their *Churches*,
 and over their *Altars*. 2. That they are
consecrated for this end. 3. That the
 people in their devotions *bow* to them, *kneel*
 and *pray* before them with all *expressions*
 of *Reverence*. 4. That the *Councils* of
Nice and *Trent* have decreed that *worship*
is to be given to them on the account of
their representation ; because the honour
given

given to them passes to the exemplar
 5. That the Images themselves on the account of their representation are a proper object of inferior worship, and that considered together with the exemplar they make up one entire object of supreme worship; in these their Divines generally agree, and condemn the opinion of those who say, That they are only to worship the exemplar before the Image; as contrary to the Decrees of Councils. But if the Ark and Cherubims were neither set up, nor exposed, nor consecrated as objects of worship; if the People of the Jews never thought them to be so, nor worshipped them as such; if the utmost were only that, which the Divines of the Roman Church condemn, viz. making them only a circumstance and not an object of worship; then I hope the difference will appear so great that T. G. himself may be ashamed of insisting so much on so weak a parallel.

- Q. 7. In external Acts of worship these two things are to be distinguished, (1.) The Object of worship, or the thing to which that worship is given. (2.) The local circumstance of expressing that worship towards that object. That there is a real difference

difference between the *object* and *local circumstance* of worship, by our lifting up our hands and eyes towards heaven when we worship *God*; but no man that understands our Religion can say, that we worship the *heavens*, but only *God* as present in them; wherefore *God* is the *object*, and looking up to heaven, barely the *circumstance*. When we praise any person for some excellency in him, if he be present, we naturally turn our face towards him, to let others by that circumstance understand, of whom we speak; but which way soever we looked, the same person would be the *object* of our *praise*; when we do this at anothers mentioning his *name*, no man of common understanding will say, that the praise is directed to the very *name* of the Person; and if a man makes a Panegyrick upon another, and reads it out of a *Book*, no one suspects that his praise is therefore directed to his *Book*. Thus it is in the *acts* of *worship*, the *Object* is that *Being* to which the *worship* is directed; but because external Acts must have some local circumstances, by the position of our *countenances*, and the tendency of our *posture* either towards *Heaven*, or towards some *place* as the more immediate *Symbol* of a *divine presence*, the difference

rence is apparent between such a direction of the *act* towards a *place*, and the direction of it towards an *Object*, in case it can be made appear that may be a *place* of *worship*, which is not an *object* of it. For which we must consider, (1.) That the *object* of *worship* is that *to which* the *worship* is given either for its own *sake*, or for the *sake* of that which it *represents*; but a *local circumstance* doth only circumscribe the *material act* of *worship* within certain bounds. And the proper *object* of *worship* is a *Person*, either *really present*, or *represented as present*. The *Idolaters* who worshipped their *Images* as *Gods* (if at least any considerable number of them ever did so) it was upon this account, that they supposed some *Spirit* to be *incorporated* in the *Image*, and so to make together with it a *Person* fit to receive *worship*. Those who worshipped the *Elements*, or *heavenly bodies*, did it not on the account of the *matter* whereof they were made; but of those *spirits* which they believed to rule over those things they worshipped, as I have already shewed in the general discourse. But it is not necessary in order to an *object* of *worship*, that the *Person* be *really present*; for if men by *imagination* do suppose him *present* as re-

pre:

presented by an *Image*, that makes those who worship that *Image* perform the very same acts, as if he were *actually present*; and in the *Church of Rome* they do make this representation by an *Image*, a sufficient ground for making that an object of worship; which we say is the very thing forbidden in the *Second Commandment*, viz. that any *Image* should be worshipped on the account of what it represents; and therefore it forbids all kind of representations to be worshipped by men: because an *Image* seems to have such a relation to the thing it represents, that they may pretend they give worship to it on another account than merely its matter and form, viz. the thing represented by it. Thus when the Reason of the worship of *Images* is drawn from the exemplar, as it is both in the *Councils of Nice and Trent*, they thereby shew, that they do make the *Image* a true object of worship, although the reason of it be drawn from the *Person* represented. But suppose men worship *God* towards the *west*, as the *Jews* did, or towards the *East*, as the *Christians* did; what is there in this that doth represent *God* to us? what is there that we fix our worship upon, but only himself; *God* hath no where forbidden men to worship Him towards the place

of His presence; for even our *Saviour* hath bid us pray, *Our Father which art in Heaven*; and supposing God had promised a more peculiar presence in His *Holy Temple*, it was as lawful to worship God towards that, as towards *Heaven*; but that which God hath strictly forbidden, is the *worshipping* of any thing on the account of the *representation* either of himself, or of His *creatures*; for this doth suppose that *Image* to be made the *object* of *worship*, although it be on the account of what it represents. 2. Supposing the same external *acts* to be performed towards an *Image*, and towards a *place* of Gods particular *presence*; yet the case is not alike in both these, if those who do them, declare they do them not with a design to *worship* that *place*. For to the making any thing an *object* of *worship*, there must be some ground to believe that they intend to *worship* it, either from the *nature* of their *actions*, or the *doctrine* and *practice* of the *Church* they live in; but in case it be expressly declared, that what they do, is only intended as a *local circumstance*, there is no ground to charge them with making it an *object* of *worship*. Thus those in the *Church* of *Rome*, who declare that they do not *worship* the *Image*, but only

only *worship* God before an *Image*, although they perform the same external *acts* of *worship*, yet are condemned of *Heresie*, because hereby they declare they do not give *worship* to *Images*, which is contrary to the *decrees* of their *Councils*: Much more certainly will those be condemned by them who declare it *unlawful* to *worship* any thing on the account of *representation*, and that they do only determine the *acts* of outward *worship* towards a particular place, without any intention to worship that place, but only to *worship* God that way. And this was the case of the *Jews* as to the *worshipping* of *Images*, and of God towards the *Holy of Holies*; they declared it utterly unlawful to do one because God had strictly forbidden it; and they thought it as lawful to do the other, because he allowed the practice of it: and it was sufficiently known among the people of the *Jews*, that they had no intention to *worship* either the *Ark* or the *Cherubims*. 3. Where there is only a *local circumstance* of *worship*, the *same thing* would be worshipped, supposing that *circumstance* changed; but where any thing is an *object* of *worship*, that being changed, the *same thing* is not worshipped. This makes the difference between

these two easie, and intelligible by all. If a *Jew* should worship towards the *East*, or *Christians* towards the *West*, the same object of their worship continues still; for they worship the same God both waies; but if the *Image* of *Christ* or the *B. Virgin* be taken away from the *Altar*, a *Papist* cannot be said to worship the same thing there, that he did before. Which plainly shews, that there is a real difference between these two; which is of great moment to clear the *Jewish* worship of God towards his holy place, and to shew how different it was from the worship of *Images*.

p. 8.

2. But *T. G.* pretends to bring clear Scripture for the *Jews* worshipping the *Ark*; Adore ye the foot-stool of God, for it is holy, *Psal.* 98. 5. so all the ancient *Fathers*, he saith, read it without scruple; and *S. Hierome*, he saith, confirms it. And why was it placed in the *Holy of Holies*, and why were the people commanded to adore, or bow down before it, but to testifie their reverence to it? To this I answer, 1. One might venture odds against *T. G.* that when he quotes all the *Fathers* for him, he hath very few of his side: Nothing less will content him here than all the *Fathers* reading it with-

T. G. p. 206.

without scruple, for *It is holy*, when *Lorinus* saith, *That all the Greek Fathers, not one dissenting that he had seen, read it, For He is holy*: and among the *Latins* he confesses, *That S. Hierome and S. Augustine both read it so*; for, saith *S. Augustine*, *Quis sanctus est in cujus honore adoras scabellum pedum ejus?* *Genebrard* acknowledges likewise, that *S. Hierome* translates it so, and *Suarez* yields that not only the *Greek*, but *S. Augustine* and *S. Hierome* read it, *For He is holy*. 2. Those words do not imply, that the *Jews* did make the *Ark* the object of their worship; for the *Chaldee Paraphrast* renders them, *worship Him in His Sanctuary*; and the last verse of the *Psalms*, where the same sense is repeated, interprets this, *worship at his holy hill*, for the *Lord our God is holy*: where, the *holy Mountain* is the same with the *Foot-stool* before mentioned: and so *Muis* confesses, who saith withal, *That by the phrase of worshipping His Foot-stool, no more is meant than worshipping God at His Foot-stool*: and the *Sanctuary*, he saith, is called *Gods Foot-stool*, not only by the *Chaldee Paraphrast* and *Kimchi*, but *Lament. 2. 1.* And so *Lyra* interprets it, *Ante scabellum pedum ejus*: *worship before His Footstool*: or *worship*

Lorin. in
Psal. 99. 5.

Genebr.
in loc.
Suarez in
3 ep. 9. 54.
art. 3.

Sim. de
Muis in loc.

at His Footstool, as it is Psalm 182. 7. And it would be very strange, if the Psalmist should here propose the footstool for an object of worship to them, when the design of the whole Psalm is to call all Nations to the worship of God, as sitting between the Cherubims, Psal. 99. 1. i. e. in His Throne which is surely different from His Footstool. I will not contend with Suarez about the sense of the Footstool of God here mentioned, (although he confesses that Basil and Vatablus understand the Temple by it:) but I will yield him that the Ark is most probably understood by it, because of his sitting between the Cherubims being mentioned before; in which respect the Ark may properly be called his Footstool. For the Cherubims were the Mercabah, or the Divine Chariot, and so called, 1 Chron. 28. 18. where the Vulgar Latine renders it *Quadriga Cherubim*: in such a Chariot Pyrrhus Ligorius, the famous Italian Antiquary, saith, The Deities were wont to be drawn: and Livy, and Plutarch take notice of it in Camillus as an extraordinary thing that he made use of such a Triumphant Chariot which had been before looked on as proper to Jove the Father of Gods and Men. Such a Triumphant Chariot, I suppose that

Jacob.
Leon. de
Cherubims.
Pyrrh.
Ligor. de
Vehic.
Antiq. c. 19.
Liv. l. 5.
c. 23.
Plut. in
Camill.
p. 132.

to have been in the *Holy of Holies*, but without any representation of the *Divine Majesty*, and this *Chariot* is that we call the *Cherubim*, and the *Ark* was a kind of *Footstool* to the *invisible Majesty* that sat between the *Cherubims*, and there delivered his *Oracles*. Now I appeal to the understanding of any reasonable man, whether *God* being represented as sitting upon His *Triumphal Chariot*, without any *visible Image* of Him, the *worship* was there to be performed to the *invisible Deity*, or to the *visible Chariot* and *Footstool*? which is all one as to ask whether persons approaching to a Prince on his *Throne*, are to worship the *Prince* or his *Footstool*, or *Chair of State*? But *Lorinus* and *Suarez* say, The *Hebrew particle* *ו* being added to a word implying worship, doth not denote the place but the object of worship; which is sufficiently refuted by those two places before mentioned, viz. the last verse of this *Psalms*, and *Psalms* 132. 7.

3. Those of the *Fathers*, who understood this expression of the object of worship, do declare by their interpretation that it was not lawful to worship the *Ark* after that manner. Therefore *Lorinus* saith, most of the *Fathers* understood it of the *humanity* of *Christ*, as *S. Ambrose*, *S. Hierome*,
S. Au-

S. Augustine and others generally after him; and among the *Greeks*, he reckons *S. Athanasius*, and *S. Chrysostome*. But what need all this running so far from the *literal sense*, in case they had thought the *Ark* a *lawful object of worship*? Let *S. Augustine* speak for the rest, *The Scripture*, *Aug. in Psal. 98. 5.* saith he, *elsewhere calls the Earth Gods Footstool*; and doth he bid us worship the Earth? This puts me in a great perplexity; I dare not worship the Earth, lest He damn me who made the Heaven and the Earth; and I dare not but worship His Footstool, because He bids me do it. In this doubt I turn my self to Christ, and from Him find the resolution of it; for His Flesh was Earth; and so he runs into a discourse about the adoration due to the flesh of Christ, and the sense in which it is to be understood. And elsewhere saith, *Aug. de Verbis Dom. secundum Job. Ser. 58.* That the humane nature of Christ is no otherwise to be adored than as it is united to the Divinity. Which plainly shews that he did not think the *Ark* literally understood to be a proper object of worship.

But *T. G.* adds, that *S. Hierome* saith, That the Jews did worship or reverence the Holy of Holies, because there were the Cherubims, the Ark, &c. It is well he puts in Reverence as well as worship,

ship, for *Venerabantur* signifies no more than that they had it in great veneration; and that not only for the sake of the *Ark* and *Cherubims*, but for the *pot of Manna*, and *Aarons Rod*; and doth T.G. think in his conscience, that the *Jews* worshipped these too? But S. *Hierom* explains himself, when he saith immediately after, *That the Sepulchre of Christ is more venerable than that*; which he interprets by saying, *It was a place to be honoured by all*. And are these the doughty proofs which T.G. blames me for not vouchsafing an Answer to them? I think he ought to have taken it as a kindness from me. Let him now judge whether I have neither *Scripture*, nor *Father*, nor *Reason* to abet me, in saying, *That the Jews only directed their worship towards the place where God had promised to be signally present among them*.

As to the worship of the *Cherubims*, all his attempts come only to this, *They might be worshipped although they were not seen*; and if it were lawful for the *High Priest* to worship them once a year, T.G. p. 207 *it was alwaies lawful*; but I deny that the *High Priest* ever worshipped them; for he only worshipped the *God* that sat upon His *Triumphal Chariot*; and their
being

being hid from the sight of the People, was an argument they were not exposed as objects of worship, as Images are in the Roman Church. Their being Appendices to the Throne of God, he saith, was rather a means to increase than diminish the Peoples Reverence to them. If by Reverence he means worship, we may here see an instance of the variety of mens understandings. For no less a man than Vasquez, from hence argues, That the Cherubims were never intended as an object of worship, because they were only the Appendices to another thing; but a thing is then proposed as an object of worship, when it is set up by it self, and not by way of addition or ornament to another thing: with whom Lorinus, Azorius, and Visorius agree. And even Aquinas himself grants, That the Seraphim (he means the Cherubim) were not set up for worship, but only for the sign of some Mysterie; nay, he saith, the Jews were expressly forbidden to worship them. Thus I hope I have made it appear, how very little the worshipping of God before the Ark and the Cherubims doth prove towards the lawfulness of the worship of Images in the Roman Church.

Vasquez
disp. 104.
c. 6.

Lorin. in
Act. 17. 25.
& in
Psal. 98. 5.
Azor. Instit.
Mor. l. 9.
c. 6.
Visor. resp.
ad Moncei.
p. 16.
Aq. 1. 2.
q. 102.
art. 4. ad 6.

The second Argument of T. G. is, *From the judgement of S. Augustine, who makes that which we call the Second Commandment to be only an explication of the First.* Which I thought so weak and trifling an Argument, that I gave a short answer to it in these two particulars, 1. That *S. Augustine* did not seem constant to that opinion. 2. That supposing he were, yet it doth not follow that according to his judgement, these words are only against *Heathen Idols*, and not against the *worship of God by Images*. Here T. G. thinks he hath the bit fast between his teeth, and away he runs, raising a dust to blind the eyes of beholders; but he must be stopt in his career, and brought to better Reason. I asked T. G. how he was sure this was *S. Austins* constant judgement, since in his latter Writings he reckons up the Commandments, as others of the *Fathers* had done before him? upon this he insults, and calls it a new way of answering *Fa-* T. G. p. 46
thers, and the readiest he ever met with, except it be that of denying them: and if this be allowed, when an express Testimony of a Father is alledged, there is no more to do, than to ask how he is sure, that the Father did not afterwards change his mind?

mind? but, he saith, he is sure he hath his judgement professedly for him in his former writings; and that I ought to bring better evidence of his being of another mind than I have done. But if I do evidently prove, that S. Augustine was of our mind in the main point as to the unlawfulness of the worship of God by Images; then what matter is it, whether it be the first, or second, or third, or fourth Commandment, so we are sure it is one of the Ten? And I have already produced sufficient Testimonies from him to this purpose; For doth not S. Augustine declare, That it is unlawful to worship God by an Image; when, he saith, it were impiety for a Christian to set up a corporeal Image of God in a Temple; and that they who do it are guilty of the Sacrilege condemned by S. Paul, of turning the glory of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible man? Doth not St. Augustine commend Varro for speaking so reproachfully concerning the very manner of worshipping the Deity by an Image? and he saith, That if he durst have opposed so old a corruption, he would have both owned the unity of the Godhead, Et sine simulachro colendum esse censeret, and have thought he ought to be worshipped with-

Aug. de
Fide &
Symb. c. 7.

De Divit.
Dii. l. 4.
c. 31.

without an Image. Doth not S. Augustine, when he purposely explains that which he accounts the First Commandment, say, That any similitude of God is thereby forbidden to be worshipped; because no Image of God is to be worshipped but what is God himself, i. e. his Son? And can any one speak more expressly our sense than S. Augustine here doth? Let not T. G. then boast of his possession of S. Augustine, unless it be, as he did lately of all the Fathers; and in truth, the reason is much alike for both. But as to the division of the Commandments he is of T. G's side; and what is that to our business? If S. Augustine be of our side as to the sense of the Commandment, I can allow him to find out something of the Myserie of the Trinity in having three Commandments of the First Table; and I can be contented with this, that the generality of the Fathers were for the other division, and upon more considerable Reasons. But T. G. saith, That S. Augustine translates this Precept, Thou shalt not make to thy self any Idol, and the sense of the Law to be the forbidding the giving the worship of God to Idols. One would think by this, S. Augustine had no other word but *Idolum* here; whereas he uses both *figmentum* and

Epist. 119;
ad Jan.
c. 11.

T. G. p. 43.

and *simulachrum*, both which words he elsewhere uses about the *Images* of the *True God*. But this is their common method, if they meet with a word in the *Fathers* that sounds their way, they never stay to consider the sense of it, but presently cry out *Idolum, Idolum*; and then with the *Man* at *Athens*, take all that comes for their own: So doth *T. G.* boast of the *possession* of the *Fathers* upon as slight grounds as he did; and makes up by the strength of *Imagination* what is wanting in the goodness of his title; if at least imagination can sway him so much against the plain evidence of *Reason*.

- ϕ. 10. Having thus cleared the way by removing these mighty difficulties which *T. G.* had laid in it to obstruct our passage, I now come to consider the several methods I proposed for finding out the *sense* of this *Law*. The first whereof was from the *general Terms* wherein it is expressed, which are of so large and comprehensive a sense as to take in all manner of representations, in order to *worship*; and I challenged him to shew where the word *Temanah* which they render *similitude* as well as we, is ever used in Scripture to signify such an *Idol* as he supposes this *Law* intends.

intends. And to what purpose are words of the largest signification put into a Law, if the sense be limited according to the most narrow acceptation of one word mentioned therein? for there is no kind of Image, whether graven or painted, whether of a real or imaginary Being, but is comprehended under the signification of the words set down in the Law. To this

T. G. answers, that how large soever the signification of this word *Tēmunah*, or similitude be when taken by it self, yet in our present case, it is limited by the following words, Thou shalt not bow down to them nor serve them, to signifie something which is made to be worshipped as God, that is, to be an Idol. And so, by the word Idol in the Commandment he understands such an Image as is made to represent for worship a Figment that hath no real Being; and by similitude an Image or resemblance of some real thing, but falsely imagined to be God; but, he saith, it was nothing to the purpose to put the word similitude in its largest meaning, that is, as signifying any Image whatsoever though made with respect to the worship of the true God, when God himself commanded the Ark and the Cherubims to be made with that respect: (doth he mean to represent the true

A a a

God?

God? or to be objects of worship? which I have already shewed to be false.) That which I am to prove, he saith, is, that the word *Similitude* is to be taken so here; whereas, he affirms, that the word *similitude* is to be restrained to the *similitude* of false Gods: And to make all sure, he interprets *similitude* only of the representation of false Gods, and bowing down to and worshipping that *similitude* is the worshipping that *Similitude* as God: i. e. taking the *Likeness* to be the *Thing* it self. I cannot blame T. G. for making the thing forbidden in the Commandment, if it be possible, more absurd than their practice in the worship of *Images* is; but, whether he hath made the sense of the Law or himself more ridiculous let the Reader judge. By *similitude*, he saith, is here to be understood, only the *Similitude* of False Gods, as the Sun, Moon and Stars, and other like things which they worshipped as Gods; this I confess is intelligible and true, although not the full meaning of the Commandment; but what then is, bowing down to and worshipping this *similitude*? that is, saith he, to worship this *similitude* as God: How is that? Is it by believing the *Similitude* to be the *Thing*? as the Image of the Sun to be really the Sun?

this

this is absurd enough of all Conscience; and they were *sottish Idolaters* indeed that did so. Or is it, that they thought there was no other God, besides that similitude? That were strange indeed, they should think the *similitude* to be God, and not the thing represented by it. But so the wise Pope Gregory 2. interpreted this Commandment in his incomparable *Epistle* to Leo Isaurus; The Emperour tells the Pope he durst not allow the worship of Images, because of this severe Prohibition of any kind of similitude, and he desires him to shew, who it was that since had made it lawful to worship the Work of mens Hands. The Pope for this calls him, an Ignoramus, a dull, and insolent Fool; and bids him lay aside his pride and haughtiness, and come and learn of him the meaning of the Commandment. And now we expect something becoming an Infallible Head of the Church; This Commandment, saith the Pope, was made for the sake of the Idolaters who lived in the Land of Promise, that worshipped living Creatures of Gold and Silver, and wood, and all sorts of Creatures and Fowls of the Aire; and said, These are our Gods, and there is no God besides them; and for the sake of this workmanship of the Devil, God said that

Greg. 2.
Ep. 1. ad
Leon. p. 10.

Ως εἰ
ἀπαί λυ-
10 το καὶ
παχὺς
τὸ ὑψιλο-
φροσύνην
καὶ ὑψη-
φανίαν τὴν
τελειομή-
την σοί.

More Ne-
woch, l. 1.
c. 36.

we should not worship them; but there is other workmanship for the Honour of God, and this men may worship. Exceedingly well spoken! The mischief is, Maimonides saith, there never were such Fools in the world to believe there was no other God but their Idols; but what is Maimonides his saying to the Head of the Church? I am not yet satisfied about T. G.'s worshipping a similitude as God, and so making it an Idol. If it be a God, how is it the similitude of a God? If it be not, how comes it to be worshipped as God? What is it the similitude of? of God? yes. But it is God it self to him that worships it as God; and so it is the similitude of it self. So that the similitude here forbidden to be worshipped, is a Thing that is like its own self. T. G. in another place saith, the thing forbidden in the Commandment, is bowing our selves down to the Images themselves, and this by the Concession of all is worshipping them instead of God. What is this bowing down to the Images themselves? Is it supposing them to be really Gods? then they are not worshipped as similitudes; and this seems to be his meaning, when he saith, To bow down our selves to the Images themselves, without any Relation to God, is to worship them instead

of God. But I am still to seek for his meaning; is it *bowing down to Images themselves*, without relation to any other God? that must suppose that those who do so worship them believe there is *no God* besides the *Images*, and that were to make God to forbid a thing, that we never read to be practised in the World. Or, is it to suppose those *Images themselves* to be *Objects of worship*? if it be, then all those stand condemned for *Idolaters* who assert that *Images themselves* are to be worshipped. Which I have shewed to be the common opinion of their *Divines*, and by them thought to be the *Decree* of the *Councils* for the *worship of Images*. Or lastly, is the worshipping *Images themselves*, without relation to the *True God*, the *worshipping them instead of God*? but this is both *false*, and *impertinent*. It is *false*, because they who worship *Images* without relation to the *true God*, may yet worship them barely as they represent a *false God* (as the wisest of the *Heathens* did) and therefore not *as God*; and *Eusebius* saith in general of the *Heathens*, that they did not look on their *Images as Gods*: it is *impertinent*, because by the confession of their own *Writers* (as I have shewed) an *Image* that

Euſeb. Prep.
l. 4. c. 1

A a a 3 hath

hath relation to the *True God* may be worshipped as *God*, when *divine worship* is given to an *Image* of *God* or *Christ*. And therefore all this adoe is to no purpose ; for this *Commandment* must then be so understood, as to exclude the *worship* of the *True God* by an *Image*. Otherwise it cannot be unlawful to give any kind of *worship* to an *Image* of the *True God* ; and so the *Gnosticks* were not to blame in the *worship* they gave to the *Image* of *Christ*, although they stand condemned in all *Ages* of the *Church* for it. If this were unlawful, (as they all say it is unlawful to *Sacrifice* to an *Image*) then some kind of worshipping the *True God* by an *Image* is forbidden by the second *Commandment*. And now let the Reader judge, how well *T. G.* hath acquitted himself in his admirable undertakings, when he saith, with so much confidence, *that the second Commandment speaks not one word against the worshipping God himself by an Image* ; which is to charge the whole *Christian Church* with Folly and Ignorance in condemning the *Carpocratians*, for worshipping the *Image* of *Christ* with *divine worship* ; who saith *Bellarmin*, sine dubio *Imaginem ejus propter ipsum colebant*, without all doubt worshipped the *Image* of *Christ* with relation to him.

T. G. p. 38,
39.

Bell. de
Imag. l. 2.
c. 24.

But still when T. G. is miserably mistaken, the *Fathers* must bear the blame of it. Alas poor *Fathers* ! Must you bear the load of all his miscarriages ? It is but doing you justice, to vindicate your innocency in this righteous Cause. He tells me, that I must prove against these *Fathers* (*viz.* Origen and Theodoret) and the general sense of the Church of Christ for so many hundred years, that the word *similitude* is to be taken in the second Commandment for any Image made with respect to the worship of God. A very easie undertaking in it self; but by no means either against those *Fathers*, or the sense of the Christian Church for many hundred years, which is as plainly on my side in this case, as it is in the *Articles* of the *Creed*; as may be seen in the foregoing Chapters. But T. G. is again unlucky when he pretends to the *Fathers*; for those two *Fathers* he mentions are point-blank against him in this matter: witness the many citations I there produced out of Origen; wherein, he saith, the *Christians* durst have no Images of the Deity, because of this Commandment; and that they would rather dye than defile themselves with such an impiety. And even

Theodor.
in Dent.
quest. 1.
p. 168.

Theodore himself saith, *they were forbidden to make any Image of God, because they saw no similitude of him*: and which is more to T. G. even the *Nicene Council* and the great *Patrons* of Images for a long time after, did yield that the second *Commandment* did forbid the *making* or worshipping any *representation* of God; as I have already at large proved. If I might advise T. G. I would never have him venture at the *Fathers* again; but be contented to bear his own burdens; and out of meer pity to them, not to load them with the imputation of his own infirmities, if not wilful mistakes. To make it appear that the intention of the Law was not merely against the *Idols* of the *Heathens*, I added these words "If this had been the meaning of the Law, why was it not more plainly expressed? why were none of the words elsewhere used by way of contempt of the Heathen Idols here mentioned, as being less liable to ambiguity? why in so short a comprehension of Laws, is this Law so much enlarged above what it might have been, if nothing but what he saith, were to be meant by it? For then the meaning of the two first precepts might have been summed up in very few words,

"*Thou*

“Thou shalt have no other Gods but me,
 “and Thou shalt worship the Images of no
 “other Gods but me. To all this, which
 is surely something more than saying, *that*
it is ridiculous to imagine the Law means
any thing else ; T. G. answers not one
 word : but instead of that he spends some T. G. p. 51,
 pages about *two similitudes*, one of mine, 52, 53
 and another *quainter* of his own ; which
 must stand or fall according to the *Reason*
 given for the *sense* of the *Law* ; and there-
 fore I shall pass them over. Only for his
 desiring me, *to make my similitude run on*
all four, as the Beasts mentioned in it ; it
 is such a piece of Wit, that I desire he may
 enjoy the comfort of it.

But he hath not yet done with the word
Pesel ; which, he saith, the *LXX.* would T. G. p. 54
never have rendred it here contrary to
their custome, Idol, without some particu-
lar Reason for it. What particular *Rea-*
son was there here, more than in the repe-
 tition of the *Commandment*, Deut. 5. 8 ?
 where they translate it by *γλυπτόν*, in the
Alex. MS. and in other *Copies* of the
LXX. Deut. 4. 16. Was there not as much
 reason to have used the same word in those
 places as in this, since the *Commandment*
 is the very same ? And for the other
 places, he mentions, as *Isaiah* 40. 18 ----

44. 9, 10, 13. I dare leave it to the examination of any man, whether they do not far better prove, that an *Idol* in Scripture is an *Image* set up for *worship*, than that by *graven Image* is meant an *Heathen Idol*. This I am certain of, that *Pet. Picherellus* an excellent *Critick*, and learned *Divine* in the *Roman Church*, was convinced by comparing of these places, that the signification of an *Idol* in the second Commandment, is the same with that of a *graven Image*; and that the using any outward sign of worship before any *Image* is the thing forbidden in this Commandment, and that the doing so is that *Idolatry* which God hath threatned so severely to punish: which I beseech *T. G.* and those of his Church to consider, and repent.

Picherell.
Opusc. p.
220, 221.

p. 230, 231.

¶ 14. The second way I proposed to find out the sense of the Commandment was from the Reason of it; which, I said, "the Scripture tells us was derived from Gods infinite and incomprehensible nature which could not be represented to men, but in a way that must be an infinite disparagement to it. For which I produced *Isaiah 40. 19, 20, 21, 22.* To whom will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare to him? The workman

"man melteth a graven Image, and the
 "Goldsmith spreadeth it over with gold,
 "&c. Have ye not known, have ye not
 "heard? hath it not been told you from
 "the beginning? Have ye not understood
 "from the foundation of the earth? It is
 "he that sitteth upon the circle of the
 "earth, &c. Whence I desired to know,
 "whether this reason be given against
 "Heathen Idols, or those Images which
 "were worshipped for Gods or no? or
 "whether by this reason, God doth not
 "declare, that all worship given to him
 "by any visible representation of him is
 "extremely dishonourable to him? And
 "to this purpose when this precept is en-
 "forced on the people of *Israel* by a very
 "particular caution, *Take ye therefore* Deut. 4.
 "*good heed to your selves, lest ye corrupt* 15, 16.
 "*your selves, and make you a graven*
 "*Image, the similitude of any figure, &c.*
 "the ground of that Caution is expressed
 "in these words, *For ye saw no manner*
 "*of similitude on the day that the Lord*
 "*spake unto you.* If the whole intention
 "of the *Law* had been only to keep them
 "from worshipping the *Heathen Idols*, or
 "*Images for Gods*, to what purpose is it
 "here mentioned that they saw no *simi-*
 "*litude of God*, when he spake to them?
 "For

"For although *God* appeared with a *similitude* then, yet there might have been
 "great *Reason* against *worshipping* the
 "Heathen *Idols*, or fixing the intention
 "of their worship on the bare Image.
 "But this was a very great Reason why
 "they ought not to think of honouring
 "God by an Image; for if he had judged
 "that a suitable way of Worship to his
 "Nature and Excellency, he would not
 "have left the choice of the *similitude* to
 "themselves, but would have appeared
 "himself in such a *similitude* as had best
 "pleased him. *This Discourse* T. G. saith,
 T. G. p. 58. *is apt enough to delude a vulgar Auditory*
out of the Pulpit (I wish their *Pulpits* had
 never any worse before not vulgar Audi-
 tories) *but altogether empty and insignifi-*
cant when brought to the Test of Reason.
 That is to be tried, whether my *Reason* or
 his *Answer* will be found so: However,
 he saith, *this doth not prove it Idolatry.*
 No! that is very strange, for if the *Image*
of God, when worshipped, be an *Idol* and
 forbidden as such in the *Commandment*,
 then I suppose the worship of it is *Idolatry*.
 But none so blind as they that will not
 see.

Now for the terrible *Test of Reason*.
 He saith 1. *That all representations of*
 God,

God, are not dishonourable to him ; and for that, he produces a Hieroglyphical Picture of a three corner'd light within a Cloud, T. G. p. 59. and the name Jehovah in the midst of it in the Frontispiece of a Book of Common Prayer, by Rob. Barker, 1642. from whence he inferrs, that the Church of England doth not look on all visible representations as an infinite disparagement to God. As though the Church of England were concerned in all the Fancies of Engravers in the Frontispieces of Books publickly allowed : He might better have proved that we worship Jupiter Ammon in our Churches, because in some he may see Moses painted with Horns on his Forehead ; I do not think our Church ever determined that Moses should have horns, any more than it appointed such an Hieroglyphical Representation of God. Is our Church the only place in the World, where the Painters have lost their old priviledge, quidlibet audendi ? There needs no great atonement to be made between the Church of England and me in this matter : for the Church of England declares in the Book of Homilies, that the Images of God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are expressly forbidden and condemned by these very Scriptures I mentioned. For how can God a
most

T. G. p. 60.

Homil. p. 3.
p. 40.

most pure Spirit, whom man never saw, be expressed by a gross body, or visible similitude? or how can the infinite Majesty and Greatness of God incomprehensible to mans mind, much more not able to be compassed with the sense, be expressed in an Image?

With more to the same purpose, by which our Church declares, as plainly as possible, that all Images of God are a disparagement to the Divine Nature; therefore let T. G. make amends to our Church of England for this and other affronts he hath put upon her. Here is nothing of the *Test of Reason*; or *Honesty* in all this; let us see whether it lies in what follows. 2. He saith, *That Images of God may be considered two waies, either as made to represent the Divinity it self, or Analogically*; this distinction I have already fully examined, and shewed it to be neither fit for *Pulpit* nor *Schools*, and that all Images of God are condemned by the *Nicene Fathers* themselves, as dishonourable to Him. 3. He saith, *That the Reason of the Law was to keep them in their duty of giving Sovereign worship to God alone, by restraining them from Idolatry*. This is now the severe Test, that my Reason cannot stand before. And was it indeed only *Sovereign worship to God*,
that

T. G. p. 61.

p. 63.

that was required by the *Law* to restrain them from *Idolatry*? Doth this appear (to return his own words) in the *Law* it self, or in the *Preface*, or in the *Commination* against the transgressors of it? if in none of these places, nor any where else in *Scripture*, methinks it is somewhat hard venturing upon this distinction of *Soveraign* and *inferiour worship*, when the words are so general, *Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them*? And if *God* be so jealous a *God* in this matter of worship, he will not be put off with idle distinctions of vain men, that have no colour or pretence from the *Law*: for whether the *worship* be *supreme* or *inferiour*, it is *worship*; and whether it be one or the other, do they not *bow down to Images*? and what can be forbidden in more express words than these are? But *T. G.* proves his assertion, 1. *From the Preface* T. G. p. 64. of the *Law*; because the Reason there assigned, is, *I am the Lord thy God*; therefore *Soveraign honour* is only to be given to me, and to none besides me. Or, as I think, it is better expressed in the following words, *Thou shalt have no other Gods but me*: and who denies, or doubts of this? but what is this to the *Second Commandment*? Yes, saith *T. G.* The same reason

is

is enforced from Gods jealousie of his honor: very well, of His Sovereign Honour? but provided, that supreme worship be reserved to Him, He doth not regard an inferiour worship being given to Images: Might not T. G. as well have explained the First Commandment after the same manner, Thou shalt have no other Sovereign Gods besides me; but inferiour and subordinate Deities you may have, as many as you please, notwithstanding the Reason of the Law; which T. G. thus paraphrases, *I am the only supreme and super-excellent Being, above all, and over all, to whom therefore Sovereign Honour is only to be given, and to none besides me.* Very true, say the Heathen Idolaters, we yield you every word of this, and why then do you charge us with Idolatry? Thus by the admirable Test of T. G's reason, the Heathen Idolaters are excused from the breach of the First Commandment, as well as the Papists from the breach of the Second. 2. He proves it from the necessary connexion between the prohibition of the Law on the one side, and the supreme excellency of the Divine Nature on the other; For from the supreme excellency of God, it necessarily follows that Sovereign worship is due only to it, and not to be given to any other Image or thing:

thing: but if we consider Him as invisible only and irrepresentable; it doth not follow on that account precisely, that Sovereign worship or indeed any worship at all is due unto it. Which is just like this manner of Reasoning. The *supreme Authority* of a Husband, is the Reason why the wife is to obey him; but if she consider her Husband, as his name is John or Thomas, or as he hath such features in his face; it doth not follow on that account precisely, that she is bound to obey him and none else for her Husband. And what of all this, for the love of School Divinity? May not the reason of obedience be taken from one particular thing in a Person; and yet there be a general obligation of obedience to that Person, and to none else besides him? Although the features of his countenance be no Reason of obedience, yet they may serve to discriminate him from any other Person, whom she is not to love and obey. And in case, he forbids her familiarity with one of his servants, because this would be a great disparagement to him; doth it follow that because his Superiority is the general Reason of obedience, he may not give a particular Reason for a special Command? This is the case here. Gods Supreme Excellency is granted to be the general Reason of

obedience to all Gods Commands; but in case he gives some particular precept, as not to worship any Image, may not he assign a Reason proper to it? And what can be a more proper reason against making or worshipping any representation of God, than to say, *He cannot be represented? Meer invisibility* I grant is no general reason of obedience; but *invisibility* may be a very proper reason for not painting what is invisible. *There is no worship due to a sound, because it cannot be painted*; but it is the most proper reason why a sound cannot be painted, because it is not visible. And if God himself gives this reason, why they should make no graven Image *because they saw no similitude on that day, &c.* is it not madness and folly in men to say, this is no Reason? But T. G. still takes it for granted, *That all that is meant by this Commandment, is that Sovereign worship is not to be given to Graven Images or similitudes*; and of the Sovereign worship, he saith, *Gods excellency precisely is the formal and immediate Reason why it is to be given to none but him.* But we are not such Sots (say the Heathen Idolaters again) to give Sovereign worship to our Images of Mercury, or Apollo, &c. therefore the Reason of your Command doth not reach us; but we may worship our Images,

as well as you do yours. 3. He proves it, *ad hominem*, thus, I grant that no perfect Image of God can be made, and that God need not by a Law forbid an impossible thing; but from the Divine Natures being invisible it only follows that men ought not to presume to make any Image, or likeness to represent it as it is, i. e. a perfect Image; and the Law in vertue of it must be to forbid making any such Image; therefore according to my self, the irrepresentableness of the Divine Nature as precisely considered, cannot be assigned for the proper cause or reason of this Law. Very subtilly argued! What I said, could not be the sense of the Law, he takes to be the sense of it, and from thence argues against the Reason I had given: which is as if I should say to him; T. G. denies, That this Commandment doth contain any prohibition of the worship of God by an Image; but the Law must be understood to forbid worshipping God by an Image; therefore according to T. G. the Law doth forbid worshipping God by an Image. Call you this arguing *ad hominem*! One would think it were to a creature of a lower rank. He saith, I deny that the Law forbids making an impossible thing, i. e. a perfect Image of God; he asserts, That the

*Law must be understood to forbid the making of any such Image ; and from hence he infers, that according to my self, that cannot be the reason of the Law which I assigned ; because from that reason that only follows to be forbidden by the Law, which I said could not be the thing forbidden by the Law : and he saith, must be only forbidden by it. Before T. G. had gone about to prove any thing from hence against my self, he ought to have shewed, 1. That Gods irrepresentable Nature doth only hold against making impossibilities, that is, perfect Images of God. 2. That this must be the meaning of the Second Commandment, which he saith, I denied. 3. That when I denied, and he barely affirmed it, he can argue *ad hominem* from my denial and his affirmation of the same thing, against the Reason alledged by me, viz. I assigned from Scripture, that no Image is to be made of God because He is Infinite and Invisible ; now saith T. G. I will prove from your own words, this cannot be the Reason of this Law. How so ? You say, that the Law doth not forbid making a perfect Image of God, for that is impossible. And what then ? doth it hence follow, that the Law doth not forbid making a possible Image of God ? Hold, saith T. G.*

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Gods infinite Nature doth only hold against a perfect Image, and this must be the meaning of the Commandment; which I utterly denied. And so if T. G. will argue ex concessis, it must proceed thus, I deny that the Law doth forbid an impossible Image of God, or that Gods infinite Nature doth only hold against such Images; and therefore according to my self, this infinite Nature of God cannot be the reason why Images are forbidden in the Second Commandment. Can any man in the earth discern the consequence of this? When I say the Law is made against possible Images, and that the Nature of God is represented so perfect to deter men from making the most imperfect Images of God, because they are a disparagement to Him; doth it follow from my words that this Reason cannot hold against the making of Images?

T. G. having given us such a Test of his Reason; I now follow him to the interpretation he gives of the places of Scripture produced by me. To the First, Isa. 40. 18. To whom will ye liken God? Or what likeness will ye compare unto Him? T. G. p. 62. He Answers, That there is a likeness of representation and a likeness of Comparison; if the words be understood of the

former, then he saith, *it only follows that such a likeness is not to be made.* Which is all that I desire. But again he is at it, *That I deny the prohibition hereof to be any part of the Law:* Is it possible for T. G. to say this, when my design is to prove the contrary? but *By Likeness* T. G. understands a *perfect representation*; why doth he not say then, by *likeness* is understood *sameness*: which is not *representation*, but the *thing* it self. All representation by the art of man must fall very much short of the *perfection* of the meanest animal; and no *Image* can represent a thing *as it is*, but *as it appears*; not in regard of its *invisible nature*, but of its *outward lineaments*; either therefore T. G. must deny any *likeness* of *representation*, or he must yield that to be a *likeness* of *representation* in an *Image* of God which doth not *perfectly* represent him. For if it had the *Perfection* of God, it would be God. *If the words be understood of a likeness of comparison, then the meaning, he saith, is, that none of the Idols of the Heathens are to be compared to Him in Wisdom, Greatness, or Power.* But methinks if not the *Hebrew words*, nor the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, nor the *LXX.* nor other versions, could prevail with T. G. yet the *Vulgar Latine* should have had

had Authority enough to let him know, that these words are not spoken of *Heathen Idols*, but of an *Image of God*, *Cui ergo similem fecistis Deum ? aut quam Imaginem ponetis ei ?* which surely ought to signifie more with him, than meerly the *Contents* of the *Chapters* do with us.

To *Deut. 4. 15.* he answers, *That de facto no manner of similitude was seen at the giving of the Law, by the people ; that afterwards they might not take occasion to conceive it to have been a proper representation of the Divinity, and so entertain an erroneous conceit of God.* And doth T. G. think, there was not as much danger of dishonouring God by worshipping any such representation of God, as by entertaining an erroneous conceit of God in their minds ? But why must this be understood only of a proper representation, when the words are, *no manner of similitude ; is there no manner of similitude, but a proper representation ?* and yet after all this, the *Images of God* allowed and worshipped in the *Roman Church* are as much in danger of making men entertain erroneous conceits of God, as any *similitude* of that time ; and therefore as much against the *Reason* of this *Commandment*. But T. G. very modestly denies, *these words to contain a Reason*

p. 72.

of this Commandment (although they be
 For ye saw no manner of similitude, &c.
 Therefore take heed lest ye corrupt your
 selves and make a graven Image, &c.) but
 the matter of fact was made use of by
 him as a motive to induce the People to
 the observance of the Law in a Sermon
 he makes, Deut. 4. to press them to that
 duty. I see T. G. is resolved to make just
 such another Test of Scripture as he did of
 Reason; Could it ever enter into a mans
 head waking, that these words are a ge-
 neral reason of the whole Law, and not a
 particular Reason of that Command which
 immediately follows it, and by the very
 words relates to it? Ye saw no similitude,
 therefore make no similitude; this is pro-
 per, and natural, and easie to all capaci-
 ties: but ye saw no similitude, therefore
 obey my Law; Hold there, saith T. G.
 him self (if he be not in a dream and hath
 forgotten himself) to be supremely excel-
 lent is the proper reason of Obedience,
 and not the seeing no similitude; there-
 fore this is no proper Motive to obedience,
 whatever the Contents of Chapters or tops
 of the Pages of our Bibles say, which are
 the pitiful refuges T. G. betakes himself
 to, to escape down-right sinking. But
 some men would rather give all for lost,
 than

than think to save themselves by such a mean defence.

Well ; but T. G. hath something yet to say ; which is, *That supposing all this to be true which I have said, as to the Reason of the Law, yet this doth not reach home to them ; for it doth not follow from hence, that Christ according to his humanity cannot be represented but with great disparagement to him : or that to put off our hats when we behold the figure of his sacred body with intent to worship him, must be extremely dishonourable to him.* This argument therefore doth not concern Catholicks in making the Image of Christ and his Saints with respect to their honour. p. 73.

This is the last effort of T. G. on this argument, and as weak as any of the rest : For, 1. it is a false and most disingenuous representation of their *practises*, as may appear to any one that will but look back, on what I have said upon that Subject. One would think, by T. G's words, they had never used or allowed, or worshipped any Images of God or the Trinity in the Church of Rome ; which he knows to be otherwise ; and I have abundantly proved it already. 2. The force of the second Command, extending to *Christians*, doth equally hold against the *worship of Christ* by an Image, p. 74.

In Evang.
 secund. Joh.
 Serm. 58.

Image, as it did under the *Law* against worshipping God by an *Image*. For if the *Law* be perpetual, as the *Christian Church* alwaies believed, and *Christ* be only the object of worship as He is God, we are as much forbidden to worship *Christ* by an *Image*, as the *Jews* were to worship God by one. I do not say, there is as great an incongruity in representing the humane nature of *Christ*, as there was in representing the infinite nature of God; but I say, there is as great an incongruity still in supposing an *Image*, of whatsoever it be, can be the proper object of divine worship. For the humanity of *Christ* is only capable of receiving adoration from us, as it is hypostatically united to the divine nature; and *S. Austin* saith, Being considered as separated from it, is no more to be worshipped than the *Robe* or *Diadem* of a Prince when it lies on the Ground; and if the humane nature of *Christ* be not, what then is the *Image* of it? What union is there between the *Divine Nature* and a *Crucifix*? All that can be said is, that imagination supplies the union, and *Christ* is supposed to be present by representation; but this overthrows all measures and bounds of worship, and makes it lawful to worship any Creature, with respect to God; it con-

tradiets the argument of S. Paul, *For then God may be worshipped with the work of mens hands*; it is contrary to the sense and practice of the *Primitive Church* which interpreted this *Commandment*, to hold against all *Images* set up for worship, as well those proper to *Christians*, as others among *Jews* or *Gentiles*.

3. The last way I proposed to find out p. 13.
the sense of the *Law*, was from the *Judgement* of the *Law-giver*: which was fully manifested in the case of the *Golden Calf*, and the *two Calves* of *Jeroboam*. This he calls a *solid principle indeed to work upon*; I am glad to see that we Protestants can fall into the way of *Principles*; and more glad that *Gods judgement* recorded in *Scripture* is acknowledged for such a *Principle*: but after all, he calls this *meer imagination*; and it must undergo the Test of his Reason. The force of my argument, as he laies it down, is this, "That the *Israelites* were condemned by *God* of *Idolatry*, for worshipping the *Golden Calf*, and yet they did not fall into the *Heathen Idolatry* by so doing, but only worshipped the *true God* under that *Symbol* of His presence. To this T.G. opposes his Opinion, *That the Israelites* p. 153.
p. 156.
p. 154.
herein

herein fell back to the Egyptian Idolatry. Here then is the *state* of the *Question* between us; to resolve which, and to bring it home to our business, I shall propose these two things. 1. Whether the *Israelites* did in worshipping the *golden Calf*, fall back to the *Egyptian Idolatry*? 2. Whether it be sufficient to *T. G.*'s purpose to prove that they did so? for in case the *Egyptians* themselves did worship the *true God* under *Symbols*, *T. G.* falls short of his design, if he could prove that the *Israelites* did relapse to the *Egyptian Idolatry*: for it would then appear however to be *Idolatry* to worship the *True God* by an Image. 1. I shall examine the evidence on both sides, *whether the Israelites did fall back to the Egyptian Idolatry*? I offered several reasons to prove that the *Israelites* had no intention to quit the worship of that *God*, who had so lately given them the *Law* on *Mount Sinai*. 1. From the *occasion* of this *Idolatry*, which was not any pretence of *infidelity* as to the true *God*; or that they had now better reasons given them for the worship of other *Gods* besides him; but all that they say is, that *Moses* had been so long absent; that they desired *Aaron* to make them *Gods* to go before them. To this *T. G.* answers, *that the*
very

very text I mention shews their infidelity,
 viz. in their despair of Moses returning.
 But if their *infidelity* had been with a re-
 spect to God, it had been far more perti-
 nent to have said, *Up make us Gods to go*
before us ; for as for this God who gave us
the Law, we know not what is become of
him ; but they only speak of Moses and
not of God, and the reason was, because
immediately before Moses his going up
into the Mount, the last promise God
made to the People was of an An-
gel going before them ; and they under-
stood that there was to be an extraordinary
Symbol of his Presence among them ; but
what it was they could not tell ; and Mo-
ses being so long absent, as the text saith,
they grew impatient of having this Sym-
bol, and so put Aaron upon making the
golden Calf. T. G. saith, they had forgot-
ten this promise, or thought that God was
not able to perform it : for which he hath
not the least colour from Scripture or Rea-
son ; as will appear by the following par-
ticulars. 2. From the intolerable folly
of desiring Aaron to make that God, which
before he was made delivered them out of
the Land of Ægypt. For so the People
say, This is thy God, or these are thy Gods,
which brought thee out of the Land of
Ægypt.

Exod. 23.
 20, 23.

Exod. 32.
 1.

T. G. p. 160.

Nehem. 9.

18.

Exod. 32.
 4.

Egypt. Is it possible to suppose people so extreamly stupid to imagine a God just then made, should before it was made, deliver them out of *Egypt*? But T. G. is a notable man, and hath made a rare discovery, viz. that Calvin said some such thing before me; I thank him for the discovery, for I do assure him it was more than I had ever read in Calvin; but T. G. hath a great mind to make Calvin my Master in every thing. I should not be ashamed to learn from a man of so great abilities; but it falls out unhappily, that I do not find one thing he charges me with following Calvin in, but it is from him that I learn what Calvin said. And if he had pleased he might have quoted an Author of their own for these words; *neque enim tam stupidi erant, saith Ferus, quod crederent Aaron posse facere Deum*; they were not so stupid to believe that Aaron could make a God; and therefore he saith, very honestly, that the Israelites worshipped the True God, by the Calf. But suppose Calvin did say this, is there ever the less reason in the saying? But we can imagine as sottish things of them, viz. that they terminate their worship on the Images, although they deny any Divinity to be in them? Is it indeed so sottish a thing to

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Ferus in Act. 7. p. 94. *enim tam stupidi erant, saith Ferus, quod crederent Aaron posse facere Deum*; they

T. G. p. 155. *less reason in the saying? But we can imagine as sottish things of them, viz. that they terminate their worship on the Images, although they deny any Divinity to be in them? Is it indeed so sottish a thing to*

terminate their worship on the Images? what becomes then of all their Divines who plead for it, and say that by the Decrees of their Councils, worship ought to be terminated on the Images themselves? as T. G. may see in the precedent Chapter.

But the Scripture, T. G. saith, represents the Israelites as a people void of understanding; and they were without learning, and oppressed for four hundred years together, by the most Idolatrous Nation in the World; and served their Gods, Ezek. 20. 8.

I grant the Scripture gives that severe character of them, but it was because they did not consider the consequence of their disobedience; as appears by the next verse Dent. 32. 29. Must we because of this imagine them to be such Fools and Sots, that no Idolaters in the World can be parallel'd with them; viz. to make a God which did mighty things for them, before it was made? Therefore the meaning of making a God can be nothing else, but making a Symbol or representation of God; and the Question then is, whether it were the representation of an Egyptian Idol, or the God of Israel? That it was not the former I proved——

3. From the way of worship used by the Israelites, which was an abomination to the Egyptians,

p. 165.

ans, Exod. 8. 26. To this T. G. returns not the least word of *Answer*; but he shall not escape so, for from hence I shall make it appear beyond contradiction, that it was not *Egyptian Idolatry*, which the Israelites fell into; for which we must consider the *sacrifices* that were offered to the golden Calf. And they rose up early on the

Exod. 32. *morrow, and offer'd burnt-offerings, and*
 6. *brought peace-offerings, and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to*

Act. 7. 41. *play. S. Stephen saith; And they made a Calf in those dayes, and offered sacrifice unto the Idol, and rejoiced in the works of their own hands. Now the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, are expressed, Exod. 20. 24. to be their Oxen and their Sheep: and immediately before Moses his going up into the Mount it is said, that*

Exod. 24. *they offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed*
 5. *peace-offerings of Oxen unto the Lord:* where the very same words *they* and *offer* are used, and the LXX. there render the word we translate *oxen* *μωξεία*, and the Vulg. Lat. *Vitulos*, the same word which is used for the *Golden Calf*. Now I shall shew that nothing could be more repugnant to the *Egyptian Idolatry*, than such *sacrifices* as these. For which we have this considerable Testimony of *Horus* in

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Macrobius, *Nunquam fas fuit Aegyptiis pecudibus aut sanguine, sed precibus & ture solo placare Deos.* It was never lawful for the Egyptians to sacrifice with Cattel and blood, but only with prayers and incense: and from thence he proves that the worship of Saturn and Serapis were but lately received among the Egyptians, in the time of the Ptolemies; and after they were received, their Temples were without the Cities, that they might not be polluted with blood within the Cities. And every one knows, that the Feasts were upon their sacrifices; but the Satyrist says of the Egyptians;

Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis Mensa; nefas illic factum jugulare capella. Juv. Sat. tyr. 15. v. 11.

Anaxandrides in Athenæus, saith, that a Greek could have no conversation with an Egyptian; because the one worshipped an Ox which the other sacrificed: and Herodotus saith, that the Egyptians would not touch so much as the knife, or spit, or pot which the Greeks had used; so great an aversion had they from those who either eat or sacrificed the Creatures they worshipped. Herodotus indeed saith, that

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Herod. l. 2. c. 42. the Thebans abstained from Sheep, and offered Goats; the Mendesians on the contrary abstained from Goats and offered Sheep; but this was on the account of the particular Religion of those two Provinces; (for they differed very much among themselves as to particular animals:) but all the Egyptians agreed, as Herodotus there saith, in the worship of Osiris and Isis.

Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 13. Now Diodorus Siculus affirms that Apis and Mnemis the Bulls of Heliopolis and Memphis were sacred to Osiris; Plutarch saith, that the Ox was the Image of Osiris; and Strabo that Apis was the same

with Osiris; and Mela, that Apis was the Deity of all the Egyptians. Strabo gives the most particular account of the Egyptian worship, and what creatures were worshipped in the several Provinces; but, he saith, there were three universally worshipped, whereof the first is, the Ox; and it was an universal practice not to touch or hurt those creatures that were sacred among them; as the Oxen were quite through Egypt; from whence Moses desired to go into the Wilderness to sacrifice, for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God. La, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they

Exod. 8. 26.

not stone us? i. e. saith the Targum of Onkelos, because the Egyptians worship Oxen. Because Lambs are the Idols of the Egyptians, saith Jonathan. If we kill, saith S. Hierome, the things which they worship. I leave it now to the consideration of any man, whether the Israelites using their accustomed burnt-offerings and sacrifices, and Feastings upon them, as they did in the worship of the golden Calf, can be supposed to have returned to the Egyptian Idolatry.

4. I urged this, as an argument that the Israelites intended to worship the true God, because Aaron proclaimed a Feast, *Exod. 32:1* מנחל to Jehovah. And however the People were void of understanding, I suppose Aaron being High Priest, and Head of the Church at that time, was not so bereft of common sense, as to give the incommunicable name of Jehovah to a Calf of his own making. All that T. G. saith to this, is, that Aaron perhaps and some *T. G. p. 139* of the wiser men among them might not be so sottish, as to suppose the Calf he made to be the God that delivered them out of Egypt, yet it is certain they were so weak, as to concur with the people in the external practises of their Idolatry. But this is not the force of my argument, which

Exod. 6:
3, 6.

Numb. 10.
35, 36.

lies in this, that *Aaron* said, *it was a Feast to Jehovah*, when they were to sacrifice to the *golden Calf*; either therefore he must suppose that worship was intended for the honour of the *True God*, or he must give the name of *Jehovah* to the *Calf*; which would shew him to have been more *sortish* than the *People*, for they only called the *Calf* by the name of *Elohim*, but he gives the name of *Jehovah* to it, which was that peculiar name God was known by to the *people of Israel* upon the accomplishment of his promise in bringing them out of *Egypt*. *I appeared unto Abraham, and to Isaac, and to Jacob by the name of God Almighty, but by my name Jehovah was I not known unto them: wherefore say unto the Children of Israel, I am Jehovah, and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, &c.* Therefore when the people say, *This is the God that brought us out of the Land of Egypt*, *Aaron* presently proclaims a *Feast to Jehovah*, i. e. to the God that brought them out of the *Land of Egypt*. And when afterwards the *Ark* (which was the *Symbol* God himself appointed of his presence among them) was removed, upon their travelling from the Mount of the Lord, *Moses* said, *Rise up Jehovah*; and when it rested, *Return O Jehovah*

Jehovah unto the many thousands of Israel.
 Thus the name of *Jehovah* was used by
Moses himself upon occasion of the ap-
 pointed *Symbol* of Gods presence ; but
 when *Aaron* proclaimed a *Feast* to *Jeho-*
vah upon making the *golden Calf*, *Moses*
 calls it a *Golden God*, because *God* saith, Exod. 32.
they had made a molten Calf, and worship- 31.
ped it, and sacrificed thereunto, and said, v. 6.
This is thy God which brought thee out of
the Land of Egypt. Which therefore by
S. Stephen is called an *Idol*. 5. The ex- Act. 7. 41.
 pressing it to be *the God that brought them*
out of the Land of Egypt, doth imply, that
 they did not intend one of the *Egyptian*
Gods. For what reason could they have
 to think that one of the *Gods of Egypt*
 should deliver them out of the *Egyptian*
bondage ; and while their own worship-
 pers were forsaken by them, to preserve
 those who were so great enemies to them ?
 And how could they think the *Gods of*
Egypt had wrought all the *miracles* for
 them which were seen in that delive-
 rance ? And how unlikely was it they
 should forsake the *God of Israel* and return
 to the *Egyptian Gods* ; when they make use
 here of the very *Preface of the Law*,
 which *God* had so lately given them on
Mount Sinai : viz. *I am the God that*
C c c 3
brought

brought thee out of the Land of Egypt. To this T. G. returns no manner of Answer. 6. When the *Israelites* revolted to the *Idolatry* of their *Neighbours*, the *Scripture* punctually sets down the names of the *Idols* they worshipped, as *Baal Peor*, *Moloch*, *Remphan*; but here is nothing of that nature mentioned. To this T. G.

T.G.p.162. answers, *what then? Is it the Idols having a name, that makes the worshippers Heathen Idolaters? If they conceived or believed the Calf to be a God, were they not as much Heathen Idolaters for worshipping it without a name, as the Egyptians for worshipping it under the name of Apis? But T.G. cunningly dissembles the force of the argument, which was not from their worshipping it without a Name, but from the Scriptures not expressing it, which it doth upon other occasions: and Bellarmin himself tells us, from Abulensis, Cajetan and others, that the Israelites had two sorts of Idols, one without a certain name, as the Idol of Micha, Judges 17. and it may be, the golden Calf which Aaron made, and Jeroboam renewed, for the Scripture doth not call it Moloch or Baal, &c. The other had a certain name, as Baal, Moloch, Ashtaroth, Chamos. Therefore say they not improbably (mark that) that it may be allowed*

Rel. de
Imag. l. 2.
c. 13.

allowed of the first sort, that the Jews did worship the True God in the Idol. Then an Image of the true God may be an Idol, and those Idolaters, who worship such an Image. But they erred most grievously, saith Bellarmin, in three things: 1. That they sacrificed to the Idol, i. e. gave divine worship to it. 2. That they believed the Divinity to be in it: how doth that appear? no more surely, than those who believe Images to speak and to work miracles. 3. That they thought God to be corporeal and like the Idol, i. e. the Israelites thought the great Jehovah to be just of the fashion of the Calf. What prodigious Fools must some men make the Israelites, that they may not appear as great Idolaters themselves? 7. I argued from S. Stephens words, *And they made a Calf* Acts 7. 41, *in those dayes and offered sacrifice to the Idol: then God turned and gave them up to worship the Host of heaven*; whereby, I said it was observable, that the Idolatry of the Calf was distinct from the other Heathen Idolatry, this being a punishment of the other. To this T. G. saith nothing; and yet it is a thing which deserves consideration, that that which the Fathers accounted the most justifiable Idolatry of the Heathens, viz. the worshipping the Host

clem. Alex. Calf.
Str. 6.
p. 482.
Orig. c.
Cels. l. 5.
p. 238.

of *Heaven*, is looked upon as the *judgement* following the *worship* of the *Golden Calf*. So *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Origen* plead for this so much in comparison with other *Heathen Idolatries*, as hardly to think it a fault in them; and it is farther observable that in no kind of *Idolatry*, which the *Israelites* ever fell into, save only that of *Jeroboam*, which was of the same nature with this, that expression was ever used, *These are thy Gods which brought thee up out of the Land of Egypt*; which shews that this *worship* had a peculiar respect to that *God* who brought them in so remarkable a manner out of the bondage they were under there. These are the *Reasons* which I have to prove, that the *Israelites* did intend to worship the *True God* by the *Golden Calf*: and we have seen what weak answers *T. G.* gives to some of them, and none at all to others.

¶ 14. I must now attend to the *Reasons* he gives to the contrary, and those are either from *Scripture* or *Fathers*. 1. From *Scripture*, where they are charged with forsaking *God*, *Dent. 32. 15, 16, 17, 18.* As though the *Israelites* committed no *Idolatry* in the *Wilderness* but that of the *Golden Calf*: whereas it is well known that

that they worshipped *Baal Peor, Moloch,*
and Remphan; of which a blacker cha-
 racter is given than of the other. *But the*
Psalmist saith, that in worshipping the
Calf, they did forget God, Psal. 106. 19,
 20, 21. And was not that forgetting the
 God that appeared with such a terrible
 Majesty on Mount Sinai, to turn His glory
 into the similitude of an Ox that eateth
 grass? But in the expressions of Scripture
 to forget God is to disobey Him; Beware Dent. 8.
 that thou forget not the Lord thy God, in 11, 14.
 not keeping His Commandments, and His 6. 12.
 Judgements, and His Statutes which I com-
 mand thee this day. And was not this
 forgetting God in this sense, so openly to
 break one of the Laws he had so lately
 given them? That which seems to come
 nearest the matter is, the expression of
 S. Stephen, *That our Fathers would not*
obey, but thrust Him from them (that is,
the true God, saith T. G. whereas the
words are plainly meant of Moses) and
in their hearts turned back again into
Egypt, saying, Make us Gods to go before Act. 7. 39.
us; which relates not to the object but to 40.
 the manner of worship by such a Symbol
 of worship as was in greatest veneration
 among all the Egyptians. This is the force
 of all that he brings out of the Scripture.

2. From

T. G. p.

2. From them he betakes himself to the *Fathers*: and he quotes two passages of *S. Athanasius*, and *S. Hierome*; and a doubtful place of *S. Chrysostom* to his purpose. This is the first time I have found *T. G.* citing the *Fathers* truly and pertinently; and it were too hard dealing with him, not to allow him these Testimonies, especially about the exposition of a place of *Scripture*; wherein their best *Commentators* take so much liberty of receding from them, when they apprehend the scope and circumstances of the place do enforce another sense; as I have already shewed at large concerning this. And to these *Fathers*, I shall oppose the *Testimony* of others, who make the *Egyptian Ox* to be only a *Symbolical* representation of the *Patriarch Joseph*, and say that on this account the *Israelites* made choice of the *Golden Calf*; so the *Author* of the *Book De Mirabilibus S. Script.* in *S. Augustin* Works, (as good an *Author* as the *Homilist de Pœnit.* whom he quotes under *S. Chrys.* name) saith, *That the Egyptians set up the Image of an Ox by the Sepulchre of Joseph; and for this cause the Israelites made choice of that similitude, when they made an Idol in the Wilderness.* *Julius Firmicus Maternus* saith, *That the* Neocori

De mirab.
S. Script.
l. 1. c. 15.

Neocori did preserve in Egypt the Image of Joseph, by which he understands *Apis*, or the Sacred Bulls; the same is affirmed by *Rufinus* and *Suidas*. From whence it follows, that this being looked on as the Symbol taken up in Egypt in remembrance of the service of Joseph, it was very unlikely, that the Israelites should look on the Image it self as so powerful a thing, as the Testimonies of *Athanasius* and *S. Chrysostom* imply; to be able even before it was made, to deliver them out of Egypt: which is such a horrible contradiction, that we had need to have better Testimonies than those, to make us think the Israelites such Stupid to believe it. But if it were only looked on as a Symbol of Gods presence, this gives a probable account why the Israelites should make choice of this, before any other of the Egyptians Images, because by it, the Kindness of Joseph (who by Moses is compared to a young Ox) was supposed to be remembered by them. But,

De errore profan. Relig. p. 18. Rufin. hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 23. Suid. v. Idem.

Deut. 33.

ψ. 15.

2. We are to enquire whether supposing that the Israelites did revolt to the Egyptian Idolatry in the worship of the Golden Calf, that be sufficient to prove that they did not worship the True God under this Symbol? For if the Egyptians themselves did

Plut. de
Isid. p. 366.
Juven.
Satyr. 15.

Lucian in
Jove.
Traged.

Marshall.
Chronic.
Can. p. 60.

did worship the *Supreme God* under *Symbolical* representations of Him, then although the *Israelites* might return with their hearts into *Egypt*, yet this doth not prove, that they did not worship the *true God* by the *Golden Calf*. *Plutarch*, who discourseth largely concerning the *Egyptian* worship, saith, *That the Golden Bull was the Image of Osiris, which was shewed for four daies together, from the seventeenth of the Month Atbir*; And it was a common practice in *Egypt* to have *Golden Images* (*effigies sacri niter aurea Cercopitheci*) wherein *Lucian* saith, *The barbarous Nations did exceed the Greeks, who made their Images of Wood, or Ivory, or Stone*. For there were two sorts of *Images* of their Gods among the *Egyptians*. Those *Images* and representations which were in their *Temples*, or places of worship, and those which they accounted the *living Images* of their Gods, viz. *Beasts*; such as the two famous Bulls, *Apis* and *Mnevis*: the one at *Memphis*, the other at *Heliopolis*; both in honour of *Osiris*: which places were as the *Dan* and *Bethel* of *Egypt*; *Memphis* being the *Metropolis* of the upper, *Heliopolis* of the lower *Egypt*; wherein the *Israelites* lived, and saw the worship of the sacred Bull of *Heliopolis*. *Plutarch* saith,

The

The Egyptians looked on Apis as the Image Plut. de
 of the Soul of Osiris. Diodorus saith, Isid. p. 362.
 That they looked on the soul of Osiris as Diod. l. 1.
 passing by transmigration into Apis (from p. 76.
 which doctrin the worship of Beasts was not
 only entertained in Egypt, but is so in the
 East Indies to this day, in which case the
 Beast is only the material object of worship,
 but the formal Reason is the Presence of
 some Divine Soul which they suppose to be
 there, which on their supposition ought to
 have divine worship given to it by the prin-
 ciples of the Roman Church, as the Elements
 of Bread and Wine on a supposition more
 extravagant, viz. of Transubstantiation.)
 But whether the worship of Animals came
 into Egypt, from the doctrine of transmigra-
 tion, or from their usefulness, or from some
 politick Reasons, which are mentioned both
 by Plutarch, and Diodorus; this is certain,
 that Plutarch thinks, Their wiser men did
 not worship the Animals themselves, but
 looked on them only as representations of
 some divine perfection which they discerned
 in them, and on that account gave worship
 to them. Ἀγαπῶντες ἔν ταιῦτα πῶντας, ἀλλὰ Plut. de
 δὲ ταῦτα τὸ θεῖον, Those persons ought to be Isid. p. 382.
 most esteemed, who did not worship the
 Animals themselves, but through them did
 worship the Deity; and they ought to be
 looked

looked on as clearer and more natural representations of God, than inanimate things; and we ought to esteem them, as the workmanship and Instrument, το πλντα κατ'εμντοδιδ, of the God that orders all things. And there is all the reason to imagine, that what hath a soul and sense, is better than that which hath none, viz. an Image: and the Divine Nature is not seen in colours and Figures, and smooth Superficies; which are worse than dead creatures, for these never had life in them: but that which hath life, and sense, and motion, hath a greater influence from that Divine wisdom which governs all things; therefore, saith he, these ought not to be looked on as inferiour representations of the το δεον the Divine Being, than those Images which are made of Brass or Stone by the workmanship of men, and are subject to corruption, and destitute of all sense and understanding. Whereby we see that Plutarch did put a difference between the common practises of the People, and the intention of the wiser men in the Egyptian Idolatry. He before takes notice of the follies of the People, that worshipped the living creatures themselves as Gods, and thereby not only exposed their Religion to the scorn and contempt of others; but led

led some men into horrible superstition, and tempted others to turn Atheists; and then he gives this, as the most reasonable account of the worship of these *Animals* according to their wiser men, whose opinions ought most to be followed in Religion. From whence it appears that the distinction of the *practice* of the *People*, and the *Doctrine* of *Divines* hath obtained among the *grossest Idolaters*; and if the *Peoples Practice* be excused because the *Divines* teach otherwise, the most sottish *Egyptian Idolaters* are excusable, as well as those in the *Roman Church*. For what is there in this principle of worship laid down by *Plutarch*, which may not be defended by the avowed doctrine of the *Roman Church*? Here is (1.) a right *ultimate object* of worship, viz. the *τὸ θεῶν* the *Divine Being*, which orders and governs all things. (2.) Here is a representation of that *object* by the *perfections* derived from that Being to a Creature. (3.) Here is a right directing the *Intention* through that representation to the *ultimate object*. And (4.) the *formal reason* of worship is the derivation or participation of that perfection which represents God from the *divine Being*: and therefore this is no *Sovereign worship* which is given to it.

The

§. 16. The only difficulty here is to shew that
 the Egyptians did intend to worship the
 Supreme God by either sort of their Images:
 which is not only affirmed by *Plutarch*,
 who saith, *They understood by Osiris the*
wise Providence of God, and by *Porphy-*
rie, who saith, *The Egyptians, by the*
several animals they worshipped, did ex-
press their devotion towards the Almight-
ty power of God; and by *Apuleius*, who
 was initiated in the Egyptian Myste-
 ries, and in the conclusion of his *Meta-*
morphosis, *Osiris is called, Deus Deum*
magnorum potior, & majorum summus,
& summorum maximus, & maximorum
regnator Osiris, which are descriptions of
 no less than the *Supremest God*; but *Max.*
Tyrinus yields at last that the Egyptians did
 worship the *no Señor, the Deity by the wor-*
ship of Animals, as the Greeks did by the
Statue of Phidias. And there is a consi-
 derable Testimony to this purpose in *Vopi-*
scus, taken out of an *Epistle* of the Em-
 perour *Adrian*, which he wrote to *Servia-*
nus from *Egypt*, giving an account of the
 manners of the Egyptians; wherein are
 these words, *Unus illis Deus est, hunc*
Christiani, hunc Judai, hunc omnes ve-
nerantur & gentes. They had one God,
 whom

Porphyr.
de Abst.
l. 4. sect. 9.

Apul. Me-
tam. l. 11.

Max. Tyr.
diff. 38.
in fin.

Fl. Vopisc.
in Saturni-
na.

whom Christians and Jews, and all Nations worshipped. If. Casaubon suspects this passage, but without any reason as Salmasius proves, and is apparent because the same thing is said in the beginning of the same Epistle: Where he saith, that however they differed in other points, yet they all agreed in the worship of Sarapis, by whom Phylarchus in Plutarch understands That God which Governs the world: and Sequintus shews from ancient Coynes and Authors, that Sarapis, and Jupiter Ammon, and Jupiter Pharius, and Jupiter rerum omnium potens were all one. Thence the Inscriptions,

Plut. de
isid. p. 362.

Sequin.
Numism.
p. 2, 3, 4.

D. E. O. I. N. V. I. C. T. O.
S. E. R. A. P. I. S. E. R. V. A. T. O. R. I.

Grut. In-
script. p. 84.

D. E. O. M. A. G. N. O.
S. E. R. A. P. I.

and that mentioned by *Tristan*,

I. O. M. S. A. R. A. P. I. D. I.
P. R. O. S. A. L. V. T. E. I. M. P.

Tristan.
Comment.
Hist. Tor. 2.
p. 190.

From which it appears that supposing the Israelites did relapse to the Egyptian Idolatry, it doth not from thence follow that

D d d

they

they did not worship the *true God* by an *Image*.

- Q. 17. I proceed now to the *two Calves* of *Jeroboam* at *Dan* and *Bethel*; which being made in imitation of the *Golden Calf* must stand or fall by what hath been said already concerning that. But I shall here make good the peculiar arguments to *Jeroboam's* case, which were brought to prove that he did intend to worship the *God of Israel* by the *Calves* of *Dan* and *Bethel*.
1. Because *Jeroboam* manifests no design of taking the people off from the *worship* of the *true God*, but only from the worshipping Him at *Hierusalem*. For all that he saith to the People is, *It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem, behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the Land of Egypt*. If *Jeroboam's* intention had been to have altered their Religion, he would have spoken against that, and not only against the *place* of it; and to shew to them that he had no such intention, he continued the same *Feasts* and *way* of *worship* which were at *Jerusalem*. To this T. G. answers, *That Jeroboam's end was to secure the Ten Tribes to himself; and the likeliest way to effect it, was the making them such Idols as their Fathers had*

i Kings
12.28.

T.G. p. 164.

had worshipped in Egypt and the Wilder-
ness: and yet soon after T. G. represents
him as a great Polititian, that would not
make any sudden Changes. But could p. 163.
 there be any change greater or more sud-
 den, than to change the *true God* for
Molten Gods and Devils; as T. G. saith he
 did: which words (if they be understood
 in T. G's sense for the *Egyptian Idols and*
Devils in them) was as great a *change* as
 could be made in *Religion*, and too sudden
 to be made by such a *Polititian*. He should
 have begun the alteration in the smaller
 matters, if he intended no *sudden change*;
 and first have gained some of the *Great*
men to him to be ready to joyn with him,
 when opportunity served, with hopes of
 Preferment and Places at *Court*; when
 these were secured, then put in some of
 the *vilest* of the *people* into the *Priesthood*
 (as he did) to render that *sacred Office*
 mean and contemptible, the better to pre-
 pare the people for a *change*; then to send
Agents abroad to tamper with the most
 active among them, to allure some and to
 terrifie others according to their several
 dispositions; then to give *liberty* to those
tender consciences that longed for the *Oni-*
ons and Fleshpots and Bulls of Egypt; and
 when he had by degrees prepared a confi-

derable party, that would be sure to adhere to him, then by little and little to open the great *Design* to them, which he aimed at all this while. But it was too great a *Change* for such a *Polititian*, to say at the very first to them; *Come, renounce the God of Israel without more ado; I have set up other Gods for you to worship, and I command you all immediately to obey me:* methinks, this would seem too harsh and unpolitick, and too dangerous for so new a *Government* as his was; a little *Indulgence* for tender consciences, for a time, with the sweetest words, had better become such an *Achitophel*, as T. G. calls *Jeroboam*. This, this had been the way to have wheedled and drawn in the silly and injudicious multitude, “ By telling them
 “ what an oppression it was for them to be
 “ under the jurisdiction of the *High Priest*
 “ and his *Brethren* at *Jerusalem*; and that
 “ there was no *Reason* such a vast number
 “ of lazy *Priests* and ignorant *Levites*
 “ should be maintained out of their labours
 “ by *Tithes* and *Offerings*; that all the
 “ pretence of the true *worship* of *God* be-
 “ ing confined to the *Temple* at *Jerusalem*,
 “ was only out of a design to enrich the
 “ *Priests* and the *City*; that it was only
 “ zeal for their own *interest* and *revenues*,
 which

"which made them so earnest for that par-
 "ticular way of worship which was so dif-
 "ferent from the rest of the World. What!
 "could they imagine that God had no
 "other people in the World, but such as
 "went up to Jerusalem to worship? what
 "would become of the Catholick way of
 "worship, which was in all the Nations
 "round about them? Was it credible,
 "that God should suffer so great a part of
 "mankind to run on in such Idolatry, as a
 "few Jews accounted it? If it were so
 "displeasing to God, could it ever be
 "thought that the wisest King they ever
 "had, viz. Salomon, should in the wisest
 "time of his Life, viz. in his old Age, fall
 "to the practice of it? Besides all this,
 "they ought to consider, how much the
 "honour and safety of the Nation was
 "concerned in embracing the same Catho-
 "lick way of worship which prevailed
 "round about them. Their pretending to
 "greater purity of worship than their
 "Neighbours, made them hated and scorn-
 "ed, and reproached by their Neighbours
 "of all sides, viz. by Moab and Ammon,
 "and Amalek, the Philistins, and those
 "of Tyre: but if they returned to the
 "worship of the Neighbour Nations, they
 "might be sure of the assistance of the

“*King of Egypt, with whom Jeroboam*
 “*had lived many years, who would be*
 “*ready to help them on all occasions ;*
 “*and their lesser enemies would then be*
 “*afraid to disturb them. Thus we see*
 what plausible pretences there were to have
 drawn the people off from the *Law of*
Moses, to the Idolatries of Egypt ; but we
 read not the least intimation of this *Na-*
ture in the whole History of this Revolt :
 but *Jeroboam* only saith, *These are thy*
Gods which brought thee out of the Land of
Egypt, which was the most unpolitick way
 of perswading them to return to the *Gods*
 of *Egypt.* Besides he not only appointed
 a *Feast* like unto that in *Judab,* but it is
 said, *That he offered upon the Altar, and*
sacrificed unto the Calves which he had
made, i. e. according to the *custom* of the
Jewish Sacrifices, than which nothing
 could be more repugnant to the *Egyptian*
Idolatry, as I have already proved. But
 T. G. saith, *The Text speaks but of one*
Feast ; it is very true, it mentions but one ;
 but it is said afterwards in several places,
That they departed not from the way of
Jeroboam ; and that very *Feast* being ac-
 companied with so many *Sacrifices,* was a
 plain evidence it was not the *Egyptian Ido-*
latry, which he then set up. And it is
 re-

1 Kings
 12. 32.

7. 8. p. 165.

2 Kings
 17. 22, 23.

remarkable to this purpose, that every one
 who was to be consecrated a *Priest to the*
Golden Calves, was to be consecrated
 with a *Sacrifice of a young Bullock*, and ^{2 Chron.}
of seven Rams; which according to the ^{13. 9.}
Rites of the Egyptian Idolatry were enough
 to have profaned the most sacred Person.
 And *Josephus*, (who may be allowed to
 have understood the mind of *Jeroboam* as
 well as *T. G.*) saith expressly, *That in* ^{Joseph.}
the speech he made to the People, he only ^{Antiq. Jud.}
pleaded, that God being every where pre- ^{l. 8. c. 3.}
sent, he might be worshipped at Dan and
Bethel, as well as Jerusalem: and that
for their greater conveniency he had set
up the Calves at Dan and Bethel, that
there they might worship God. Thus we
 see that in this worship at *Dan* and *Bethel*,
Jeroboam intended no more than to wor-
 ship the God of *Israel* there. I will not de-
 ny, that *Jeroboam* was for *Liberty of Con-*
science, and allowed the *practice of Eryp-*
tian Idolatry, and appointed *Priests* to
 serve at the several *Altars*, as the *People*
 had a mind; but the *established worship*,
 at which himself was present, was at the
Calves of Dan and Bethel. For it is said,
That he offered on the Altar there. But ^{1 Kings}
 we read that he appointed *Priests*, not only ^{12. 33.}
 for the *Calves*, but *1. for the High places*; ^{2 Chron.}
 which ^{11. 13.}

1 Kings
11. 7.
2 Kings
23. 13.

1 Kings
19. 10, 14.

2 Kings
23. 9, 20.

which were of two sorts, 1. Some for the worship of false Gods, as those which *Salomon* allowed to be built for *Chemosh* and *Moloch* on the Mount of Olives. 2. Others were for the worship of the true God in the ten Tribes. For there being some dissenting Brethren among the Israelites, who would neither join with the House of *Judah* in the worship at *Hierusalem*, nor with *Feroboam* in the worship of the Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel*; to keep these secure to his interest, he permits them to worship God on the High places, i. e. Altars erected to that purpose upon an ascent of ground. And this I prove from that passage of *Elias*, They have thrown down thy Altars; speaking of the Children of *Israel* demolishing them in the time of *Ahab*, who was the eighth in succession from *Feroboam*. And in the Reformation of *Josiah*, he puts a difference between the Priests of the High places; for some of them were permitted to eat unleavened bread among their Brethren; and others he slew upon the Altars. Which shews that both in *Judah* and *Israel* there were some who did still worship the true God on the High places. 2. *Feroboam* appointed Priests פרושים *Pilosiss*, to the hairy ones; which I wonder, how it come to be translated

lated *Devils* both here, and *Levit. 17.* since in above fifty places of *Scripture*, it signifies *Goats*; and but in one, the *LXX.* render it by *Δαίμονια*, and there *Aquila* hath *τευχάρτες*, and the *Vulgar Latine* *filosi*, and our translation *Satyrs*: and since the worship of *Goats*, and other hairy animals was so frequent among the *Egyptians*, as of *Dogs*, *Wolves*, *Cats*, *Ichneumons*, *Apes*, &c. but especially the *Goats*, as *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Plutarch*, and others relate (and the *Pan*, and *Fannus*, and *Silenus*, and *Silvanus*, and *Satyri* were but a sort of *Goats*: for the *Arabick* word *Satar* is a *Goat*, and the *Egyptian* name for *Pan* is *Mendes*, which, saith *Bochartus*, signifies a *Goat* too.) And since this worship was so common in *Egypt*, was there not reason to forbid it by a *Law*, *Levit. 17. 7*? and is there not cause where we meet with this word relating to an object of worship, to understand it according to the common practice of *Idolaters*, and the common sense of the word? Therefore I grant that *Jeroboam* did permit the *Egyptian Idolatry*, but he established the *Golden Calves* as the Religion of the State.

Isa. 13. 21.

Herod. l. 2. c. 46.

Strab. l. 17.

Plut. de

Isid.

Diodor. l. 1.

Boch. de Anim. Sacr.

l. 2. c. 53

2. 18.

1 Kings

16. 31, 32.

T.G. 200.

1 Kings

18. 21.

2. I shewed, that the true God was worshipped by the *Golden Calves*; because the *sin* of *Ahab* who worshipped *Baal* is said to be so much greater than the *sin* of *Jeroboam*. And it came to pass as if it had been a light thing for him to walk in the *sins* of *Jeroboam*, that he took to wife *Jezebel*, daughter of *Baal*, King of the *Zidonians*, and went and served *Baal*, and worshipped him; and he reared up an Altar for *Baal*, in the House of *Baal*, which he had built in *Samaria*. Yes, saith T. G.

Ahabs sin was greater, because he added this *Idolatry* to the other. Who denies that his *sin* might have been greater in that respect? but that it was not so to be understood, appears by the opposition between *God* and *Baal* in the words of *Elijah*? How long halt ye, saith he to all the People, between two opinions? if the Lord be God, follow Him: but if *Baal*, then follow him.

Now there being three several waies of worship among the people, if two of the three had not agreed in the same object of worship, viz. the God of *Israel*, *Elijah* could not have said that they halted only between two opinions of *God* and *Baal*; if some were for the God of *Israel*, others for the Gods of the *Egyptians*, and others for

Beel

Beel Samen, or the God of the Zidonians.

But, saith T. G. Elijah supposes a general T.G.p.167.

*Apostasie of the ten Tribes to Baal in the next Chapter. And what then? It was but very lately so, and they were not yet so fixed but they might be put in mind that they were lately of another opinion: and some render it, How long will ye pass from one extreme to another? how long will ye be so uncertain in Religion, now for God, and then for Baal? So Vatablus renders it, Quousque tandem alternis, &c. Now of one side, then of the other? or as some imagine, they themselves worshipped the Calves, and sometimes Baal. So that notwithstanding what T. G. saith, the opposition is here plain between the God worshipped by the Calves, which was the publick and established worship of the ten Tribes, and the worship of Baal, which was newly introduced: and so the True God is supposed to be worshipped by those who did not worship Baal. To confirm this, I added, that Jeshu magnifies his zeal for Jehovah against Baal, when it is said of him but a little after, That he departed not from the Calves ^{2 Kings} of Dan and Bethel; which evidently ^{10. 16.} shews the opposition between the God of Israel worshipped by the Calves, and the worship of Baal. No, saith T. G. Jeshu's
zeal*

T.G.p.166. *zeal for the Lord doth not acquit him from Idolatry in following Jeroboam, any more than the lawful act of Matrimony acquits a Husband from the Crime of Adultery, who defiles his Neighbours Bed. I perceive T. G. grew very sleepy when he wrote this, and forgot what we were about; for I never intended to clear Jehu from Idolatry by his zeal for Jehovah, but from such an Idolatry as excludes the worship of the True God. For that was my business to shew that he might be guilty of Idolatry, and yet worship the true God, by the Calves of Jeroboam; as he not only shews by that expression to Jonadab, but by distinguishing between the Priests of the Lord, and the Priests of Baal; and yet soon after that character is twice given of Jehu, That*
 v. 23. *he departed not from that worship which Jeroboam had established.*

To the last instance I brought of the Samaritans, who sent to the King of Assyria for an Israelitish Priest to teach them the accustomed worship of the God of the Land, who
 2 Kings 17. 26, 27, accordingly came and dwelt in Bethel, and
 28, 32, 33. taught it them, upon which it is said, *They feared the Lord; T. G. returns a strange*
 T.G.p.168. *answer, viz. That there is no mention at all made of his teaching them to worship him in the Calves as Symbols of his presence; here*

here T. G. nodded again: For if he would but have held his eyes open so long as to have looked back on the 22, and 23 verses of the same Chapter, he would have found these words, *For the Children of Israel walked in all the sins of Jeroboam which he did, they departed not from them: until the Lord removed Israel out of his sight, as he had said by all his servants the Prophets. So was Israel carried away out of his own Land to Assyria*; and then immediately follows this story of the Samaritans, desiring to know *the worship of the God of the Land*; what can this refer to, but to the *worship established by Jeroboam*? I leave this to be considered by T. G. when he is awake, for he seems to have written these things in a *Dream*. As to what he saith, of *his having confuted my conjectures*, or T.G.p.168. rather Monceius *hu*; (when it is apparent I differ from Monceius in his main ground, to any man that hath read him) I leave it as a fresh token of his *kindness*, when he will not so much as suffer me to be the Author of such *weak conjectures*, which he hath so easily, and so pleasantly confuted; and for the phrase of *my plowing with his Heifer*, I suppose it hath relation to the *Calves of Dan and Bethel*, which I take notice of, that he may not think his *wit* is lost upon me.

To

Q. 19. To conclude this point of the meaning of the *Second Commandment*, I said, *That since the Law giver hath thus interpreted his own Law*, we need not be solicitous about the *sense* of any others, yet herein I say we have the concurrence of the *Jews* and *Christian Church*. The *Jews* have thought the prohibition to extend to all kinds of Images for *worship*, and almost all for *ornament*, and the Image-worship of the *Church of Rome* is one of the great *scandals* to this day, which hinder them from embracing *Christianity*. All that

T.G.p.169. T. G. answers to this is, *That he would gladly know, whether we must stand or fall by the interpretation of the Jews?* Did I bring their *Testimony* for that purpose? or intimate the least thing that way? did I not use so much caution on purpose to prevent such a cavil? I declared that I did not need their *Testimony* in so clear a case; and yet it is no small advantage to our Cause, that we have herein the concurrence of all that had any *Reverence* to this Law of God, whether *Jews* or *Mahumetans*; and not barely of them, but of the whole *Christian Church* for so many Ages, as I have fully proved in the precedent

T.G.p.175. Chapters. As to the *Prophetical confutation*

tion of my opinion about *Idolatry* and the *Second Commandment* by Mr. *Thorndike*, I do assure him if I could have thought what that learned Person had said in this matter, to have been agreeable either to *Scripture* or *Reason*, or the sense of the *Primitive*, or our own *Church*, it might have prevented my writing, by changing my opinion ; for I was no stranger to his *Writings*, or his *Arguments*. But he that can think the *Israelites* believed the *Golden Calf* delivered their people out of *Egypt* before it was made, may easily believe that Mr. *Thorndike's* Book of 1662. was a confutation of mine, long before it was written ; and upon equal reason at least, I may hope that this *Answer* will be a *Prophetical Confutation* of all that *T. G.* will ever be able to say upon this *Subject*.

C H A P. IV.

An Answer to T. G's charge of Contradictions, Paradoxes, Reproach of the second Council of Nice, School disputes; and to his parallel Instances.

§. I.

T. G. p. 13,
14, 15.

Rational
Account,
p. 54.

UNDER these *Heads* I shall comprehend all that remains scattered in the several parts of his *Book*, which seem to require any farther Answer. The first thing I begin with is, the *Head of Contradictions*; for he makes in another *Book* the charge of Idolatry to be inconsistent with my own assertion; *Because I had said that Church doth not look on our negative articles against the Church of Rome, as articles of Faith, but as infriour Truths; from whence, he saith, it follows, that their Church doth not err against any article of Faith; but Idolatry is an error against the most Fundamental point of Faith, and therefore for me to charge the Church of Rome with Idolatry, must according to my own principles, be the most groundless,*

unreasonable, and contradictory proceeding in the world. Upon my word, a very heavy charge! And I must clear my self as I can from it. Had not a man need to have a mighty care of dropping any kind words towards *them*, who will be sure to make all possible advantages from them to overthrow the force of whatever can be said afterwards against them? Thus have they dealt with me; because I allowed the *Church of Rome* to be a true Church, as holding all the essential points of *Christian Faith*; therefore all the arguments I have used to prove them *Idolaters*, are presently turned off with this, *That herein I contradict my self.* Thus I was served by that *feet man* at *Controversie*, *J. W.* who thought it worth his while to write two *Books* (such as they are) chiefly upon this argument: and he makes me to pile *Contradictions* on *Contradictions*, as *Children* do *Cards* one upon another, and then he comes and cunningly steals away one of the *supporters*, and down all the rest fall in great disorder and confusion. And herein he is much applauded for an excellent *Artist*, by that mighty man at *Ecclesiastical Fencing*, *E. W.* the renowned *Champion* of our *Lady of Loreto*, and the miraculous translation of her *Chap-*

Dr. Still.
still against
Dr. Still.
A.D. 1675.
Infallibili-
ty of the
Roman Ca-
tholick
Church
against
Dr. Still.
by E. W.
1674.
Preface.

Bee

pel;

pel; about which he hath published a *Defiance* to the *World*, and offers to prove it against all *Comers* (but especially my inconsiderable self) to be an *undeniable Verity*. I must have great leisure, and little care of my self, if I ever more come near the *Clutches* of such a *Giant*, who seems to write with a *Beetle* instead of a *Pen*; and I desire him to set his heart at rest, and not to trouble himself *about the waies of my attacking him*; for he may lie quietly in his *shades*, and *snore* on to *Dooms-day* for me; unless I see farther reason of disturbing his repose than at present I do. But this charge being resumed by so considerable an Adversary, as *T. G.* is, in comparison with the rest, I shall, for his sake, endeavour more fully to clear this whole matter. When *J. W.* had objected the same thing in effect against me; the substance of the Answer I made him was this,

Answer to
several
Treatises,
First part,
p. 19, &c.

1. That it was a *disingenuous way* of *proceeding*, to oppose a *judgement of charity* concerning their *Church*, to a *judgement of Reason* concerning the *nature of actions*, without at all examining the *force* of those *Reasons* which are produced for it. This was the case of *J. W.* but *ingenuity* is a thing my *Adversaries* are very little acquainted with: and therefore I said 2. There was

no contradiction in it : For the notion of *Idolatry* as applied to the *Church of Rome*; is consistent with its owning the general principles of *Faith*, as to the *True God* and *Jesus Christ*, and giving *Sovereign worship* to them; when therefore we say, that the *Church of Rome* doth not err in any *Fundamental* point of the *Christian Faith*, I there at large shew, the meaning to have been only this, that in all those which are looked on by us as necessary *Articles of Faith*, we have the *Testimony* and *approbation* of the whole *Christian World* of all *Ages*, and are acknowledged to be such by *Rome* it self; but the *Church of Rome* looks upon all her *Doctrines*, which we reject, as *necessary Articles of Faith* : so that the force of the Argument comes only to this, that no *Church* which doth own the ancient *Creeeds* can be guilty of *Idolatry*. And I farther add, that when we enquire into the *essentials* of a *Church*, we think it not necessary to go any farther than the *doctrinal points of Faith*; because *Baptism* admits men into the *Church* upon the profession of the true *Faith* in the *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost* : but if beyond the *essentials* we enquire into the moral *integrity* and *soundness* of a *Church*, then we are bound to go farther than the bare

profession of the *essential* points of *Faith*, and if it be found that the same *Church* may debauch those very principles of *Faith* by damnable *errors*, and corrupt the *worship* of *God* by vertue of them, then the same *Church* which doth hold the *Fundamentals* of *Faith*, may notwithstanding lead men to *Idolatry* without the shadow of a contradiction. But *T. G.* saith, *That Idolatry is an Errour against the most Fundamental point of Faith.* What doth *T. G.* mean by this? I suppose it is, that *Idolatry* doth imply *Polytheism*, or the belief of more *Gods* than one, to whom *Soveraign worship* is due; then I deny this to be the proper Definition of *Idolatry*, for although, where ever this is, it hath in it the nature of that we call *Idolatry*, yet himself confesses, the true notion of it to be, *The giving the worship due to God, to a Creature*; so that, if I have proved that the *worship* of *Images* in the *Roman Church*, is the giving the *worship* due only to *God* to a *Creature*; then, although the *Church* of *Rome* may hold all the *essentials* of *Faith*, and be a *true Church*, it may be guilty of *Idolatry* without contradiction. But it may be *J. W.* in his *Reply*, saith something more to purpose; (at least it will be thought so, if I do not answer him:)

him:) I must therefore consider what he saith, that is material, if any thing be found so. However, he saith, *that if the Roman Church doth hold any kind of Idolatry to be lawful, she must needs hold an Error destructive to a Fundamental and essential point of Faith, and by consequence a Fundamental error inconsistent with the essence of a true Church. And since no kind of Idolatry is lawful, if the Roman Church hold it to be so, she must needs hold an error inconsistent with some Truth.* Most profoundly argued ! He only ought to have subsumed, (as I think such Logicians as J. W. call it) but all Error is Fundamental and inconsistent with the essence of a true Church ; or That Infallibility is necessary to the Being of a Church, and when he proves that, I promise to renounce the charge of Idolatry. Now it is not possible, saith J. W. that the Roman Church should hold any Idolatry lawful (knowing it to be Idolatry) unless she holds that some Honour, which is due only to God, may be given to a Creature. I am afraid to be snapt by so cunning a Sophister, and therefore I distinguish in time. The Roman Church doth not hold any Idolatry lawful which it judges to be Idolatry,

or the *Honour* due only to *God*; but the *Roman Church* may give the real parts of *worship* due only to *God* to a *meer creature*, and yet at the same time, tell men it is not a part of the *Honour* which is due to *God*. To make this plain even to the understanding of *J. W.* The *Church of Rome* may entertain a false notion of *Idolatry*, or of that *worship* which is due only to *God*: which false notion being received, men may really give the *worship* that only belongs to *God* to His *Creatures*; and the utmost error necessary in this case is no more than having a false notion of *Idolatry*, as, that there can be no *Idolatry* without giving *Sovereign worship* to a *Creature*, or that an *Idol* is the representation only of an *Imaginary Being*, &c. Now on these suppositions, no more is necessary to the practice of *Idolatry*, than being deceived in the notion of it. If therefore *T. G.* or *J. W.* will prove that the *Church of Rome* can never be deceived in the notion of it, or that it is repugnant to the essence of a *Church* to have a false notion of *Idolatry*, they do something towards the proving me guilty of a contradiction in acknowledging the *Church of Rome* to be a true *Church*, and yet charging it with *Idolatry*. But *J. W.* saith,

That

That 'tis impossible the Roman Church should teach or hold any kind of Idolatry, whatsoever it be, but she must hold expressly or implicitly, that some Honour due only to God, may be given to a meer Creature. Such kind of stuff as this would make a man almost repent ever reading *Logic* (which this man pretends so much to) for surely *Mother Wit* is much better than *Scholastick Fooling*. Such a Church which commits, or by her doctrines and practises leads to Idolatry, needs not to hold, i. e. deliver as her judgment that some Honour due only to God may be given to a Creature; it is sufficient if she commands or allows such things to be done, which in their own nature, or by the Law of God is really giving the worship of God to a Creature. Yet upon this mistake, as gross as it is, the poor waspish Creature runs on for many leaves, and thinks all that while he proves me guilty of a contradiction. But the man hath something in his head which he means, although he scarce knows how to express it, viz. that in good *Catholick Dictionaries*, a *Fundamental error*, and a *damnable error*, and an *error inconsistent with the essence of a true Church*, are terms *Synonymous*. Now I know what he would be at, viz. that *In-*

p. 97.

p. 101.

fallibility is necessary to the *Being* of a *Church*: therefore to suppose a *Church* to err, is to suppose it not to be a *Church*: But will he prove me guilty of contradiction by *Catholick Dictionaries*? I beg his pardon: for in them *Transubstantiation* implies none; but whosoever writes against them, must be guilty of many. If he would prove me guilty of *Contradiction*, let him prove it from my own sense and not from theirs. Yet he would seem at last to prove that *the practice of any kind of Idolatry, especially being approved by the Church, is destructive to the Being of a Church*. Which is the only thing, he saith, that deserves to be farther considered, by enquiring into two things. 1. Whether a *Church* allowing and countenancing the *practice of Idolatry* can be a *true Church*? 2. Whether such a *Church* can have any power or Authority to consecrate *Bishops*, or ordain *Priests*? For this is a thing which T. G. likewise objects, as consequent upon my assertion of their *Idolatry*, that thereby I overthrow all Authority, and Jurisdiction in the *Church of England*, as being derived from an *Idolatrous Church*. These are matters which deserve a farther handling, and therefore I shall speak to them.

1. Whe-

1. Whether a Church may continue a true Church, and yet allow, and practise any kind of *Idolatry*? And to resolve this, I resort again to the *ten Tribes*; Supposing what hath been said sufficient to prove them guilty of *Idolatry*, my business is to enquire, whether they were a true Church in that time. This J. W. denies; saying, *I ought to have proved and not barely supposed that the Idolatry introduced by Jeroboam was not destructive to the being of a True Church: and several Protestants, he saith, produce the Church of Israel to shew that a true visible Church may cease.* Alas poor man! he had heard something of this Nature, but he could not tell what; they had produced this as an instance against the perpetual *Visibility of the Church*, and he brings it to prove that it ceased to be a true Church; and the time they fix upon by his own Confession is, when *Elias* complained that he was left alone in *Israel*; which was not when the *Idolatry of the Calves*, but when that of *Baal* prevailed among the people of *Israel*; i. e. when they worshipped *Beel-samen* or the *Sun* instead of *God*. Now that they were a true Church while they worshipped *Jeroboams Calves*, I prove by these two things.

1. That

1. That there was no time from Jeroboam to the Captivity of Israel, wherein the worship of the Calves was not the established Religion of the ten Tribes; this is evident from the expression before mentioned, *that the Children of Israel departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, till God removed Israel out of his sight.* And it is observable of almost every one of the Kings of Israel, that it is said particularly, *that he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam.*
2. That during that time God did own them for his People, which is all one with making them a True Church. Thus Jehu is said to be anointed King over the People of the Lord. And there is a remarkable expression in the time of Jehoahaz, *that the Lord was gracious unto them, and had respect unto them, because of his Covenant with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and would not destroy them, neither cast he them from his presence as yet.* Would God have such respect to those whom he utterly disowned? Nay the Prophet Hosea saith, *that God was still the Holy one in the midst of Ephraim; and How shall I give thee up Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee Israel?* Which shews God had not yet discarded them: and afterwards he saith to Israel, *Return unto the Lord thy God*
- 2 King.
17. 22, 23.
1 Kings
15. 26, 34.
16. 13, 19.
26. 31.
22. 52.
2 Kings
3. 3.
10. 29.
13. 2.
14. 23.
15. 9, 18.
24. 28.
2 Kings
9. 6.
13. 23.
Hosea II.
8, 9.
14. 1.

God; and *Amos* saith, *prepare to meet thy God O Israel*: and both he and *Micah*, call them still *Gods people*. From whence it is evident, that they were still a *true Church* notwithstanding the *Idolatry* of *Jeroboam*. Amos 4.
12.
8. 2.
Micah 6.2,
3.

2. Supposing a *Church* to continue a *True Church*, what reason can there be to question the *Authority* of that *Church* as to the *consecration* of *Bishops*, or the *ordination* of *Priests*? I have formerly shewed that no *Act* of *Ordination* is invalid in case of any *heresie* or *Crime* of the *Giver*; and that the contrary doctrine is condemned for *heresie* by the *Church*. I now shall particularly shew that the *Power* of *giving Orders* is not taken away by the guilt of *Idolatry*; which I prove from the case of the *Arian Bishops*. I have at large made it manifest, that the *Arians* were condemned for *Idolatry* by the consent of the *Fathers* of greatest reputation, *S. Athanasius*, *S. Basil*, *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, *Nyssen*, *Epiphanius*, *S. Chrysostom*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Augustin*, &c. And the second *Nicene Council* saith, that the *Catholic Church* looked on them as *Idolaters*. Now, if I can make it appear, that the *Arian Ordinations* were allowed, I shall put this matter past dispute, that the *charge* of *Idolatry* doth not null the *Ordinations* of
Answer
first part
Gener.
pres. in sin.

Part 1.
Ch. 1. sect.
17.

Concil. Ni-
cen. 2. act.
6. p. 411.

- our Church as being derived from those who were guilty of *Idolatry*. For this purpose, the *second Nicene Council* affords us plentiful assistance in the *First Session*; wherein *Peter the Popes Vicar* declares, that *Meletius* was ordained by *Arian Bishops*, and yet his Ordination was never questioned; and this was received by the Council as true. *Epiphanius*, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* all agree, that *Meletius* received his Consecration from the *Arian Faction*; and *Epiphanius* saith, he had it from the hands of *Acacius Bishop of Caesarea*; the worst of all the *Arians*, saith *Baronius*. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* do seem to imply, that the followers of *Eustathius* at *Antioch* would not joyn with *Meletius* and his party, though both consenting in the *Nicene Creed*, because of his ordination by the *Arian faction*, and the peoples being baptized by *Arian Priests*; but *Theodoret* mentions no such thing, and saith the first breach began there, when *Meletius* was banished by the *Arian party*; and *Euzoius* the *Arian* was made *Bishop of Antioch*: and *Baronius* makes the *Schism* to begin from the ordination of *Paulinus* by *Lucifer Calabitanus*; however this were, we never find the Ordination of *Meletius* disputed by the

Art. 1. p.
82.

Epiph. her.
73. n. 28.
Socr. 2.
c. 44.
Sozom. l. 4.
c. 28.

Baron. ad
A.D. 360.
n. 52.

Theod. l. 2.
c. 31.

Baron. ad
A. 408.
n. 31.

the *Catholick Bishops* ; and when *S. Athanasius* writes a *Synodical Epistle* to those of *Antioch*, to compose the differences among them upon the *ordination* of *Paulinus*, he gives this direction to the other *Catholick Christians* concerning *Meletius* his party, who met ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ (so the place of their meeting was called, being in the old City, which the interpreter of *Athanasius* renders in *veteris Ecclesie communione*) that they should receive those who came to them from the *Arians* without requiring any more from them, than the renouncing *Arianism* and subscribing or owning the *Nicene Creed* ; Whereby, the *Arian Baptism* and *Orders* were allowed. But we have a fuller *Testimony* of the general sense of the Church of that Age as to this matter of the *Arian Ordinations* ; *Ruffinus* saith, that when the *Catholick Bishops* were returned from banishment, several of them met together at *Alexandria* to consult what was to be done with those who had received *Orders* from the *Arian Bishops* ; and after consultation about it, it was decreed in Council, that only the *Heads* of the party should be rejected, but others received to the exercise of their *Priestly Office* : upon which *Asterius* was dispatched into the Eastern parts

Athanas. ap. ad Antioch. p. 575.

Ruffin. hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 28.

parts to settle the Churches there, and Eusebius into the western: but he returning to Antioch, found that Lucifer in the mean time had broken his promise in the Consecration of Paulinus, and Eusebius therefore would not own him as Bishop; which so enraged Lucifer, that he quarrelled with the decree of the Alexandrian Council about receiving the Arian Bishops and Priests upon disowning their Heresie. And so the Luciferian Schism began: for the followers of Lucifer charged the Catholick Church with being the Synagogue of Antichrist for receiving the Arian Bishops, as appears by S. Hierom; for they yielded to the receiving the penitent Laity but not the Clergy; allowing the Arian Baptism, but not their Ordinations: upon which S. Hierom triumphs over them. And he saith, that eight Arian Bishops were received in the Council of Nice, although their Arianism were declared before: and that the decree of the Alexandrian Council was universally received by the Church: which is as ample a Testimony to our purpose as can be desired.

Hieron. ad-
vers. Luci-
ferian. init.

¶ 3.

Next to contradictions, T. G. charges me with maintaining strange Paradoxes, which he puts into the Title of one of his

his *Chapters* in these words, *A strange Pa-* T. G. p. 76.
adox advanced by Dr. St. what can an
Image do to the heightning of Devotion or
raising affections ? Not finding my self
to be any great lover of *Paradoxes*, but
of plain and useful Truths, I was the more
curious to find out what *Paradox* it was I
had broached. And searching for the
place, I found these words, "And can
"any one imagine, there should be greater
"irreverence of God shewn in calling him
"to witness upon every slight occasion,
"than there is in bowing down before a
"block or a hewen stone, representing God
"to my mind by it ? What can S U C H
"an Image do to the heightning of devo-
"tion, or raising affections ? This is the
monstrous *Paradox* advanced by me, viz.
that such a gross representation of God by
an Image doth tend more to abate than
raise our estimation of him : which is so
far from being a *Paradox*, that I have
herein the consent, not only of the anci-
ent *Fathers*, but of the greatest *Patrons* of
Images in the *Eastern* and *Western Churches*,
till the latter times, as I have shewed al-
ready. But T. G. sets himself very indu- T. G. p. 86.
striously to prove that *Pictures have an* to 90.
advantage in representation above living
Creatures ; which he doth with great
force

force of wit and strength of Reason ; *because Ladies sit, (sometimes to make Madonna's by) for their Pictures, and Authors Pictures are set before their Books ; (it is pitty we want our Authors on so just an occasion) and men keep the Pictures of their Friends (and Sign-posts are very useful in London streets, and may suggest many good meditations to men, as the three Nuns or the like) but to hold the contrary opinion, is the way to undo the company of Picture-drawers (which would be a great unkindness to all ingenious Artists,) but the most dismal consequence of my doctrine is, that the Ladies instead of the Pictures of their Friends should wear Ants and Flies in Crystal cases ; and instead of their own pictures the Apes and Asses should be sent them ; which I brought in so lamely, and the Tygers too if they can catch them, as greater resemblances of their Perfections. These passages, I hope, were intended for sallies of Wit ; which do become T. G. as well in this argument, as dancing upon the Ropes would do a Capucin Frier in his habit. But whence comes all this Rage of Wit ? this arming all the Pencils and brushes of the Town against me ? this Appeal to the Ladies against the pernicious consequences of*

of my opinion? this hurrying of me from the *Playhouse* and the *Scenes* there to the *Bear-garden*, to the *Apes*, and *Affes*, and *Tygers*? All this ariseth only from this innocent saying, "that it seems more reasonable to me to Worship God by prostrating my self to the Sun, nay to an Ant or a Fly, than to a picture or an Image; for in the other I see great evidences of the Power, and Wisdom and Goodness of God, which may suggest venerable apprehensions of God to my mind; whereas these can have nothing worthy admiration, unless it be the skill of the Painter or Artificer. *Hinc illa lachryma!* Could I ever have imagined that these words being spoken meerly with a respect to the representation of God in order to *worship*, should have raised the *Arriereban* of all the *Ladies* and *Painters* against me? If nothing will satisfie T. G. but having it *under my hand* that I had no malicious intention against the ingenious art of *Painting*, nor any design to ruine the company of *picture-drawers*, I do hereby give it him, and with this humble acknowledgement I hope the parties concerned will rest satisfied. It is not in the point of *bare representation* I compare *pictures* and *Gods Creatures*; but it

is in representing those *perfections* which are the *ground* and *Reason* of *worship*; and here I stand to it, that the least living Creature is a far better *Image* of *God*, than an old *Man* in *Pontifical* habits, or the best *Crucifix* in the world can be: *i. e.* it represents more those *perfections* for the sake of which I give *divine* *Worship* to *God*.

T. G. p. 89. But T. G. saith, that *Atheists* will deny the *perfections* of the *Creatures* to be any evidence at all of the being we call *God*; but cannot deny a *Crucifix* to represent to their own thoughts that *Person* whom we believe to be *God*? This is very ill put; for he should have parallel'd blind men and *Atheists* together; and I dare say no blind man discerns more of the excellency or likeness of a *Picture*, than *Atheists* do of the *perfections* of *God* by his *Creatures*. If men will shut their eyes, what can a *Crucifix* do to raise *affections*? and if their eyes be never so open, it can only represent that which falls infinitely short of being a *Reason* for *Divine* *worship*. For, as to the meer representation of *Christs* *humanity* by an *Image*, whoever disputed with T. G. about the *lawfulness* of it? but if he goes no farther than representation, or a help to memory or apprehension, T. G. knows well enough, he falls short of what is required of him,

him, by the *Decrees* of their *Councils*, and the constant practice of their *Church*, about which our *Controversie* with them is.

To the former *paradox* I added these words, "that I cannot for my heart understand why I may not as well, (nay better) burn incense and say my Prayers to the Sun, having an intention only to honour God by it, as to do both those to an Image? Here T. G. gives me warning not to say my Prayers to the Sun no more than they do to Images; he needs not give me that warning, for I never intend to do it so much; for although he would insinuate that *I know they do not*, I hope he will change his mind when he reads the account I have given of their *practises* in that particular; but I only pretended to pray to the Sun having an intention to honour God by it; and in this sense I am sure T. G. cannot deny, that they pray to their Images. But if I do not say my prayers to the Sun, but only bow down to it, so it be not out of ignorance, or Heathenism, or to give scandal to weak Brethren, he gives as much liberty as I could wish, and he quotes S. Leo for it too; in that very place where he condemns it, as appears by the last words he

p. 4.
T. G. p. 90.

Fff 2

cites

- p. 91. cites out of him; *let the Faithful therefore abstain from so perverse and worthy to be condemned a Custome, nor let the honour due to God alone, be mixed with their rites who serve the Creatures, for the Holy Scripture saith, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve.* Where the reason he gives against it, is not as T. G. insinuates, because there were some Reliques of Paganism remaining, but because it was giving the Creature part of that Honour which is
- p. 93. due to God alone. But T. G. offers to give me a clear solution to my scruple; which he does in two particulars. 1. *That although the Creatures do represent God after their manner, yet it is so rudely, remotely, darkly, and imperfectly, that there is need of a great deal of discourse to discover the analogy or proportion to their Creator; and they are called the footsteps of God; whereas an Image (for example) of Christ is so apparently representative of him, that upon sight thereof our thoughts fly presently unto him.* By which argument S. Paul was strangely mistaken
- ROM. I. 20. when he talked of the *Eternal Power of God being so known or manifest by the things that are seen, that even the Heathens were left without excuse; no such matter*

matter, saith T. G. the Creatures represent God rudely, remotely, darkly and imperfectly ; which make an excellent paraphrase on the words of the Psalmist, The Psalm. 19. 1.
Heavens declare the glory of God, and the Firmament shews his handy-work. Mens
handy-work by Images will do it rarely, presently, effectually, inflamingly ; but Gods work doth it dully, remotely, rudely, and imperfectly. O how much the skill
of a painter exceeds the Power of God ! Whereas in truth the least work of Nature infinitely exceeds the greatest art of man in curiosity, beauty, strength, proportion, and every thing that can discover
wisdom or Power. But, saith T. G. they are called Gods footsteps, and to gather the height and bigness of Hercules from his
footstep was not the work of every vulgar capacity, which is a very Childish way of reasoning, and taken only from such a
Metaphorical expression that Vasquez calls it a frivolous argument that is taken from it. I, but the pretty story of Hercules and that put together make a pleasant jingling : and looks like Reason to those that know not what it means. Must men take the
measure of God just by the same Geometrical proportions that he did, that gathered the height and bigness of Hercules by his

foot ? This sort of *wit* is a delicate thing, and endures no rough handling. But still I say it is not in the meer quickness of representation, but in the *perfections* represented, that natural things do so far exceed the most artificial Images ; and we are to consider that in all representations of *objects* of *worship*, those are the most excellent which best set forth the *Nature* of that *Being* as it deserves our *worship*. Now in this respect, the *works* of *Creation* manifest *Gods* eternal Power, and what is it the *Image* of an *Old man* represents ? So that comparing these two, the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars* do in regard of *real representation* of the *Divine Being*, much more deserve to be worshipped than any *Image* whatsoever. And *Vasquez* doth well prove that upon the principles of *worshipping Images*, one may lawfully *worship God in any Creature whatsoever*. For if the *presence* of *God* in the *Image* by a meer fiction of the mind, be a sufficient *Ground* to *worship* that *Image* ; is not *Gods* *real presence* in every *creature* a far better ground and reason to *worship* it ? and all the distinctions and evasions which serve in one will equally serve in the other case. How earnestly did *T. G.* contend for the *worship* of *Gods Footstool* ? and why may
not

Vasquez
Hisp. 110.
c. 2.

not His *Footsteps* be worshipped as well as His *Footstool*? I am sure T. G. himself could not have taken the *bright* and *bigness* of *Hercules* from his *Footstool*, which he saith, was done from his *Footsteps*; and therefore one comes nearer to the thing worshipped than the other. *Cardinal Lago* gives an excellent answer to this *Metaphor* of the *Creatures* being Gods *Footsteps*; For, *Lago de* saith he, *they may be worshipped for all* ^{*Mysterio*} *that; for do not we worship the Footsteps* ^{*Incarn.*} *disp. 37.* *of Saints in many Churches? how much* ^{*Sect. 1.*} *more ought we to adore the Footsteps of God?*

But T. G. gives another reason against §. 5. worshipping the *Creatures*, viz. *That there is greater danger of terminating* ^{T. G. p. 93.} *the worship upon them, than upon an Image;* ^{94.} *because they are Creatures subsisting of themselves, and are the causes of real benefits to mankind.* If there be more danger in the one, there is more folly in the other, in the judgement of the *Fathers*, who looked on the worship of *Images* as the most silly and childish thing in the world; while they thought the worship of the heavens very excusable: Upon this ground, I had said before, it follows, that what deserves most honour should have the

T. G. p. 86.

Vasq. ubi
sup.

least given it, and that which deserves least, should have most; for the danger is still greater, where the excellency is greater; and by this reason we ought rather to worship a *Beast* than a *Saint*, for there is less danger of terminating the worship on one than on the other, and so the *Egyptians* were more excusable than the *Papists*. These words he returns upon me, on a very slight occasion, *viz. setting the Sun before an Ant or a Fly*; as though they had been a *Reason* of my giving, whereas I only shew the *ridiculousness* of this which is the only pretence they have for not worshipping God by a living *Old Man*, as well as by the *Picture* of one, And if this be all T. G. hath to say, I see still the distinctions of *Sovereign* and *inferiour*, of *absolute* and *relative* worship will bear any man out in the worship of any *Creature* with a respect to God, as well at least as it doth them in the worship of *Images*. Vasquez saith there are these several grounds for the worship of a *Creature* among them. 1. *Representation, which belongs to an Image.* 2. *Contact, although long since past; thence they worship the Cross, Nails, Garments, and other things that had touched the bodies of Christ or the Saints.* 3. *Union; thence they wor-*
ship

ship all Reliques which had been parts of the Saints. 4. Presence ; thence God being more present in his Works, than any Saint can be in a Garment he did once wear ; there is more Reason to worship God in His Works, than any Saint in Reliques. Cardinal Lugo assigns these several Reasons for the worship of God in any Creature.

1. Because they worship the work of mens ^{Lugo ubi} hands, as the hand-writing of any Saint, ^{sup.} much more ought we to worship Gods Works with a Relative worship. 2. Because they worship the very places where the Saints have been ; as a Stone on which they have sat, for the sake of contact and propinquity ; much more ought we to worship Gods Creatures, to whom He is far nearer than the Body of a Saint to a Stone. 3. Because they receive gifts from Princes with great veneration, although mean in themselves ; therefore since all the Creatures are Gods gifts we may worship them for His sake. 4. Because a man is the living Image of God, therefore as a wooden Image may be worshipped for the sake of the exemplar, much more, saith he, ought such a lively Image as man is. Thus we see how men of the greatest understanding among them, have discerned the necessary consequence of their own principles of worship, and find

find there is no defending them, without yielding the lawfulness of worshipping God through any of His *Creatures*; and *living men* rather than *dead Images*, on the account of a fuller representation of God; and saith *Lugo*, *with the worship of Latria, in respect of God, and an inferiour worship on the account of His proper excellency.* If men had set themselves to oppose the doctrine of the *Primitive Church* about *Divine worship*, they could not have thought of a principle more directly opposite to the general sense of it than this is, of the lawfulness of the worship of *Creatures*. But there are two cases wherein they will not allow it. 1. In the case of indecency, although there have been a *real contact*, thus the *lips of Judas* are excepted, although they touched *Christ*. And Cardinal *Lugo* with particular caution excepts the *Tail of the Ass on which Christ rode to Jerusalem*. But saith *Arriaga*, *There was indignitas moralis, that did hinder the worship of Judas his lips; however he doth not understand, how this can cut off the adorability of them on the principles of Vasquez and Lugo.* As to the *Ass on which Christ rode*; there are some, saith he, do yield that it might be worshipped; and the *Mule*, and the *Ass which stood by* the

n. 8.

n. 11.

Arriag. de
Myster.
Incarn.
disp. 57.
fact. 2.
subject. 2.
n. 10.

the Maunger, as well as the Maunger is
 self: but it may be, it were better denied,
 because there is, saith he, I know not what
 meanness in it which hinders adoration; but
 he adds, that in all these moral things very
 much depends on the apprehension of the
 persons; and in case the intention be right-
 ly directed, he thinks it very hard (upon
 their principles) to prove that God cannot
 be worshipped in any Creature. 2. In case
 of publick scandal they do not allow it.
 Not from any real hurt in the thing, but
 because the People have been only hitherto
 accustomed to worship Images, and Re-
 liques of Saints. The danger, saith Vas-
 quez from Cajetan, would be none to un-
 derstanding men, but only to the rude and
 ignorant people, that cannot so easily appre-
 hend God in His Creatures, as in an Image,
 and withall it would savour of Heathen
 superstition. But it were well they would
 consider the Answer they give us in this
 case, when we urge the same argument
 against the worship of Images: Hold, say
 they, a meer scandal is no reason to take
 away the use of a thing, if it be such as doth
 not arise from the nature of the thing; but
 only by accident through the malice or igno-
 rance of the Persons. So that in this case no-
 thing is wanting, but well instructing the
 People;

*Thamb. de
 Myster.
 Incarn.
 ad Qu. 23.
 disp. 3.
 art. 15.*

People; and upon their principles of worship they may revive the worship of the Host of Heaven, the Fire, and Water, and Trees, and the Earth it self; and it is but conquering a little squeamishness of Stomach at first, the very Tail of the Ass on which our Savio^r rode, will go down with them. And now I leave the Reader to judge which of us two is guilty of the greater Paradoxes.

- ¶ 6. I now come to the great rock of offence, the second Council of Nice: which, he
 T.G. p. 118. saith, *I most irreverently call that wise Synod*; upon which he falls into a very Tragical exclamation; that I should dare to reflect so much dishonour on a Council,
 p. 119. wherein there were 350. Fathers, with the Popes Legats, and the Vicars of the Oriental Patriarchal Sees; and yet himself calls the Council of Constantinople a Conventicle, wherein there were 338. Bishops; (and doth he think the number of twelve more in one than in the other, makes such a huge difference in point of wisdom?) But the Author of the Caroline Book saith, *That by their own confession they were but 306.* And the Council of Francford (which opposed this, and of which T. G. speaks not very honourably, as I shall make appear) consisted of about

Carol. de
 Imag. l. 4.
 c. 13.

300. *Bishops*, by the confessions of their own Writers : so that if number carries me, I have above 600. *Bishops* of my side ; and if they were *wise*, the *Nicene Council* was not so. It is therefore in T. G.'s choice to call 300. or 600. *Bishops*, *Fools*. But if he be guilty of the same fault, that he not excuse me for speaking so Ironical-ly, of so lawful, so general, so judicious a Council, as that at Nice was : and therefore he adviseth me to recant, and to follow the example of Gregory of Neocæsarea : I hope he doth not mean in the way of S. German ; although one of that name was a great Patron of Images about that time. But if this Council were neither so lawful, so general, nor so judicious as T. G. pretends, for all that I know, the Rector of a Parochial Church never to be found in the list of any General Council (which is a shrewd aggravation of my fault) may have leave to call the second Council of Nice, a *wise Synod*.

I. I shall enquire whether this were a lawful General Council, and so received by the Church : There are three things T. G. insists on to make this out. 1. That it was called by the Popes Authority ; which he knows we deny to be sufficient to make a lawful General Council ; for then every

every Assembly of Bishops at Rome called by the Pope would be a General Council.

2. The consent and presence of the Patriarchs. 3. That it hath been received as such by the Church. But I shall make it appear, that it was just such another General Council as that of Trent was, and managed with as much fraud and collusion; and that it was not received by the Church as a General Council.

1. As to the presence and consent of the Patriarchs; this Council in their Synodical Epistle boast that they had the concurrence of East, West, North and South: Which is such an extravagance, that no sober men would have been guilty of, that had any regard to Truth or Honesty; or did in the least consider the State of the World at that time.

The western Bishops were never so much as summon'd; the Patriarch of Jerusalem was dead, the Eastern Patriarch, and the Patriarch of Alexandria were neither in condition to appear themselves, nor to send Legats thither; which Baronius ingenuously confesseth: Because Aaron who was then Chaliph of the Saracens, was a great enemy to the Christians, under whose dominion at that time they were. Although Christianus Lupus, a Professor of Divinity at Lovain; makes him a great Friend to the

Act. 7.
p. 586.

Baron. ad
A. D. 785.
n. 40.

Christian.
Lup. in
Conc. T. 2.
p. 1210.

the Council called by the Pope and the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem was neither in condition to appear themselves, nor to send Legats thither; which Baronius ingenuously confesseth: Because Aaron who was then Chaliph of the Saracens, was a great enemy to the Christians, under whose dominion at that time they were. Although Christianus Lupus, a Professor of Divinity at Lovain; makes him a great Friend to the

the

the *Christians* in *Egypt*; which is not only contrary to *Baronius*, but to the *Synodical Epistle*, the two *Monks* carried to the *Council*, from the *Monks* of *Palestine*, and was read and approved by the *Council*. *Theophanes* saith, That the *Empress* and *Theoph.* *Patriarch*, both sent to the *Patriarchs* of *Chronogr.* *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, while the *Peace* *p. 388.* continued; but soon after upon *Aaron's* *Hist.* *being made Chaliph*, the peace was broke; *Miscell.* *l. 23. p. 333.* and there was no liberty for the *Patriarchs* either to go or send.

But do we not read in the *Acts* of the *Council* that *John* appeared and subscribed as *Vicar* of the *Oriental Patriarchs*; and *Thomas* as *Vicar* of the *Patriarch* of *Alexandria*? Very true: but *Baronius* gives an excellent account of this notorious cheat. The *Legats* that were sent to the *Patriarchs* did never arrive at *Antioch* or *Alexandria*; but coming into *Palestine*, they there understood what a grievous persecution the *Christians* suffered under the new *Chaliph*, and that if it should be discovered what errand they went upon, it would not only hazzard their own lives, but of all the *Christians* of those parts; therefore they forbore going any farther, and acquainted the *Monks* of *Palestine* with their design; who met together, and took

Act. 7.
p. 558.

Bin. not. in
Concil.
Nic. 2.
Concil.
Nic. Act. 3.
p. 187, 190.

took upon them to send these two, John and Thomas as the Legats of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria: For Theodorus Patriarch of Jerusalem was lately dead. And these two were the goodly Vicars of the Patriarchal See's which sate and subscribed in their names in this most Oecumenical Council; and passed in all the Acts of it for the Legats of the Oriental Patriarchs. For they subscribe themselves Legats of the three Apostolical Sees, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem: and yet the summons never came to either of the Patriarchs, but they were in truth only the Plenipotentiary Monks of the Patriarchal Monks of Palestine: So both Baronius and Binius confess they were only the Monks that sent them, and they call themselves Eremites in the beginning of their Epistle; and yet in the Acts of that Council they pass for very great men of the East, and Euthymius Bishop of Sardis calls them the Patriarchs of the East; and Epiphanius takes it for granted that the Letters were sent by the very same to whom Tarasius directed his; when the very Letters themselves, which were read in the Council, shew that the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria were never consulted with. And yet Christianus Lupus in his late

late *Notes* on the *Canons* of the *General Councils*, very fairly tells a formal story of *Politian*, *Patriarch* of *Alexandria*, and *Theodores* of *Antioch*, and *Elias* of *Jerusalem*, sending these for their *Legats* to this *Council* (I had thought it had been only the *Popes Prerogative* to make titular *Patriarchs*) and he gravely magnifies the zeal and courage both of the *Patriarchs* and *Legats* for venturing so much in such a time of *Persecution*: and then falls into a mighty *Encomium* of the two *Legats* that *Tarasius* sent, for venturing through a thousand deaths to get to the *Patriarchs*; when God knows they never came near them. But which is far more to be wondered at, *Pope Adrian* in his Answer to *Charles the Great* about the *Nicene Synod* had the face to say, That the *Synodical Epistle* of the three *Patriarchs*, of *Cosmus* of *Alexandria*, and of *Theodore* of *Antioch*, (it seems *Elias* is turned to *Theodore* again) and *Theodore* of *Jerusalem* was read and approved in this *Council* of *Nice*; than which (with his *Holiness's* leave) there never was a more notorious falsehood, unless it were that of *Tarasius*; who upon the approbation of these *Letters* of the *Monks*; cry'd out, That the *East* and the *West*, the *North* and the *South* were all

G g g agreed;

Lup. not. in
Can. Council.
Sept. 7a. 2.
p. 1109.

Adriani
epist. Synod.
Nic. To. 7.
Concil.
p. 924.

p. 134

agreed; and the whole Council followed this with an acclamation of *Glory be to God that hath united us*; when the *Eastern Patriarchs* knew nothing of the Council, the *Western Bishops* opposed it as soon as ever they knew it. And was not this a very hopeful *General Council*, having as T. G. saith, *The Popes Legats for Presidents, and the Vicars of the Oriental Patriarchal Sees assisting in it?*

Q. 7. 2. That it was not received for a *General Council* by the Church. For even in the *Greek Church* it self, *Theophanes* only saith, *That the Emperour called together all the Bishops within his own Dominions*; which is said likewise by *Landulphus Sagax*; only *Theophanes* would have it believed that the *Oriental Patriarchs* sent their *Legats*, which was very false: as not only appears from the very *Acts* of the Council, wherein the *Monks Letter* is inserted, but because this Council was not received many years after in those *Patriarchal Sees*; which is evident from *Photius* his *Encyclical Epistle* to the *Patriarch of Alexandria* and others, not long since published in *Greek* from a *Mss.* brought out of the *East*; wherein *Photius* expostulates the case, why the *Nicene Council* was not

*Theoph.
Chron.
p. 389.*

*Paul.
Diacon.
l. 237. 733.*

*Photii
Epist. 2.
p. 60.*

received among them, as the six General Councils were. In that Copy which is extant in *Baronius*, translated by *Metius*, and with great diligence compared with two *Mss.* whereof one was a very ancient one, it is said expressly, That it was reported among them that none of the Churches under the Apostolical See of Alexandria did own the Nicene Synod for a General Council; which in *B. Montagues* Copy is mitigated into some; but by the tenour of his Discourse it appears, it was not published in their Churches, nor received among them as a General Council: and he useth many arguments to perswade them to it; among the rest he saith, That Thomas was present in it from his See, and others with him; but he doth not say, he came as Legate. And he hath found out Companions for him too; which is more than the Nicene Council discovered: and yet he acknowledges that by reason of the persecution of the Saracens, the Acts of that Council never came to them; which would be very strange, if the Patriarch of Alexandria sent a Legate thither. *Baronius* ingenuously confesses that this Nicene Council was not received as an Oecumenical Council in any of the Eastern Patriarchates, excepting only that of Con-

Baron.
A. D. 863.
n. 33.

ib. n. 6;

stantinople; and he is very hard put to it to prove that it was owned as such even at Rome it self; because *Nicholaus* 1. in a Council at Rome in the cause of *Photius* reckons up but six General Councils, which *Photius* upbraids him with; and it is but a pitiful pretence which *Baronius* hath for it, viz. that they had only a bad Translation of it; such a one as it was, it was of *Hadrians* procuring, as *Anastasius* saith. If they had received it as a General Council, where were the Authentick Acts of it? or if they did not understand Greek, could they not have procured a better Latine Translation before the time of *Anastasius*? But the plain Truth was, although Pope *Hadrian* joined with it, and would not allow *Tarasius* his being Patriarch till he undertook to get the worship of Images confirmed, yet the *Nicene Council* was so very ill received in the Western Church, that the following Popes were ashamed to call it an Oecumenical Council; as *Binius* confesses in the very words of *Baronius*, according to his custom. And long after their times, it was so little known or esteemed in the Western parts, that *Aquinas* and the ancient Schoolmen never mention it in the matter of Images, but determine expressly against it. Which either shews it

was

Anast. vit.
Hadrian. 1.
p. 119.

Council.
Gener.
Tom. 8.
p. 773.

was not known, or had not any value put upon it; For if *Baronius* his reason hold good, as soon as *Anastasius* had finished his Translation, this *Council* would have been as much known here, as any other; and so much the more, because so many *Schoolmen* were concerned to justify the worship of *Images*, and they were so much to seek for arguments to defend it, that they would have leaped for joy to have had a *Decree* of an allowed *General Council* on their side; or if they had found it against them, they would some way or other have answered it.

But the greatest *Testimony* against it is p. 8.
the *Council* of *Francford*, which expressly condemned it; and as *Sirmondus* confesses,
Did not look upon it as an Oecumenial Council, *Sirmond.*
adm. de
because none but Greeks met in it, *can. 2.*
and other Churches were not asked their *council.*
opinion; nay, he saith, that Pope Hadrian himself, did not give it the title of a *Francford.*
General Council. To this *T. G.* answers,
That what weight soever that Exception *T. G. p. 148*
carried at that time, yet it is certain now
it hath no force at all, since the Council
it self hath for many hundreds of years
been accepted as a true and lawful Ge-
neral Council, and its doctrine as Catho-

lick by all the Provinces of Christendom, and the contrary to it condemned for Heresie. This latter is evidently false, as I have shewed before, and there is no reason for the other; for by the confession of their own Writers the Copies of this *Nicene Council* lay buried in these *Western* parts for many Ages, which is the reason they give why the *Schoolmen* take no notice of it; and in the former *Century*, the Copies of it were first published from some *Mss.* that were very little known. The account whereof was, that this *Council* meeting with so brisk an opposition from the *Council of Francford* and afterwards from the *Gallican Bishops*, and being rejected here in *England* by the consent of our *Historians*, the very name of it was almost quite forgotten; thence it never was once cited either by *Jonas Aurelianus*, or *Walafridus Strabo*, as *Spalatensis* observes, when they had the greatest occasion to do it in the matter of *Images*. But when the worship of *Images* began to be opposed here in *England* by *Wickliffe*, the defenders of it finding themselves concerned to find out every thing that made for their advantage, *Waldensis* having heard of some such thing as a *Council* against *Iconoclasts*, by *Thomas* and *John*,

Spalat. de
Rep. Eccles.
l. 7. c. 12.
B. 39.

two Dominicans of his time, from a cer- *waldens.*
tain Book ; he adventures to set it down *Tom. 3.*
upon their report, but so faintly with *Tit. 19.*
sertur, as if he had been telling the *story* of *c. 150, n. 4.*
Pope Joan ; and he saith, *it was called un-*
der the pious Emperour Constantius the se-
cond, and Paschasius : by which we may see
what an excellent account they had of this
General Council ; but in the last *Century*,
Pet. Crabb, a *Franciscan*, with indefati-
gable diligence searching five hundred *Li-*
braries for any thing pertaining to *Coun-*
cils, lights upon the old *Latin Edition* of
this *Council*, and published it *A. D. 1551*.
From that time this was looked on and
magnified as the *seventh General Council*
in these *western* parts, and its *Authority*
set up by the *Council of Trent* : and the
generality of Divines finding it in the *Vo-*
lums of General Councils and there joyned
with them, search'd no farther, but ima-
gined it was alwaies so esteemed.

But it may be some will become confi- *p. 9.*
dent of it, when they see so good an *Author*
as *T. G.* speaking with so much as-
surance, *That it hath been received for*
many hundred years as a lawful General
Council ; If he speaks from the time of
its being published, he might as well have

said for many thousand years. For 1. In the Age wherein it was first sent abroad, it was utterly rejected by the Council of Francford; as not only appears by the Canon it self, but by the confession of some of the most learned and judicious persons of the Roman Church: such as Sirmondus and Petrus de Marcâ were; and Petavius confesses, That the Council meant by the Council of Francford was the Nicene Council, and not the former of Constantinople; as Surius, Cope, or Harpsfield, Sanders, Suarez, and others were of opinion: nay Labbé and Cossart in their late Edition of the Councils, have most impudently set down this in the very Title of the Council of Francford, That the Acts of the Nicene Council in the matter of Images were confirmed therein: whereas Sirmondus adds this to the Title of his Admonition about the second Canon of that Council, *Quo rejecta est Synodus Nicana*: all which Advertisement they have very honestly left out, although they pretend to give all Sirmondus his Notes. But the main pretence for this was, because the words of the Canon do mention the Council of Constantinople; which Petavius thinks was called so, because Constantinople was the Head of the Eastern Empire; but

Sirmond.

Admon.

To. 2. Concil.

p. 191.

Pet. de

Marcâ de

Concord.

Sacerd. l. 2.

c. 17. n. 2.

Petav. de

Incarn. l. 15.

t. 11. n. 4.

Sur. admon.

ad Lect. de

Concil.

Franc.

Cop. Dial. 4.

c. 18, 19.

Sander. de

Imag. c. 5.

Suar. in 3.

p. Th. disp.

34. sect. 3.

Concil.

Gener. To. 7.

p. 1013.

but the plain reason is, because the *Nicene*
Council was begun at *Constantinople* upon
 the 17 of August; but the Emperours
 Guards would not endure their sitting
 there, as *Theophanes* relates, upon which
 they were forced to rise; and the Empress
 found out a trick to disband the suspected
 Officers and Soldiers, and brought in new
 ones; however it was thought convenient
 the Council should sit no longer there, but
 remove unto *Nice*. And what a mighty
 absurdity was this to call a Council, which
 was begun at *Constantinople*, the *Constan-*
tinopolitan Council? And it is observable,
 that *Gabriel Biel*, who lived in the latter
 end of the fifteenth Century, quotes the
 Decree of this Council of *Nice*, under the
 name of a Decree of the Council of *Con-*
stantinople. And the learned *P. Pitheus*
 speaking of *Anastafius* his Translation,
 calls it the Council of *Constantinople*. The
 new French *Annalist* is satisfied with nei-
 ther opinion, but he thinks, That another
 Council of *Constantinople* was called be-
 tween the *Nicene Council*, and that of
Francford, which did in express words de-
 termine that the same worship was to be
 given to Images, which is due to the *B. Tri-*
nity, and that thus was the Council con-
 demned at *Francford*: but this New Coun-
 cil

Theop.
Chronogr.
 p. 389.

Gab. Biel.
in Can.
Dist. c. 49.

P. Pithei
præfat. ad
histor.
Pauli
Diac.

Annales
Eccles.
Franc. ad
A. D. 794.
n. 26. To. 6.

cil is a meer invention of his own, there being no colour for it either from the *Greek* or *Latin Historians*; and in truth he pretends only to these reasons, 1. *Because it was a Council of Constantinople which was condemned.* 2. *Because it is not to be supposed that the Council of Francford should condemn the Council of Nice:* For he saith, it is not to be believed that so many Bishops, the Popes Legates being present, should misunderstand the doctrine of that Council: yet this is all the refuge T. G. hath in this matter: and he offers from *Petr. de Marca*, to give a particular account of it. To which I answer, That the *Author* of the *Caroline Book* (as I have already observed) takes notice of this passage of the *Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus*; and although there were a mistake in the Translation of it, yet it ought to be observed that, he saith, *the whole Council meant the same which Constantine spake out, although in words they denied it,* and he there quotes the very words of their denying it, *Non adoramus Imagines ut Deum, nec illius Divini servitii cultum impendimus, &c.* From whence it is plain, that the *Western Church* understood well enough what they said, and what they denied; but they judged, notwithstanding all

I. 34.

I.G. p. 144.

Carol. de
Mag.

L. 3. c. 17.

all their words to the contrary, that they did really give that worship to Images which was due only to God; and no man that reads the *Caroline Book* can be of another opinion. And T. G. is content to yield it T.G. p. 146. of the Author of that Book, from the Testimonies I brought out of him; but he saith, That Author was not contented with what the Council of Francford had condemned. Which is a lamentable answer; since Hincmarus saith, That this Hincmar. Opusc. c. 20. p. 457. Carol. l. 4. c. 28. very Volume was it which was sent from the Emperour to Rome by some Bishops against the Greek Synod; and he quotes the very place out of it which is still extant in that Book. And is it credible that the Emperour should publish a Book in his own name as a Capitular, as Pope Hadrian calls it, that was different from the sense of the Council of Francford, which was called on purpose to resolve this Question about Images, as well as to condemn the Heresie of Felix and Elipandus? Petavius indeed would have the main Book to have been written some years before the Council, as Petav. di Incarn. l. 15. c. 12. n. 8. Cassan. ep. 15. soon as the Acts of the Nicene Synod were known in these parts (and Cassander probably supposes Alcuinus to have been the Author of it) but when the Council of Francford had condemned the Nicene Synod,

not, only some excerpts were taken out
 of it and sent to the Pope. I am not sa-
 tisfied with Petavius his Reason, Because
 the Pope doth not answer all of it, (a bet-
 ter cause may be assigned for that) but in
 the Preface of the Book the Author de-
 clares that it was done with the Advice of
 the Council (*Quod opus aggressi sumus
 cum consensu sacerdotum in regno à
 Deo nobis concesso Catholicis gregibus pre-
 latorum*) and Bellarmine and Baronius both
 grant, That this Book contains the Acts of
 the Council of Francford; However if
 the Book were extant before under the
 name of Charles, it is so much the more
 improbable that if the Council differed in
 opinion from it, the Excerpts out of this
 Book should be sent as the Reasons of re-
 jecting the Nicene Synod. And that pas-
 sage which Hincmarus cites out of this
 Book, is very considerable to our purpose;
 for the design of it is to shew, That the
 Greek Synod could have no pretence to be
 esteemed a lawful General Council, because
 the doctrine of it was not Catholick, nei-
 ther were the Acts of it done by the uni-
 versal Church: and in another place, That
 Synod is charged with folly and presumpti-
 on, in that being but one part of the
 Church, it should dare to impose its De-
 crees

Bellarm. de
 concil.
 l. 2. c. 8.
 Baron. ad
 A. 794.
 n. 31.

Carol. de
 Imag. l. 3.
 c. 11.

wees upon the Church without advising
 and consulting with the other parts of
 it, (debuerat enim ad circumjacentium
 provinciarum Ecclesias legationem scisci-
 tativam facere, utrum imagines adorari
 aut non adorari deberent.) For what
 Rage and Madness is this, for the Church
 of one part to go about to determine that
 which was never determined by the Apo-
 stles or their Successors, and to endeavour
 to Anathematize the Churches of the whole
 world? But this is cursing without reason,
 anger without Power, damning without
 Authority: and therefore they are charged
 with no less than Luciferian pride for
 taking upon them to pronounce Anathe-
 ma's against those who dissented from
 them. Petavius saith, That when Pope ^{Petrus, de}
 Hadrian sent the Acts of the Council to ^{Incarn.}
 Charles the Great, and would have a ^{l. 15. c. 12.}
 Council called to advise about it; the Pope ^{n. 4, 10.}
 had not yet declared it for an Oecumenical
 Council: but if it were not then declared
 to be a General Council, it is very unlikely
 he should do it afterwards when he found
 that Three hundred Bishops of Germa-
 ny, France, and Italy, saith Surinus, did so
 stiffly and resolutely oppose the definition
 of it in spite of the Popes Legats, who
 were present there. Which contradiction
 of

of theirs shews, how very far this Council was from being received by the Church as a lawful General Council; and from the Answer of Hadrian it appears that it was not then solemnly confirmed by the Pope, nor ever after, that we can find, till the Council of Trent.

2. We have the Testimony of the best Historians of that and several Ages after, that the Nicene Synod was not received as a lawful General Council. In the Annals of Eginhardus; who was Secretary to Charles the Great, we have this Account, that not many years before the Council of Francford, there was a Synod at Constantinople, which was called by themselves, not only the seventh, but a General Council; but Charles having summoned together a Council of Bishops out of all parts of his dominions, it was there utterly rejected, so as not to be called or thought to be either the seventh, or a General Council. The Annales Tiliiani, Loiseliani, Bentiniani, Fuldenses, Metenses, Laurisbamenses, Massianenses, Egraismeneses being the best Records of that Age, all agree with Eginhardus in the rejecting of the Greek Synod; and most of them call it the false Synod, others say, that which would be called the seventh and a General Council; and with these

Eginhardi
Annales
A. D. 794.

Histor.
Franc.
Script.
Coetan.
Tom. 2.
& 3.

these agree *Ado Viennensis*, *Rhegino*, *Hermannus Contratus* and *Urspergensis* in their several *Chronicles*, wherein we have a plainer Testimony that this Council was rejected, than we have that any General Council was ever received.

3. That this was not barely the sense of that Age, but continued to be so of succeeding Ages, appears from the Testimony I gave of the *Gallican Church* in the time of *Ludovicus Pius*, and the *Synod of Paris*, A. D. 824. wherein they persisted in condemning the *Nicene Synod*, and the doctrine therein asserted: which shews evidently that it was no mistake of the words of the Council which caused the Council of *Francford* to condemn the *Nicene*: for *Pope Hadrian* had now written in *Vindication* of it, and endeavoured to clear the sense of the Council, and yet after all this the *Gallican Bishops* adhered to the sentence of the Council of *Francford*. To this T. G. returns only this answer, that although they were of this opinion at that time, yet afterwards the doctrine of the *Nicene Council* was received in the *Gallican Church*. I proceed therefore to shew, that in the time of the Controversie between *Jonas Aurelianensis* and *Glandius* p. 102

T. G. p. 149

Bril. de
Script.
Ecclef. A.
820.

CI. §

Biblioth.
Patr. To. 4.
p. 333.

Walafrid.
Strabo de
reb. Ecclef.
A.D. 794.
Baron.
n. 41.

Claudius Taurinensis the Gallican Church had not changed its opinion: (*Jonas* lived, saith *Labbé*, to A. D. 842.) For *Bellarmin* yields that *Jonas* denied that any worship was to be given to Images, although he disputed against *Claudius Taurinensis* who followed the opinion of *Serenus* and would have them all destroyed. *Marg. de la Bigne* saith, that *Jonas* was one of the Heads of those who opposed the Pope and the Orientals, i. e. the *Nicene Synod* in this point of the worship of Images, and he calls it a superstitious and pernicious practice, from which the Gallican Church was free; and a detestable and most wicked error; notwithstanding the Orientals pretended that they did not worship the Images, but the exemplars by them; and he prays God they may be at last delivered out of that superstition: with so much more to that purpose, that it were endless to repeat it. *Walafridus Strabo* who lived some years after *Jonas*, and mentions the death of *Ludovicus Pius*, is yielded, by *Baronius* to have been of the same opinion with *Jonas* in this matter: and he saith, all the honour due to Images is barely negative, not to misuse or destroy them. In the same time with *Jonas* lived *Agobardus* Archbishop of *Lions*, and is at this

this day reckoned among the *Saints and Confessours of that City* ; of whose doctrine I had given before an account from the abstract of *Papirius Massanus*, and from thence I shewed how zealous he was against all worship of *Images* : and I produced the *Testimony of Baluzius* to shew that he said no more than the whole *Gallican Church in that Age* believed. *T. G.* gives up *T. G. p. 150.* *Agobardus* ; but he will not yield that *Baluzius* saith any such thing, for the *French Bishops* allowed *Images* to be kept saith *Baluzius*, that the faithful seeing them might be excited to the imitation of those holy persons whom they represented : whereas *Agobardus* went so far as to affirm that they were kept for ornaments to delight the eyes, but not for the instruction of the People ; nay that they were not to be painted upon Church walls. The words of *Baluzius* are, *Ego crediderim Agobardum scripsisse quod omnes tum in Gallia* *Baluz. non in Agob. p. 88.* *sentiebant* ; and what sense can any man make of these words, if he did not believe, that what *Agobardus* wrote was the sense of the *Gallican Church* ? I cannot but pity *T. G.* in these straights he runs himself into ; he can creep in at a *Mousethole*, but he soon grows too big ever to get out again. For *Baluzius* saith what I

H h h

affirmed,

affirmed, and Agobardus saith no such thing, as he affirms of him: and in that very Synopsis of his doctrine by Massonus, to which he refers, we have just the contrary; Pictura aspectandæ causâ historiae & memoria, non Religionis; Images are to be looked on for history and memory sake, but not for Religion; and what is this but for instruction of the people? Whosoever it was, that helped T. G. to this citation, I desire him as a Friend that he will never trust him more; for I would think better of T. G. himself, than that he would wilfully prevaricate. But if this were Agobardus his opinion, why have we it not in his own words? rather than those of Pap. Massonus, who talks so ignorantly and inconsistently in that very place where those words are, but are not set down by him as the judgement of Agobardus. If T. G. would have taken, no great pains, to have read over Agobardus his discourse of Images, he would have saved me the labour of confuting him about his opinion; for he delivers it plainly enough against all worship of Images, though for the sake of the Exemplar; but he expressly allows them for instruction. I am sorry T. G. makes it so necessary for me to give him such

home-

Papir. Masson. Synopsis. Agob. c. 10.

Agobard. de Imag. c. 19. 32.

home-thrusts; for he lays himself so open, and uses so little art to avoid them, that I must either do nothing, or expose his weakness, and want of skill.

But all this while we are got no farther than towards the middle of the ninth Century, the Church of France might change its opinion after this time, and assert the Council of Nice to have been a General Council; and submit to the Decrees of it.

I grant all this to be possible, but we are looking for certainties, and not bare possibilities.

Hincmarus of Rhemes, a stout and understanding Bishop of the Gallican Church, died saith *Bellarmin*, A. D. 882.

and he not only calls the *Nicene Synod* a false General Council, but he makes that at

Francford to be truly so: (And these latter words of his are cited with approbation by *Card. Cusanus*) and he condemns both *Factions* among the *Greeks*, of the *Icoroclats*, and of the *Nicene Fathers*. In

the same Age lived *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, who made it his business to recommend all the *Greek Canons* and *Councils* to the *Latin Church*; (he was alive saith *Baronius*, A. D. 886.) He first translated the eighth General Council, at which himself was present; and when this was abroad, he tells the Pope what a solæcism

Hincmar,
ubi sup.

Cusan. de
Concord.
Cathol. l. 1.
c. 1.

Anast. Bi-
blioth. Præ-
fat. in sept.
Synod.

it would be, to have the eighth, without a seventh, (*ubi septima non habetur*, are his very words) from whence it appears in how very little Regard that Council was in the western Church. It is true, he saith, it was translated before; but it was, almost by all so much contemned, that it was so far from being transcribed, that it was not thought worth reading. This he would have to be laid upon the badness of the translation, (he hath mended the matter much) when in his *Lives of the Popes*, he saith, it was done by the particular Command of Pope Hadrian, and laid up in his Sacred Library. But when he hath said his utmost for the Catholick doctrine of Image-worship, (as he would have it believed) he cannot deny that the admirable usefulness of this doctrine was not yet revealed to some of the Gallican Church; because they said it was not lawful to worship the work of mens Hands. After this time, came on the *Midnight of the Church*; wherein the very names of Councils were forgotten, and men did only dream of what had past; but all things were judged good, that were got into any vogue in the practice of the Church; yet even in that time we meet with some glitterings of light, enough to let us see the
Council

Council of Nice had not prevailed over the *Western Church*. *Leo Tuscus* who was a *Secretary* to the *Greek Emperour*, and lived saith *Gesner*, A. D. 1170. giving an account of the *Schism* between the *Greek* and *Latin Churches*, hath these words, (saith *Cassander*) that among the *Causes of the Breach*, that *Synod* was to be assigned which was called by *Constantine* and *Irene*, and which they would have called the *seventh*, and a *General Council*; and he adds moreover, that it was not received even by the *Church of Rome*. About the year 1189. was the *Expedition* into *Palestine* by *Fredericus Enobarbus*, and *Nicetas Acominatus*, who was a great *Officer* under the *Greek Emperour*, *Isacius Angelus*, (and present in the *Army* saith *Baronius*) gives this account of the *Germans* opinion in those times about the worship of *Images*. When, saith he, all the *Greeks* had deserted *Philippopolis*, the *Armenians* staid behind, for they looked on the *Germans* as their *Friends*, and agreeing with them in *Religion*, for the worship of *Images* is forbidden among both of them. Which being a *Testimony* of so considerable a *Person*, and not barely concerning the opinion of some *Divines*, but the general practice of the people, doth

Gesner. Biblioth. To. I. v. Leo.

Cassand. Ep. 19.

Nicet. Choniati. l. 2. Is. Angeli. Baron. A. 1189. n. 10.

shew that in the twelfth Century, the *Nicene Council* had not prevailed all over the *Western Church*, when *T. G.* affirms it did for many hundreds of years before the *Reformation*. Especially, if we consider what the judgement and practice of the *Armenians* was, as it is delivered by *Nicon*, (who is supposed to have been a *Saint* and *Martyr* in *Armenia*,) who saith, that they do not worship *Images*, and their *Catholick Bishop* or *Patriarch* excommunicates those that do. Which is confirmed by what is said to the same purpose by *Isaac* an *Armenian Bishop*, who lived in the same Century, viz. that they do not worship the *Images* either of *Christ*, the *B. Virgin*, or the *Saints*. And *Pet. Pithaus* a learned and ingenuous *Papist*, confesses, that it was but very lately that those of the *Gallican Church* began to be fond of *Images*: and he writ that *Epistle* wherein those words are extant, *A. D.* 1568. Surely he did not think the doctrine of the *Nicene Council* had been received in the *Gallican Church* for many hundred years.

Biblioth.
Patr. To. 3.
p. 151.

Auct. Bibl.
Biblioth.
Patr. To. 2.
409.
P. Pithaei
Præf. ad
Pauli Di-
aca hist.

¶ 11. But suppose the *Nicene Synod* were not owned for a *General Council*, yet it might be very wise and judicious Assembly; to say that,

that, is to reflect on the *Emperour Charles the Great* and all the *Western Bishops* in his *Dominions*. And I am sure their expref-
fions would juftifie me, if I had fpoken
fharper without an *Irony*: for in the *Ca-*
roline Book we frequently meet with fuch
exprefſions as theſe, concerning thoſe grave

Fathers; *ut illi ſtultiſſimè & irrationa-* Lib. Carol.
biliſſimè putant; indoctè & inordinatè di- de Imag.
cunt; quam abſurdè agant; quod magna l. 1. c. 16.
ſit temeritatù dicere; quod non minus om- c. 13. c. 15.
nibus ſed pene plus cunctis Tharaſius de- c. 19. c. 20.
liſſe dignoſcitur; Deliramento plena di- c. 25.
ctio Leonis. Ut illi delirant: ut illi gar- l. 2. c. 8.
riunt: Ridiculòſè & pueriliter dictum; 16. c. 25.
infauſtè, præcipitantè, ſive inſipienter: l. 3. c. 10.
dementia prolatum & riſu dignum. Inu- 17. c. 19.
tile & mendacio plenum. Dementiſſi- c. 23. c. 29.
mum & ratione carens Deliramentum, er- 31.
rore plenum. Faliſſimum & riſu dignum. l. 4. c. 1.
Ridiculoliſſimum Dictum. Supercilioſè & c. 17. c. 23.

indoctè dixerunt. When T. G. hath con-
ſidered theſe exprefſions, and the force and
pungency of them, being all applyed to the
Fathers of that *Nicene Synod*, by the
Western Bishops under the name of *Charles*
the *Great*, he may poſſibly cool and abate
his rage towards me for uſing only that
Ironical expreſſion of *That Wiſe Synod*.
And there is nothing conſiderable ſaid by

the *Nicene Fathers* which is not answered in that *Book*, to whom I may therefore better referr him, than he doth me to the *Answers* of *Epiphanius* in the *Nicene Council* for satisfaction of no less than eight arguments (as himself numbers them) of the *Constantinopolitan Fathers* against the worship of *Images*.

But that he may not think the greatest weight lies in any thing that is passed by, I shall briefly consider the *Defence* he makes for the *Nicene Synod* in the particulars mentioned by him. 1. He saith, T.G. p. 125. That the *Nicene Fathers* did justly plead the continuance of *Christ Kingdom* against Zach. 13. the *Idolatry* of *Christians*, because God hath 2. promised that he will take away *Idols* from the earth, not for four or five hundred years, but to the end of the world. I desire T. G. to consider, whether this argument would not have held as well against the *Catholick Bishops* who charged the *Arrians* with *Idolatry*: and what answer he gives himself about that, will shew the feebleness of his answer in this case. And the *prophecies* of the *Old Testament* relating to *Events* under the *New* (supposing that doth so, which is far from being clear) do certainly shew what the design and tendency of the *Christian doctrine*

Trine is, and what would be if men did observe it. As it is in all the prophecies of the *Peace* and *tranquillity* of the *World*, notwithstanding which, we find the *World* at the old Rate of quarrelling and Fighting under new pretences : Just so it is with *Idolatry*, no doctrine in the world would preserve men more effectually from it, if they would observe it ; but if under the colour of *Christianity* they bring in only a new scheme of it ; it is still the same kind of thing, although it appears in a fresher dress. But then, saith T. G. the *Gates of Hell* would prevail against the *Church*. Against what *Church* ? The whole *Christian Church* ? whoever said they could, or how doth that follow ? The *Church of Constantinople*, or the *Church of Jerusalem* ? Have not the *Gates* of the *Turk* been too strong for them ? The *Church of Rome* ? The *Gates of Hell* do certainly prevail against that, if it doth *Unchurch* all other *Christians* that are not of its communion ? And why may not *Idolatry* prevail, where *Luciferian Pride*, and *Hellish Cruelty* and desperate wickedness have long since prevailed ? Hath *Christ* made promises to secure that *Church* from error, which hath been over-run with all sorts of wickedness by the confession of her

her own members and Friends ? These are gobbets, fit only to be cram'd down the throats of very implicate believers.

76. p. 127. 2. He undertakes to shew, that the saying of the Fathers against the Arrians cannot reach to those that worship Images, because Epiphanius saith, the Arrians trusted in Christ, and gave properly Divine Honour to Christ, which they do not to the Images of Christ. To answer this, I shewed that Aquinas and his followers did declare that *Latria* was to be given to the Images of Christ, therefore this could not, at least, excuse them from being parallel to the Arrians, and if their arguments hold good, then all that worship Images fall under the like condemnation.

76. p. 128. This he bestows the name of many fallacies upon ; and runs on so briskly with shewing the inconsequence of it, as though he did in earnest believe it were an impertinent answer ; by which he would insinuate, that I had made use of Aquinas his opinion to prove those guilty of Idolatry which were of another opinion. No such matter ; For the question was, whether the saying of the Fathers concerning the Arrian Idolatry can be justly applyed to those that worship Images ? Yes, say I, upon Epiphanius his own ground

ground they may, *if they who worship Images give divine Honour to them*; but *Aquinas* and his *Followers* contend that *Divine Honour is to be given to them*; and therefore they fall under the like censures. And by their argument, all that worship *Images* must come under it; For either they worship *Images* for themselves, and then they all acknowledge it is *Idolatry*; or for the sake of the *exemplar*: which if it be the *reason* and *object* of worship as represented by the *Image*, it must have the same worship which the thing considered in its own being deserves; which being *divine honour*, that must be given to the *Image*. But *T. G.* supposes the force of all this to depend upon their being of this opinion, and because the *Nicene Fathers* are not mentioned by me as agreeing with *Aquinas*, therefore he represents this arguing as ridiculous. Whereas my design was to shew (that since *divine honour* being given to *Images*, was confessed to make the case alike) that it was confessed by the most prevalent party in the *Church* of *Rome*, that such *honour* was to be given to them, and that others did it, although they would not own the doing it. And whether men acknowledge it or no, if they give

give that which is really *Divine worship*, they become guilty of *Idolatry* as well as the *Arrians*; and let men call it by what names they will, of *Relative* or *absolute*, *Sovereign* or *inferiour worship*, if it be that which God hath forbidden to be given to any *Creature*, it becomes *Idolatry*.

T.G.p.134.

3. T. G. saith, that the argument doth not hold, that if the union of the *Divine* and *humane nature* be the reason of the worship given to the *Person of Christ*, then there must be an equal presence or union between *Christ* and the *Image* to make that an object of worship; for, saith he, not only union, but representation may occasion worship. Who doubts of that? but may it not as well occasion people to commit *Idolatry*? But the question is not, whether representation may occasion the worship of God or no; for so an *Ant* or a *Fly*, or any *Creature* may occasion it. But this is notorious shuffling to talk of *Images* being only an *Occasion* of worship, whereas I have at large shewed that the doctrine and Practice of their Church makes them *Objects* of worship. And since the *Christian Church* acknowledged the *humanity* of *Christ* to be capable of worship only on the account of an *Hypo-statical Union* with the *Divine Nature*;

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I desired to know how a meer *Image* of that *Humane Nature* can be an *object* of *lawful worship*? If T. G. saith, That the *Image* is a fit *object* of *worship*, and *representation* the reason of it; let him shew how *Representation* comes to be an *equal reason* with *personal union*; and at last, this *Representation* is nothing but an *act* of *Imagination*, which doth not make the *object* any more really present there than any where else: against which *Imagination* we set the *positive Law* of God forbidding any such kind of *worship*, as I have already proved.

4. He saith in defence of his *Nicene Fathers*, That although the *Image of Christ* T. G. p. 136. can only represent the *humane Nature* as separate from the *Divine*, yet the charge of *Nestorianism* doth not follow; because the *Object* of their *worship*, is that which is conceived in their minds; and *worship* being an *act* of the *Will*, it is carried to the *Prototype*, as it is conceived in the *understanding*; but their *understandings* being free from *Nestorianism*, their *Wills* must be so too: which is all the sense I can make of T. G's answer. Who doth not seem at all to consider there are two things blamed by the Church in *Nestorianism*.
 1. The *heretical opinion*. 2. The *idolatries*

trous practice consequent upon that opinion, of the *separation* of the two *Natures* in *Christ*. Now the argument of the *Constantinopolitan Fathers* proceeds not upon their *opinion*, as though they really believed the *principles* of *Nestorianism* who worshipped *Images*; but they were guilty of the same kind of *worship*; for since an *Image* can only represent the *humane nature* of *Christ*; if it were lawful to *worship* that *Image* on the account of *Christ*, then upon the *Nestorian principles* it would be as lawful to worship the *humane nature* of *Christ*, although it had no *hypostatical union* with the *Divine*. For could not the *Nestorians* say that when they considered *Christ* as a *humane Person*, yet that *humane Person* did represent to them the *Divine Person*, who was the *proper object* of *worship*; and although they were not really and *hypostatically united*, yet by *representation*, and an *Act* of the *mind*, they directed their *worship* towards the *Divine Person*. For if a bare *Image* of the *humane Nature* be a sufficient *object* of *worship*, much more is the *humane Nature* it self; and if on the account of such *representation* the *worship* of *Christ* may be directed to his *Image*, with much greater *Reason* it might be towards *Christ*, as Ho-

Deiſerus, in regard of that *humane Nature*, which had the *Divine Nature* preſent, although not united. And upon this Ground the *Conſtantinopolitan Fathers* did juſtly charge the worſhippers of *Images* with *Neforianiſm* as to their worſhip; and that they could not defend themſelves, but they muſt abſolve the *Neforians*, whom the *Chriſtian Church* and this *Nicene Synod* it ſelf would ſeem to condemn. For there is a greater ſeparation between the *Image of Chriſt* and *Chriſt*, than the *Neforians* did ſuppoſe between the *Divine* and *humane Nature*; for they did ſtill ſuppoſe a *real preſence*, although not a *real Union*; but in the caſe of *Images* there is not ſo much as a *real preſence*, but only by *representation*; therefore if the *Neforians* were to blame in their worſhip, much more are thoſe that worſhip *Images*.

As to the laſt Answer, being only a deſire that I would bear in mind againſt a ſiſeason, that the *Eucharift* is called by the *Conſtantinopolitan Fathers* an Honourable *Image of Chriſt*, I ſhall do what he deſires; and I promiſe him farther to ſhew the *Nicene Fathers* Ignorance and Confidence, when they ſaid, It was contrary to the *Scriptures* and *Fathers* to call the *Eucharift* T.G. p. 132.

rist an Image of Christ. All the other arguments of the *Constantinopolitan Fathers*, to the number of eight, T. G. passes over, and somust I.

- ¶ 12. From hence I proceed to the next Charge, which is, *That I mix School disputes with matters of Faith*; For I desired seriously to know, whether any worship doth belong to Images or no? if there be any due, whether is it the same that is given to the Prototype, or distinct from it? if it be the same, then proper Divine Worship is given to the Image; if distinct, then the Image is worshipped with *Divine worship* for it self, and not relatively and subordinately as he speaks: and which side soever is taken, some or other of their *Divines* charge the worship with Idolatry, so that it is in mens choice which sort of Idolatry they will commit when they worship Images, but in neither way they can avoid it. To this T. G. answers several waies. 1. *That this is a point belonging to the Schools, and not at all to Faith*: which I said, was their common Answer when any thing pincheth them; but to shew the unreasonableness of that way of answering, I added that both sides charge the other with Idolatry, and that is a
- Mat-

Matter of Conscience, and not a *Scholastic Nicety*. For if the *worship of Images* be so asserted in the Church of *Rome*, that in what way soever it is practised, there is by their own confession such danger of *Idolatry*; the *General Terms of Councils* serve only to draw men into the snare, and not to help them out of it. 2. He answers this, by a drolling comparison, *about the worship due to the Chair of State*, T.G.p.186. *whether it be the same which is due to the King or no; if the same, then proper Regal worship would be given to something besides the King, which were Treason: if distinct, then the Chair would be worshipped with Regal Honour for it self, and not relatively, which were for a man to submit himself to a piece of wood.* This he represents pleasantly, and with advantage enough: and supposing the *Teomen of the Guard* to have done laughing, I desire to have a difference put between the *customs of Princes Courts*, and the *worship of God*: and it is strange to me T. G. should not see the difference. But whatever T. G. thinks, we say, that God by His Law having made some *Acts of worship peculiar* to himself by way of acknowledgement of His *Sovereignty* and

Dominion over us, we must not use those *Acts* to any *Creature*; and therefore here the most material *Question* can be asked, is, whether the *Acts* of *worship* be the same which we are to use to *God* or no, i. e. whether they are *acts* forbidden or lawful? for if they are the same, they are forbidden; if not, they may be lawful. But in a *Princes Court*, where all expressions of *Respect* depend on *custom*, and the *Princes Pleasure*, or *Rules* of the *Court*, the only *Question* a man is to ask, is, whether it be the *custom* of the *Court*, or the *Will* of the *Prince* to have men uncovered in some *Rooms* and not in others; no man in his *wits* would ask, whether that be the same *Honour* that is due to the *King* himself? or who but *T. G's Clown* could suspect it to be *Treason* to put off his *Hat* in the *Presence Chamber*, or to the *Chair of State*, let it be done with what intention he pleases? If the *Yeomen* of the *Guard* should see an old *Courtier* approach with many *bowings* to the *Chair of State*, and there fall down upon his *Knees*, and kiss the *Arms* of the *Chair*, and deliver his *Petition* to it for a good *Office* at *Court*, and observe that he doth this frequently, and with great gravity,
I am

I am afraid they would hardly hold their Countenances long to see such a *solemn Fop*; and yet this pleasant *Courtier* might pretend, that he did all this as imagining the *King* to be there, *present by representation*, and that he did not give this *Honour* to the *Chair of State* absolutely, considered as a *piece of wood*; but only *Relatively*, and for the sake of his *Master*: that he knew better what belonged to the *Honour* due to *Sovereign worship* than such rude fellows as they; that his intention was to shew what esteem he had for his *Prince* by all this; and though as to the substance of the act this was the same that was done to the *Person* of the *King*, yet it fell upon the *Chair of State* after an *inferiour Manner*, as a thing relating to the *King*, and purely for his sake. I leave the *substantial Yeomen* of the *Guard* (*T. G's Judges* in this *Controversie*) to determine in a *General Council* among them, whether *T. G's Quaker*, or this *old Courtier* were the more ridiculous. By which instance we see that even in *Princes Courts* men may *over-act* their *Reverence*, and make themselves laughed at for their foolish and extravagant *Relative worship*; for in all such cases, the

Rules of the Court are to be observed, where there is no intrenchment upon *Divine Laws*; and every man that comes to *Court* enquires after the *Orders* of the *Court*, and he that keeps within them doth his duty, and never fears the *Yeomen* of the *Guard*. If the *Orders* of the *Court* were for men to pass through the *Presence*, or other *Chambers* without any *Ceremony*, would not the *Yeomen* of the *Guard* be as ready to observe those who used it? Their business is to observe *Orders* themselves, and to see that others do it. And this is the only way how this *parallel* can reach to our *Case*; all that we plead for, is, that *the Rules and Orders be observed which God hath given us for His worship*; since He hath given *Laws* we ought to obey them; and since He hath appointed what He will have done, and what He will not, we must follow His *Rule*, and not our own *extravagant Fancies*, pretending that we have pretty devices to honour Him with, which He hath expressly forbidden. In such a case, we have *Reason* to enquire, whether the *Acts of worship* be the same that He hath forbidden or no: but not where the whole matter depends on *custom*, and *general Rules*, which

which every man may easily know ; and no one hath any reason to be scrupulous as long as he keeps within the *measures of Decency*.

But withal, the force of my Question lay in the *confession* of our *Adversaries*, who acknowledge on one side, *That if the Act of worship be the same that is given to the Prototype, it is Idolatry*; on the other side, *if it be distinct it is Idolatry*; and then I had all the reason in the world to put this Question, because either way they are entangled by the confession of their own party. But as if *Yeomen* of the *Guard* should be so senseless, as some of them to tell a poor *Countryman*, when he is going through the *Presence Chamber*, that if he gives the *Chair of State* the same Honour he gives the *King*, he commits *Treason*; and others say, if he does not, he worships the *Chair* for it self, and so commits *Treason*; would not any man say, the *Countryman* had reason to stand, and scratch his head, and consider what he does, for he doth not care to commit *Treason*, and if he must do it one way or other, for his part he would go some other way, or be better resolved what he is to do. Thus in our case *Bel-*

Farmin saith, It is Idolatry to give the same worship to an Image which is due to God: Vasquez saith, It is Idolatry to give distinct worship; therefore if a man would avoid Idolatry, he must give none at all: especially when there is no necessity at all of doing it; and therefore it is
T.G. p. 188, in no case parallel with the difficulties
185: about sight and motion, which T. G. makes
use of, to shew that such subtilties ought not to hinder men from doing things. Not when they are in themselves necessary to be done; but when it is a doubtful case, and so doubtful that their most learned men say there is danger of Idolatry either way, I do not know a more prudent consideration to keep a man from the Practice of it.

Q. 13. Therefore T. G. after all his complaint of mixing these School disputes, and letting me know what edge-tools these School distinctions are (as any one might guess by his manner of handling them) yet at last he resolves to venture upon clearing the
T.G. p. 176, point. 1. He saith, The Councils declare
188. in this matter that we are not to give Latria to Images, or the worship due only to God; and this without any distinction
of

of absolute or relative *Latria*. 2. He confesses, *That S. Thomas, and those of his way, do hold that the same worship is to be given to Christ, and to His Image.* p. 189.
 Can any two things appear with a face of greater opposition than these two? But, saith T. G. *Latria is twofold, one absolute,* p. 190.
and that is due to God himself; and the other relative, that may be given to the Image: or rather, in the same act of worship is a double Notion, the one as it tends to God himself, which is absolute Latria, the other as it reflects on the Image for His sake, which is relative Latria. Which distinction I have already examined, and shewed the vanity of in several places; and that there are many in the Church of Rome who hold *absolute Latria* to be given to *Images*, and that upon the grounds of a *Relative Latria* any *Creature* may be worshipped; therefore I shall keep to what is proper to this place.
 1. "I said this distinction is just as if an
 "unchaste Wife should plead to her Husband,
 "band, that the Person she was so kind
 "with, was extremely like him, and a
 "near Friend of his, that it was out of
 "respect to him, that she gave him the honour
 "of his bed; can any one think that

"such an excuse as this would be taken by
 "a jealous Husband? How much less
 "will such pretences avail with that God
 "who hath declared himself particularly
 "jealous of His honour in this Command
 "above others, and that he will not give
 "His glory to another, but hath reserved
 "all Divine Worship as peculiar to himself,
 "and no such fond excuses of Relative,
 "inferiour, and improper worship will
 "serve, when they encroach upon His
 "Prerogative. To this T. G. answers,

T.G. p. 180. *That the object of Jealousie is a Rival, or
 what hath relation to or Union with Him,
 not what may serve to express affection and
 respect to the Person who ought to be loved.
 But I have already shewed, from the con-
 fession of their own writers, and the sense
 of the Christian Church, that even an
 Image of Christ becomes a Rival when it
 hath Divine Honour given to it: and T. G.
 himself will not allow Sacrifice to be of-
 T.G. p. 182, 183. *fered to an Image; and he denies from
 the Catholick Catechism (although con-
 trary to the Catholick Practice) that they
 do pray to Images: let us then suppose
 that men do pray and Sacrifice to the
 Image of Christ. Is all this only like
 the wives kissing the Picture for the
 Husbands**

Husbands sake ? If it be no more, it is lawful and commendable to do them according to T. G's principles ; if it be more, then an *Image* of *Christ* may have such honour done to it as makes it an *Idol*, and consequently a *Rival* with *God* for His Honour. And so the dispute comes to this, whether the *practices* of the *Roman Church* in the worship of *Images* do not imply giving *Divine Honours* to them : of which I have treated at large already. 2. " By this distinction men might say the Lords Prayer to Saints, or offer up the Host to an Image, so they were done absolutely to God, and only Relatively to the Saints or Images. T. G. being nettled with this, tells me in some passion ; *That I can no where contain my self with* T.G.p.182. *in bounds of Mediocrity* ; he shall see I can by not following his *Extravagancy* : but he lets me know that the Church of God hath no such custom ; I do not ask whether the Church of Rome have any such Custom (the Church of God I know hath not) but whether it may not have that as well as some others, and upon the same grounds of *Relative worship* ? But if I must not understand this till I become a *Profelyte*, I hope I shall be alwaies contented

T. G. *ib.* contented with my *Ignorance* ; if I can be no otherwise informed, I am not sorry to see such evidence of their *inability* to answer who make such *pat-offs*.

¶. 14. Having thus passed through the several *Charges* drawn up against me, I come in the last *Place* to consider his *parallel Instances*, by which he hopes to clear and vindicate their *worship* of *Images*. To his first about the *Chair of State*, and the third about the *Jews worshipping towards the Ark and Cherubims*, I have answered already, (the fifth belongs to the *Adoration of the Host*.) There remain only three to be examined, 1. *The Reverence shewed to the Ground by Moses and Joshua.* 2. *The bowing at the name of Jesus.* 3. *The bowing towards the Altar* ; If I can clear these from being of the same *Nature* with the *worship* of *Images* as *allowed and practised* in the *Roman Church*, I know no shadow of difficulty which remains throughout his *Book*.

1. *To the Reverence shewed to the Holy Ground where God himself appeared by Moses and Joshua, being commanded to pull off their Shoes.* I answered, "That, "(whatever T. G. thinks of it) there is
" some

"some difference to be made be-
 "tween what God hath commanded,
 "and what he hath forbidden; for in the
 "case of *Moses* and *Joshua*, there was an
 "expres Command, but in the case of
 "Image-worship there is as plain a pro-
 "hibition: The former part he calls a
 "short Descant on the former erroneous T.G.p.198:
 "Ground, and the latter, a note above Ela.
 I am glad to see the second Command-
 ment set to *Musical Notes* among them,
 for I was afraid it had been quite cast out
 of their *Churches*. "2. That the special
 "presence and appearance of God doth
 "sanctifie a place to so high a degree,
 "that we may lawfully testifie our *Reve-*
 "rence towards it, but this will not hold
 "for Images, unless God be proved pre-
 "sent in them, in the same manner as he
 "appeared to *Moses* and *Joshua*, and yet
 "even then, the *Reverence* he required
 "was not *kissing* it, or *bowing* to it, much
 "less *praying* to it, but only *putting off*
 "their *shoes*. Upon this T. & being in
 a Musical vein, sings his *Io Paan*; and T. G. ib.
 cries out of the wonderful force of Truth,
 that after long standing out makes all
 her *Adversaries* submit to her Power.
 I wish we could see such effects of the
 Power

Power of Truth ; for it would soon rid us of many *Fears* and *Jealousies*. But what is it I have said so much amiss, to gain T. G.'s good word ? *Enough as he thinks to ruin our own Cause and establish theirs.* That were indeed confusing him with a Vengeance. But what's the matter ? wherein have I given up the Cause ? I yield, that the special Presence and appearance of God doth sanctifie a place to so high a degree, that we may lawfully testifie our Reverence towards it. And what then ? *Why then saith T. G. all my darts which I have so spitefully thrown in the face of the Images of Christ (or the Holy Trinity and the Saints) recoil with double force on my own Head.* How with double force ? nay how doth it appear that they recoil at all ? for to the best of my sight they stick fast where they did ; and I do not by my feeling perceive they recoil upon my Head. *Well ; but a subtle Logician would ask me, whether this Reverence be absolute or Relative :* and he doth not question my answer would be, *that it was not to the Ground for it self, but meerly out of a Respect to God.* Is this indeed the fatal blow I have given the Cause of our Church, when I expressly
 mention

mention a *Command of God* going before it? and who doubts but we may give a *Reverence* to places, with respect to *God*, especially when *God* requires it, as he did in this case? And when T. G. hath made the most of this *Ceremony* of pulling off the *Shoes*, he will find, that it was of no other *signification* in the *Eastern* parts, than having our *heads uncovered* is with us; which is the lowest testimony of *Respect* that may be. Yet this was all which *God* himself required when he was present after a signal and extraordinary manner: and what is all this, to the consecrating, bowing, kneeling, praying to *Images*, as they do in the *Roman Church*? and this I say and have proved, against an express *Command of God*; and that not upon any real, but *Imaginary* presence of the true object of worship. He that cannot see the difference of these things, hath some *Cataracts* before his *Eyes*, which need *couching*. But still T. G. demands, *is this the same Reverence that is due to God, or distinct from it?* I say, it is distinct from it; then, saith he, *Vasquez comes upon you with his* T. G. p. 261. *artillery; for then you express your submission to an inanimate thing, that hath*

no kind of excellency to deserve it from you. Alas poor T. G! how doth he argue like a man spent and quite gone! That which *Vasquez* saith is, that for a man to use all the acts of adoration to Images which are performed in the Roman Church without respect to the exemplar, were to express our submission to an inanimate thing, which is Idolatry. Where it is to be observed, that he speaks of all the Acts of worship which in the Church of Rome they give to Images, and which being given to an Image makes it Idolatry, because those Acts are such which do imply a submission to the thing, i. e. they are the highest expressions of adoration; and those who assert that inferiour worship, do hold it to be internal as well as external, and to be terminated on the Images themselves; which is the Reason why *Vasquez* saith it were Idolatry; But *Vasquez* was not a man of so shallow an understanding to charge this upon those who declare they put off their shoes or hats, out of no intention or design to worship the Ground or Place, but meerly to express some outward Reverence to a Place on the account of its being Sacred to God. Those who contended for that wor-
ship

ship which *Vasquez* charges with *Idolatry*;
 did agree with him in all *external acts*
 of *adoration to Images* ; and went farther
 than *Vasquez* thought fit as to the *inter-*
nal ; for they said, both ought to *concurr*
 in the *worship of Images*, and that this
inferiour worship was *terminated on the*
Images themselves (as I have shewed at
 large in the state of the Controversie.)
 Now saith *Vasquez*, to assert and practise
worship of Images after this manner is *Ido-*
latry, for it is *expressing our submission to*
a meer inanimate thing. But do we say,
 that all *acts of worship* are to be perform-
 ed to the *Ground* that is *holy* ; or that
 any one *act of worship* is to be *termina-*
ted upon it ; or that any *submission* of our
minds is to be *used* towards it ? All these
 we utterly disavow as to the *Reverence*
 of *Sacred Places*, and these things being
 declared, we yet say there is a *Reverence*
 left to be shewed them on the account of
 their *discrimination* from other *places* and
separation for *sacred uses* ; which *Reve-*
rence is best expressed in the way most
 common for men to shew *Respect* by,
 which was *putting off Shooes* in the *Eastern*
parts, and of *Hats* here ; (of the *diffe-*
rence of Reverence and worship, I have
 spoken

spoken before.) I hope by this time, T. G. sees a little better the force of the argument of *Vasquez*, and how very far it is from *recoiling on my head*, because I assert a *Reverence to sacred places* to have been shewed by *Moses* and *Joshua* on the account of *Gods special presence*: and so all that insipid *Discourse of Idolatry* which follows, sneaks away as being ashamed to be brought in to so little purpose here; but hath been fully handled in the First part.

T.G.p.202,
203.

Q. 15. 2. To his Instance of *Bowing at the name of Jesus*, I answered, "that he might as well have instanced in our going to Church at the tolling of a *Bell*, for as the one only tells us the time when we ought to go to *worship God*, so the mentioning the name of *Jesus* doth only put us in mind of *him* to whom we owe all manner of *Reverence*, without dishonouring him as the *Object* of our *worship* by any *Image* of him, which can only represent that which is neither the *object* nor *reason* of our *worship*. At this Answer T. G. is inflamed, and when he hath nothing else to say, he endeavours to set me at variance with the Church

Church of England. This runs quite through his *Book*, and he takes all occasions to set me forth as a close and secret enemy to it, although I appear never so much in its *Vindication*. If my Adversaries were to be believed (as I see no great reason they should be) I must be a very prodigious Author in one respect; for they represent me as a Friend to that which I write against, viz. *Socinianism*; and an enemy to that which I have defended, viz. the Church of England. But wherein is it, that T. G. thinks me such a back-friend to our Church? in disavowing all Reverence to the Sacred Name of Jesus, which he saith, our Church hath enjoined, and hath been defended by Fulk, Whitgift, and B. Andrews. I am glad I know my charge, and I do not doubt to clear my self to hold nothing in this or any other matter, but what the Church of England hath declared to be her sense. Witness, as to this point, the Declaration of the Archbishops and Bishops in Convocation: "When in time of Divine Service, the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly Reverence shall be done by all Persons present as hath been accustomed; testifying by these outward ceremonies

Book of
Canons,
1603. c. 14.

ceremonies and gestures, their inward
 humility, Christian Resolution, and due
 acknowledgement that the Lord Jesus
 Christ, the true and Eternal Son of God
 is the only Saviour of the world. Is this
 bowing to the very name of Jesus, and
 worshipping that as they do Images,
 when the Convocation declares that only
 a significant Ceremony is intended by it.
 Arch-B. Whitgift, in the very place cited
 by him saith, that the Christians used it
 to signifie their faith in Jesus; and there-
 fore they used bodily reverence at all times
 when they heard the name of Jesus, but
 especially when the Gospel was read.
 Dr. Fulk, another of his Authors saith,
 that the place alledged by T. G. to prove
 it, pertains to the subjection of all Crea-
 tures to the Judgement of Christ; howe-
 ver, he saith, the ceremony of bowing
 may be used out of Reverence to his Ma-
 jesty; not to the bare name; and that
 their Idolatrous worship is unfitly compa-
 red with the bowing at the name of Jesus.
 Bishop Andrews saith, we do not bow to
 the name, but to the sense; which an-
 swers and clears all the long allegation
 out of him. Archbishop Laud calls it,
 the Honour due to the Son of God at the
 men-

Defence
 of the
 Answ. tr.
 21. c. 7.
 div. 3.

Fulk
 against
 Rhen.
 Phil. 2. 10.

Andrews
 Ser. 9.
 of Resur.
 Speech
 in Star-
 chamb.
 p. 50.

mentioning of his Name, which are almost the very words I used. And *Whittington* and *Meg of Westminster* will altogether serve as well for his expression as that used by me. But *T. G.* need not be so angry at my mentioning the tolling of a bell, when he remembers the *Christening of bells* among them, and what mighty Power they have after that, and what *Reverend God-fathers* they have, and what *Saints names* are given to them; so that I should rather have thought he would have drawn an argument from the *Bells*, than have been so disturbed at the naming of them. For all this *T. G.* fancies a strange Analogy between Words and Pictures, a picture being a word to the Eye, and a word being a Picture to the Ear: which sounds just like *Whittington* to my ears: and I desire him to consider, that *Suarez* *Suarez in 3. p. Theq. 25. disp. 2. 54. art. 3. sect. 6.* tells us, that some of their own Divines say, no worship is due to any Name, because they signify only by imposition, and do not supply the place of the thing represented as Images do: of which opinion, he saith, *Soto* and *Corduba* are: and *Suarez* himself grants, that a name being a transient sound can hardly be apprehended as conjoynd with the Person, or

the Person in it, so as to be worshipped
 Paul. Ma- together with it; And one of their latest
 ria Quarti Ritualists faith, that when the name of
 in Rubr. Jesus is mentioned they bow to the Cru-
 Misse p. cifix; which shews that even among
 264, 266. them, they do not think the Name of
 Jesus equal to an Image of Christ.

¶ 16. I am now come to his last Instance,
 viz. bowing towards the Altar; he
 would insinuate, as though the Church of
 T.G. p. 218. England were for giving some kind of
 worship to the Altar, although under the
 degree of Divine worship due to God alone;
 and faith, that as the allowing this
 would render me a true Son of the
 Church of England, so the allowing the
 like to the sacred Images of Christ would
 make me in this point, a perfect Prose-
 lyte of the Church of Rome. Which is
 in effect to say, that the Church of
 England, in allowing bowing to the Al-
 tar, doth give the very same worship to it,
 which their Church requires to be given
 to Images; and that they who do one
 and not the other, do not attend to the
 Consequence of their own Actions. I
 shall therefore shew, 1. That the Church
 of England doth not allow any worship

to be given to the *Altar*. 2. That the *adoration* allowed and practised in the *Church of England* is of a very different *Nature* from the *Worship* of *Images*.

1. That the *Church of England* doth not allow any *worship* to be given to the *Altar*. For this I appeal to that *Canon* wherein is contained the *Explication* of the *sense* of our *Church* in this particular.

“Whereas the *Church* is the *House of* Canons and Con-
stit. c. 7.
1640.
“*God*, dedicated to his holy *Worship*,
“and therefore ought to mind us, both
“of the *Greatness* and *Goodness* of his
“*Divine Majesty*, certain it is that the
“*acknowledgement* thereof, not only in-
“wardly in our *hearts*, but also out-
“wardly with our *bodies*, must needs be
“*pious* in it self, *profitable* unto us, and
“*edifying* unto others. We therefore
“*think* it very meet and behooveful,
“and heartily commend it to all good
“and well affected *People*, members of
“this *Church*, that they be ready to ten-
“der unto the *Lord* the said *acknow-*
“*ledgement*, by doing *Reverence* and
“*obeyfance* both at their coming in and
“going out of the said *Churches*, *Chan-*
“*cels*, or *Chappels*, according to the
Kkk 3 “most

“ most ancient Custome of the Primitive
 “ Church in the purest times, and of this
 “ Church also for many years of the
 “ Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*. The reviving
 “ therefore of this ancient and laudable
 “ custome, we heartily commend to the
 “ serious consideration of all good Peo-
 “ ple, NOT WITH ANY IN-
 “ TENTION TO EXHIBITE
 “ ANY RELIGIOUS WOR-
 “ SHIP TO THE COMMU-
 “ NION TABLE, THE EAST
 “ OR THE CHURCH, or any
 thing therein contained in so doing, or to
 perform the said gesture in the Celebra-
 tion of the Holy Eucharist, upon any
 Opinion of the CORPORAL
 PRESENCE OF THE BO-
 DY OF JESUS CHRIST ON
 THE HOLY TABLE OR IN
 THE MYSTICAL ELE-
 MENTS, but ONLY for the ad-
 vancement of Gods Majesty, and to give
 him ALONE that honour and glory
 that is due unto him and NO OTHER-
 WISE. And in the practice or omissi-
 on of this Rite, we desire that the Rule
 of charity prescribed by the Apostle may
 be observed, which is, That they which

use

use this Rite despise not them who use it not, and they who use it not, condemn not those that use it. This is the full declaration of the *sense* of our Church about it, made by those who met in *Convocation*, and were most zealous for the practice of it. Agreeably to this *Arch-
bishop Laud* speaks, when this was charged as an *innovation*; *To this I answer*, saith he, First, *That God forbid that we should worship any thing but God himself.* 2. *That if to worship God when we enter into his House, or approach his Altar be an Innovation, it was a very old one, being practised by Jacob, Moses, Hezekiah, &c.* And were this Kingdom such, as would allow no holy Table standing in its proper place, yet I would worship God when I came into his House. And afterwards he calls it, doing Reverence to Almighty God, but towards his Altar: and Idolatry it is not to worship God towards his holy Table. Now with us the People did ever understand them fully and apply them to God, and to none but God. From whence it appears that God is looked on as the sole Object of this Act of Worship, and that our Church declares, that it allows no intention of exhibiting any Religious worship to

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Chamber.
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the Communion Table, or East or Church, or any Corporal Presence of Christ.

2. That the adoration allowed and practised in the *Church of England*, is of a very different nature from the worship of *Images*. For, (as I have fully made it appear in the *State of the Controversie*) the *Church of Rome* doth by the *Decrees of Councils*, require *Religious worship to be given to Images*; and that those who assert *this inferiour worship* do yet declare it to be *truly Religious worship*, and that the *Images themselves* are the *Object* of it; (whereas our Church declares point-blank the contrary) nay, that those *Persons* are looked on by the *Generality of Divines* in the *Roman Church*, as suspected at least, if not condemned of *Heresie*, who practise all the *external acts of adoration to Images*, but yet do not in their minds look on them as *Objects*, but only as *Occasions of worship*, which make the difference so plain in these two cases, that *T. G.* himself could not but discern it.

But to remove all scruple from mens minds, that suspect this practice to be too near the *Idolatrous worship*, which we reject in the *Roman Church*, I shall consider it not only as to its *Object* (which is the main

main thing, and which I have shewed to be the *proper Object of worship*, viz. *God himself*, and nothing else) but as to the *nature of the act*, and the *local circumstance of doing it towards the Altar*. 1. As to the *nature of the act*, so it is declared to be an *act of external adoration of God*; which I shall prove from *Scripture* to be a *lawful and proper act of Divine worship*. I might prove it from the *general consent of Mankind*, who have expressed their *Reverence to the Deity by acts of external adoration*, from whence I called it a *natural act of Reverence*, but I rather choose to do it from *Scripture*; and that, both before the *Law* had determined so punctually the *matters of Divine worship*, and under the *Law* by those who had the greatest regard to it; and under the *Gospel*, when the *spiritual nature* of its doctrine would seem to have superseded such external acts of worship. 1. *Before the Law*, I instance in *Abraham's servant*; because *Abraham* is particularly commended for his care in instructing his *Household to keep* Gen. 18. *the way of the Lord* in opposition to *Heathen Idolatry*, and this was the *Chief Servant* of his House, of whom it is said three times in one Chapter, *That he bowed his* 19.

- Gen. 24. *his head worshipping the Lord*; the He-
 26, 48, 52. *brew words signifie, and he inclined and
 bowed himself to the Lord*; for the word
 we translate *worship* doth properly signifie
 to bow, and both the Jews and others say,
 It relates to some external act of the bo-
 dy, whereby we express our inward Re-
 verence or Subjection to another. So it
 is said of the People of Israel, when they
 heard that the Lord intended to deliver
 them out of Egypt, *They bowed their heads
 and worshipped*; when Moses declared
 the Institution of the Passover to all the
 Elders of Israel, it is said again, *The
 People bowed their heads and worshipped.*
 2. Under the Law; when they were so
 strictly forbidden in the same words to bow
 down or worship any Image or similitude;
 yet the outward act of adoration towards
 God was allowed and practised. So Moses
 commanded Aaron and the seventy Elders
 of Israel to bow themselves afar off; the
 very same word which is used in the second
 Commandment. And when God had so
 severely punished the Israelites for bowing
 to the Golden Calf; yet when He appointed
 the Pillar of Fire for the Symbol of His
 own presence, it is said, *That when all the
 People saw the Cloudy Pillar stand at the*

Tabernacle door, they rose up and bowed themselves every man in his Tent-door. 33. 10.
 When God appeared to *Moses*, it is said, *That he made haste and bowed his head toward the earth and worshipped.* 34. 8.
 And when *Moses* and *Aaron* came to the door of the *Tabernacle* of the *Congregation*, they are said to fall upon their faces. In the time of *David*, upon his solemn thanksgiving to God it is said, *All the Congregation* blessed the Lord God of their Fathers, and bowed down their heads, and worshipped the Lord and the King. And in the time of *Hezekiah*, when they had made an end of offering, the King and all that were present with him bowed their heads and worshipped. 3. Under the Gospel; we are to observe the difference between the same external act of worship, when it was used towards *Christ* and toward His *Apostles*. When the *Syrophænician woman* came to our *Saviour*, in one place it is said, *She worshipped Him*; and in another, *That she fell at His feet*; but in no place is there the least mention of any check given to her or any others; who after that manner worshipped *Christ*: But when *Cornelius* came to *S. Peter*, and fell down at his feet and worshipped him, he would by no means

Numb. 20. 6.

1 Chron. 29. 20.

2 Chron. 29. 29.

Matth. 15. 25.

Mark 7. 25.

Acts 10. 25, 26.

means permit it, but said, *Stand up, I*
Revel. 19. my self also am a man: And when *S. John*
10. 22. 9. fell down at the feet of the Angel, he
 would not suffer it, but bade him worship
 God. That which I observe from hence is,
 that even under the Gospel the external acts
 of Religious adoration are proper and pecu-
 liar to God, so that men are to blame when
 they give them to any Creature, but no
 Persons are condemned for giving them to
 God. And I desire those who scruple the
 lawfulness of giving to God such exter-
 nal adoration under the Gospel, how they
 can condemn those for Idolatry, who give
 it to any Creature, if it be not a thing
 which doth still belong to God?

But if all the scruple be about the dire-
 cting this Adoration, one way more than
 another, I say still it is done in conformi-
 ty with the Primitive Church, as our Ca-
 non declares, and which every one knows,
 did worship towards the East; and this at
 the most is but a local circumstance of an
 Act of worship, which I have already
 shewed to be very different from an Object
 of it, when I discoursed of the Nature of
 the Israelites worshipping toward the Ark
 and the Cherubims.

Thus,

Thus, through the Assistance of God, I have gone through all the material points of *T. G's Book*, which relate to the *General Nature of Idolatry*; and have diligently weighed and considered every thing that looketh like a *difficulty* in this *Controversie* about the *Worship of Images*, and do here sincerely protest, that I have not given any *Answer*, or delivered any *Opinion* which is not agreeable not only to the inward *sense* of my *Mind*, but to the best of my understanding to the *sense* of *Scripture*, and the *Primitive Church*, and the *Church of England*. And if the *subtilities* of *T. G.* could have satisfied me, or any other Argument I have met with, I would as freely have retracted this *Charge of Idolatry*, as I ever made it. For I do not love to represent *others* worse than they are; but I daily pray to *God* to make both my self and *others* better: and therein I know I have the hearty concurrence of all who are truly *Good*.

F I N I S.